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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1894.

I. — *Notes on the Prepositions in Gellius.*

By CHARLES KNAPP, Ph.D.,

BARNARD COLLEGE.

In his use of prepositions Aulus Gellius often departs widely from the practice of the classical Latin writers, in no particular, however, more strikingly than in the *coupling of prepositions with cases* to express thoughts which, in the best days of the language, the case-form by itself was amply competent to convey with clearness and precision. This phenomenon is, in part, an evidence of decay in the language. Even before the time of Gellius the cases had suffered a loss of vitality, so that frequently the unaided case-form seemed to the writer insufficient to indicate the exact connection of ideas which he desired to suggest to the minds of his readers. Yet in the main the excessive use of prepositions in Gellius is due to other causes, to wit, his passion for the archaic Latin writers, and the influence of the sermo plebeius. Of the peculiarities discussed in the first part of this paper, some are to be regarded probably as archaisms. Such are *cum valebo ab oculis*, *revisere* and *visere ad*, *quaeso tecum*, while *dicere ad*, *dictitare ad*, *inquit ad*, *dedere ad*, *degustare ex*, and *esitare ex* point to the sermo plebeius. Our author's predilection for prepositions leads him (1) to use them where they are unnecessary, and where their employment is contrary to the best usage; (2) to repeat them without adequate cause; and (3) where the choice is open between a case con-

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struction (or a clause) and a prepositional form, to prefer the latter. We will consider examples of these points in order.

In xvi. 6, Gellius describes his encounter with a certain *linguae Latinae litterator* concerning the meaning and origin of the word *bidentes*. In § 8 he says to his adversary: sed nunc *a te rogavi*, ecquam scias esse huiusce vocabuli rationem. Above, in § 4, in narrating the preliminaries of the conflict, he tells us that the litterator iubebat *se rogare*,[1] si quis quid omnium rerum vellet discere. For the normal construction compare iii. 1. 4, iv. 1. 12, xviii. 1. 9. In writing *rogare a* Gellius was probably thinking of *petere a*, *quaerere a*. *Orare a* occurs xvii. 10. 7; compare Pacuv. 122 Ribb.

A sentence worth noting is *cum valebo ab oculis, revise ad me* xiii. 31. 10. For the meaning which we must assign here to *ab*, see Draeger *Historische Syntax*,[2] 1. 622. 4; Schmalz,[3] § 136; Lorenz on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 631. With our text we may compare Plaut. *Epid.* 129 A morbe valui, ab animo aeger; *Cist.* i. 1. 62 doleo ab animo, doleo ab oculis; *Aul.* 186. Contrast Cic. *Brutus*, § 77 si corpore valuisset; Nepos *Phoc.* iv. 1 cum propter aetatem pedibus iam non valeret; Sall. *Bell. Iug.* xi. 5; Iuv. vi. 100. Here Gellius would seem to be copying Plautus. With *revise ad me* in this passage compare *revises ad me* vi. 17. 11; Plaut. *Truc.* ii. 4. 79; Lucr. ii. 359, where Munro cites Lucr. v. 636, remarking that the construction is common in the older writers. *Visere ad* appears in Gellius in xviii. 8. 2 conquestus quod ad se aegrotum non viseret; perhaps too xix. 10. 1. Compare Ter. *Hecy.* 189, 237, 339 (the simple accusative 341); Lucr. vi. 1239; Ellis on Catullus x. 2. Lewis and Short (so also Klotz) cite in this connection Piso, the Annalist, ap. Gell. vii. 9. 5 dicitur ad collegam venisse visere aegrotum. But in view of the order of the words, it is perhaps better to con-

[1] Such inconsistencies are present almost without number in Gellius. How far they are due to a striving for variety, and how far to the composite character of his style (he has borrowed from many quarters), it would be difficult to determine with accuracy.

[2] This work (2d edition) will be cited henceforth simply as Draeger.

[3] This and similar references are to the treatise on Latin Syntax in Müller's Handbuch, 2^2, pp. 386–531.

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strue *ad collegam* with *venisse*. A precisely similar passage is Gell. xvi. 3. 2 ad quendam aegrum cum isset visere. It might, of course, be suggested that in Ter. *Hecy.* 189 (Nostra ilico It visere ad eam) the words *ad eam* should be joined to *it* and not to *visere*. But here the order of words, as well as the parallels at verses 237 and 339, point the other way. I know of no instance of *visere ad* or *revisere ad* in any *prose* writer of the best period. Gellius himself often uses *visere* as fully transitive, *e.g.* xvi. 19. 5, 23; xii. 5. 1; ii. 2. 1; ii. 26. 1.

In the following passages *ad* with the accusative seems to take the place of a simple dative of the classical period:

(1) ii. 21. 6 tum quispiam ex his, qui se *ad litteras memoriasque veteres dediderat.* Draeger 1. 576 cites Livy xxvii. 15. 2 ad . . . consulem . . . Lucani . . . dediderunt sese; also examples of *deditio ad* from viii. 25 and xxviii. 22. Livy also uses *restituere ad* and *proditio ad.* In all these phrases the physical meaning of the verb or the noun is preserved, and the preposition is amply justified by the idea of motion inherent in that force. See Kühnast *Livian. Synt.* p. 154; Nägelsbach *Lat. Stilist.* § 123. 1. In Gellius, however, the verb has its transferred sense, and the preposition would be hard to parallel, at least from any earlier author.[1]

(2) v. 14. 10 introductus erat inter complures ceteros *ad pugnam bestiarum datos* servus viri consularis; v. 14. 27 me statim . . . *dandum ad bestias* curavit.

(3) ii. 16. 9 (Sulpicius Apollinaris is the speaker) Anchises enim, qui haec *ad filium dicit;* xi. 4. 2 Hecuba est *ad Ulixen dicens;* xvi. 3. 2; xix. 5. 4 Haec quidem ille *ad nos . . . dictitabat; loqui ad* i. 3. 1; similar is i. 3. 20 his ad eum verbis usus est.

(4) ii. 26. 7 Tum Fronto *ad Favorinum . . . inquit;* so in ii. 29. 11; xix. 8. 9; xix. 10. 13.[2] See Petschenig in Wölfflin's *Archiv.* 5, 576.

[1] *Dedere*, in the physical sense, is constructed with the dative, ii. 12. 6; x. 12. 2; xii. 1. 21. The dative occurs also at iii. 1. 9, xix. 2. 2, where the verb has its metaphorical meaning.

[2] For *inquit* with the dative, cf. i. 10. 1; xix. 13. 2, 4; Weissenborn on Livy iv. 40. 6.

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(5) xvii. 6. 6 quae ex suis bonis (mulier) retinebat neque *ad virum tramittebat* ea 'recipere' dicebatur; perhaps xviii. 2. 4 Quaestio . . . non soluta autem *tramittebatur ad eum*, qui sortito successerat. Here, however, the construction may well be due to the idea of motion implied in the verb.

Cum is needless and contrary to best prose usage, xx. 1. 21 *quaeso tecum;* compare Fronto 168. 12 Naber. Contrast *quaeso te* ix. 2. 5; xvi. 6. 10; xviii. 3. 5; xviii. 7. 2. *Quaeso tecum* is formed apparently after the analogy of *orare cum*, of which Holtze *Synt. Prisc. Lat.* 1. 97 cites numerous examples from Plautus. See Schmalz, § 140.

De more with a limiting genitive is twice used instead of the simple ablative: iii. 3. 4 versus . . . qui, quoniam sunt, ut *de illius Plauti more* dicam, Plautinissimi; iii. 3. 15 probra in principes civitatis *de Graecorum poetarum more* dicta. Compare Draeg. 1. 630. We may note the preposition also in v. 13. 2 *ex moribus* populi Romani; and xv. 15. 4 *per* compositi vocabuli *morem*. Elsewhere *arbitratu, iure, more, moribus, ratione*, and *ritu*, when modified by an adjective or limiting genitive, are found in the ablative without a preposition; see i. 12. 11; xvi. 11. 6; iv. 4. 1; iv. 11. 10; vi. 4. in lemm.; xiii. 23. 1; x. 24. 3; xi. 1. 4; xiv. 7. 4; vi. 15 in lemm.; x. 28. 2; xvii. 10. 2; i. 7. 17; i. 16 in lemm.; i. 22. 9; v. 3. 5; xviii. 15. 2; i. 12 in lemm.

Ex appears in an extraordinary construction at iv. 11. 1 Opinio vetus falsa occupavit et convaluit Pythagoram philosophum non *esitavisse ex animalibus*. In iv. 11. 9 and xi. 7. 3 *esitare* is fully transitive. Equally strange is *degustare ex*, v. 16. 5 *degustare ex philosophia* censet, non in eam ingurgitandum. See Ribbeck's note (in the *Trag. Rom. Frag.*) on Ennius 340. Compare also Tertull. *De Spect.* 13 sed neque *de* sacrificato et parentato *edimus*, and the colloquial English 'eat of' and 'taste of.' *Degustare* is transitive in its literal meaning xiii. 5. 8, 9. *Ex* is needless again vi. 3. 47 *ex summa ope nititur*. Compare Draeg. 1. 638. 8 and contrast iv. 8. 4 summa ope adnixus est; ii. 25. 4 summa ope defensitavit. It should be noted that in his smaller text (Teubner 1886)

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Hertz is inclined to doubt the soundness of *ex* here and brackets it.[1]

Further extensions of the use of *ex* may be seen at x. 12. 5 Sinistrum pedem ait chamaeleontis *ferro ex igni calefacto* torreri; xvii. 15. 7 vulnera *ex sagittis facta.*

As might be expected, Gellius displays a strong tendency to substitute *de* or *ex* with the ablative for the partitive genitive. See Draeger 1. 458. 7; 458. 10. The following citations will speak for themselves: vi. 3. 7 non *pauci ex* summatibus viris; x. 12. 1 *ex* quibus *pauca* haec; *plerique* with genitive xiii. 3. 1, xiii. 30. 1, xvi. 9. 2, but with *ex* xiii. 22. 3; *aliquis, aliquid* with gen. xv. 6. 1, xvi. 2. 9, xix. 2. 6, with *ex* xii. 13. 2, iv. 1. 12; *nihil* with gen. xiii. 25. 28, xvii. 5. 1, xvii. 20. 9, xvii. 11. 5, but in the same paragraph *ne quid ex esca potuve* (cf. § 6); *qui ex* xii. 3. 1; *quidam e* or *ex* iv. 10. 3, iv. 16. 3, v. 10. 2, xii. 6. 1; *quem ex omnibus* praestare ceteris putet xv. 24. 1; si *quis* pugnare secum *ex omni Romano exercitu* auderet ix. 11. 5; *ex Claudiis . . . quis* erat egregia atque praestanti fortitudine, Nero appellatus est xiii. 23. 8; *quis* (indef.) with gen. xviii. 7. 2; *quid* (indef.) with gen. xvi. 6. 4, with *ex* xvii. 11. 5, 6, xvii. 15. 1; *quisnam* with gen. xiv. 1. 24, but with *ex* ii. 4. 1; *quispiam de* iii. 1. 5, v. 4. 2, xv. 9. 3, *quispiam ex* ii. 21. 6, vi. 1. 9, ix. 15. 2, xv. 1. 3; *quisquam* with gen. ix. 11. 1, but *nemo quisquam ex consilio,* xii. 7. 4; *aliquot ex* ix. 2. 6, but gen. xviii. 5. 7; *ex quibus* omnibus si *nulla re* probaretur xiv. 2. 7; *uter ex* i. 13. 11, xiv. 2. 21; *ex quibus aliquammultos* iii. 10. 17; *unus ex* i. 15. 11, v. 13. 3, vi. 1. 7, xi. 9. 1, xvi. 8. 13, xvii. 21. 4, xviii. 3. 5, xix. 10. 4; *solus ex* iv. 1. 23, xiii. 14. 4; earum una est . . . altera . . . tertia ii. 7. 3, eorum alia . . . alia xv. 27. 2, alii nostrorum . . . alii xvi. 8. 9, but ex his alter . . . alter xviii. 9. 2, pati necesse est ex duobus incommodis alterum v. 11. 7, ex duobus contrariis . . . alterum vii. 13. 11, ex his . . . unus atque alter xvii. 3. 2; *prima ex* xii. 15. 2; *secundus ex* xiii. 28. 1; *tertium ex* ii. 6. 19, vi. 2. 9, but *postremus* with genitive ii. 29. 20, xviii. 2. 14; *duo ex* iii. 10. 3, vii. 14 in

[1] If *ex* be retained, compare Plaut. *Most* 620 *Ex summis opibus,* and see Lorenz and Tyrrell *ad loc.*

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lemm., xix. 2 in lemm., *tris ex* i. 19. 5, *tres* with gen. xiii. 10. 2; *posterius ex* ii. 21. 11. Miscellaneous examples with *ex*, not readily classified, and too long to quote here, may be found at i. 3. 1, i. 25. 13, ii. 15. 4, iii. 14. 8, iv. 10. 5, iv. 18. 2, ix. 15. 9, x. 4. 3, xi. 18. 5, xi. 18. 8, xii. 5. 4, xiii. 23. 3, xiv. 6. 4, xvii. 5. 3, xvii. 14. 4.

In expressions of time and place Gellius often writes *in* where in the classical period the simple temporal or locative ablative would have sufficed. Of the use of *in* with phrases of time Draeg. i. 532 cites but a single example from Gellius (i. 3. 3). I append a complete list of the passages which belong here.[1]

(1) Phrases with simple ablative. (*a*) Expressions containing the word *tempore* or *temporibus:* certo t. anni ii. 22. 25; eo t. i. 12. 9, i. 25. 9, xiv. 7. 8; eodem t. iii. 9. 4, iii. 11. 3, v. 6. 13, xii. 7. 2, xiii. 25. 12, xiv. 1. 15, xiv. 7. 4, xvii. 21. 39, xix. 11. 2; ad id t. quo iv. 4. 3; quo primum t. xiv. 1. 19, xiv. 2. 1; utroque t. xx. 5. 5; suo t. x. 11. 3; exploratissimo iudicii t. xii. 8. 4; nuptiarum t. xiv. 1. 20; t. nimis rudibus xv. 11. 3; isdem t. xvii. 21. 3, 7, 48; istis t. xvii. 21. 11; quibus t. xvii. 21 in lemm. and § 1; quibusdam t. isdem xvii. 21. 18; diversis t. xiv. 1. 29; temporibus vitae tuae ix. 3. 5; Divi Hadriani temporibus xi. 15. 3; asperis rei publicae t. xvi. 10. 13; difficillimis r. p. t. xvi. 10. 14. (*b*) Expressions containing the word *tempestate* or *tempestatibus:* ea t. xvii. 21. 20, 38, xx. 5. 7; qua t. iii. 15. 4, xv. 11. 5, xvii. 21. 17; isdem t. xvii. 21. 36.

(2) Phrases expressed by *in* with the ablative. (*a*) Expressions containing *tempore* or *temporibus:* in eo tempore i. 9. 6, ii. 6. 7, ii. 12. 1, ii. 22. 27, iii. 4. 2, vi. 5. 5, ix. 11. 4, xiv. 2. 11, xv. 4. 3, xvi. 3. 9, xvii. 21. 29; eodem in t. xiv. 1. 9, xiv. 2. 19; in hoc t. xvii. 21. 18; omni in t. xiii. 28. 4, ix. 3. 2; quo in t. ii. 13. 4; quodam in t. xvi. 11. 4; ullo in t. ii. 6. 18; in isdem t. iii. 4. 3, xv. 23. 1; in temporibus aetatis suae ix. 4. 13; in t. difficillimis xv. 22. 2; in t. rei (publicae)

[1] To facilitate comparison, I have brought together the examples of the simple ablative, as well as those in which the preposition seems to convey no special meaning.

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difficillimis iv. 8. 4. (*b*) in ea tempestate xx. 1. 31. It will be seen that the two constructions often stand side by side in the same chapter (as in xvii. 21) with no appreciable difference of meaning.[1]

In other temporal expressions the same fluctuation is observable, though here the simple ablative prevails. Compare *Homeri aetate* iii. 16. 16 with *in aetate M. Tullii* xvii. 2. 5, *in veterum aetate* iii. 18. 4, or *qui in his aetatibus nati fuissent* xvii. 21. 1 (see Draeg. 1. 531. 7); *eodem temporis puncto* xiv. 1. 26, *eodem ictu temporis* xiv. 1. 27, side by side with *in eodem illo puncto* (temporis) § 26. In phrases like *bello Indico, bello Punico,* the simple ablative, so far as I have observed, is invariable. *Eo die, uno die, eodem die* are common. In fact *in* is coupled with *dies* apparently only in iv. 9. 5 dies in quibus; xvi. 3. 9 in diebus frigidissimis. In phrases with *mensis,* Gellius seems to use either construction at will, whether the meaning be simply *in* or *in the course of.* Compare iii. 16 passim. With *anno, aestu, aestate,* the preposition is rarely, if ever, found.[2]

Much more pronounced is the tendency to join *in* with *loco* and *locis,* even when accompanied by an attributive. Indeed, the simple ablative in such cases is rare, for we can cite only *alio loco* ii. 6. 22, iii. 14. 10, vi. 17. 9, vi. 20. 5; *aliquot locis* ii. 6. 21; *locis plerisque* ii. 20. 5; *quo loco* xiii. 21. 1; villam, quae est in agro Attico *loco,* qui appellatur Cephisiae xviii. 10. 1; in area Vulcani *sublimiore loco* iv. 5. 4; *multis locis* vi. 3. 52; *suo utrumque loco* xiii. 21. 6. On the other hand, we have the following long list of phrases which show *in:* with *alio* i. 16. 10, i. 25. 2, ii. 30. 10, iv. 16. 6, v. 8. 5, v. 12. 10, ix. 9. 7, x. 3. 5, xiii. 7. 5, xiii. 21. 7, 25, xiv. 7. 13, xvii. 1. 9, xvii. 13. 8, xix. 14. 8, xx. 1. 27; *aliquo* xviii. 4. 11; *eo* xvii. 11. 6, xx. 6. 1; *hoc* i. 22. 12, ii. 23. 13, iv.

[1] Omitting i. 3. 7, ii. 6. 10, xiv. 2. 17, where it cannot be certainly said whether we have the simple ablative, or the ablative with *in,* we find 40 instances of the ablative against 25 examples of the prepositional formula.

[2] We may note also *ad lavandi tempus* xviii. 13. 2; *id temporis* xviii. 6. 1; *ad id diei ubi iam vesperaverat* xvii. 8. 1. These seem equivalent to a temporal ablative.

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11. 10, vii. 16. 3, ix. 1. 9, ix. 12. 8, ix. 14. 8, x. 13. 1, xiii. 11. 7, xiii. 25. 32, xiii. 31. 12, xvii. 10. 9, xx. 6. 9, xiii. 21. 18, xviii. 1. 6; *eodem* iv. 9. 2, xii. 2. 10, xii. 8. 4, xiii. 21. 10, xiv. 1. 15, xx. 5. 5; *isto* xiii. 21. 20; *omni* xiii. 28 in lemm. and § 4, xiii. 29. 5; *suo* xiii. 21. 11; *quodam* xiii. 21. 25; *primo* ii. 7. 10, vii. 14. 6; *tertio* v. 13. 2, vii. 14, 6; *uno* vi. 20. 5; *utroque* xiii. 25. 7; *quo* i. 22. 7, xv. 30. 7, xviii. 5. 7, xx. 6. 2; *quoquo* xiv. 2. 17; *quo in loco cunque* xi. 7. 3; *in loco* per augurem *constituto* xiv. 7. 7; *locum in quo* ii. 23. 8, x. 15. 24, xv. 22. 8, xiii. 31. 14; *his* xvi. 19. 19, xviii. 10. 3; *illis* vii. 3. 1; *isdem* iv. 1. 23, v. 2. 5; *multis* i. 15 in lemm., ii. 8. 9; *publicis* ii. 2. 9; *non paucis* xx. 6. 3; *iniquis* xvii. 21. 36; *diversis* xiii. 21. 3, xvii. 21. 1; *in locis Italiae silvestribus* xv. 16. 2; *in locis solis* ix. 9. 14; *in locis tectis* x. 15. 20; *loca in quibus* ii. 20. 1, ii. 20. 8, vii. 6. 8, xvi. 11. 5; *quibusdam* xvii. 9. 2.

In principio does duty for the simple *principio* ii. 12. 2 tenuit nos gravis quaedam in principio admiratio. The second stage of the narrative is marked by *tum* § 3. Cf. § 4 in principio coercendae seditioni impares; xvii. 20. 4. For the simple *principio* see xvii. 10. 11. So *primo* xix. 1. 19, but *in primo* xvi. 8. 2. See Draeg. 1. 532, and Weissenborn on Livy xxxix. 31. 2.

Praestare in Cicero and Caesar is constructed with the dative, in Nepos, Livy, and Quintilian now with the dative, now with the accusative. Gellius goes far beyond these constructions in xviii. 3. 6 elegit virum fortitudine atque iustitia *praeter alios praestantem.* Elsewhere we find the dative, xx. 5. 8, or the accusative xiii. 5. 3, xix. 12. 1. See Wilkins on Cicero *De Orat.* ii. 5.

It has already been hinted that Gellius' fondness for prepositions leads him to repeat them where they are not strictly necessary, and where no ambiguity would result from their omission. Compare i. 3. 8 contra legem contraque ius; i. 3. 9 contra ius contrave morem; x. 3. 7 contra ius contraque leges; xiv. 1. 1 de motu deque positu stellarum; xv. 3. 2 verba haec *aufugio* et *aufero* composita quidem esse ex praepositione *ab* et ex verbis *fugio* et *fero* (but § 4 compositum

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ex *ab* praepositione et verbo *aestumo*); vi. 19. 6 iuravit palam in amicitiam inque gratiam se cum P. Africano non redisse; xiii. 23. 16 praeter Plautum praeterque Gellium; xx. 1. 22 pro . . . et pro . . . ac pro . . . proque. For other examples, see xvi. 5. 12 *ante;* xvi. 13. 2 *a*; ii. 15 in lemm., ix. 7. 1, xi. 3. 1, xi. 16. 7, xi. 18. 17 *ad;* xviii. 7. 8 *apud;* xii. 5. 4 *contra contraque;* ii. 8. 7, x. 22. 24, xiii. 25. 11, xv. 9 in lemm. *cum;* i. 15. 1, xiv. 1. 24, xiv. 2. 11, xv. 12 in lemm., xviii. 6. 5 *de ac de;* xii. 5. 6 *de atque de;* vi. 3. 45, vii. 8 in lemm., xv. 11. 1, xviii. 5. 5 *de et de:* xi. 5. in lemm. *de . . : deque . . . deque;* i. 21. 2 *ex atque ex;* iv. 11. 7 *e et ex;* xiii. 17. 4 *ex et ex;* praef. 16, i. 16. 6, ii. 28. 2, v. 2. 4, vi. 1. 3, xii. 1. 18, xiii. 21. 16, xvii. 21. 32 *in atque in;* i. 26. 3, vii. 2. 8, 13, vii. 13. 9, x. 11. 3, xi. 1. 7, xiii. 13. 1, xviii. 5. 1, xviii. 10. 8, 10 *in et in;* i. 17. 1 *per;* vi. 3. 18 *pro ac pro;* xi. 1. 2, xiii. 21. 19 *pro proque;* xviii. 7. 5 *pro et pro et pro* (bis). Numerous[1] as these examples are, they are yet in a decided minority when compared with the cases where the repetition is necessary, or where the preposition governs two or more nouns.

It may be remarked here that Gellius reveals a liking for unusual prepositional compounds. Some he seems to have borrowed from the archaic writers; *e.g.*, condignus, condigne, commoliri, complacere, condormiscere, consilescere, demulcere, demutare. Others again are apparently ἅπαξ εἰρημένα: commurmuratio, condecore (xiv. 4. 1), confabricari, conflaccescere, congerminare, contemporaneus, deculpatus, dehonestus, devenustare, devergentia, exsordescere, incavillari, irroborascere, perinconsequens, praemandere, praemoderans, praenimis, praerancidus, praetermonstrare, subargutulus, subsecundarius. A third class includes words which are voces Gellianae, or which were coined by him, and reappear in the pages of later authors. Here belong compavescere, congelascere, consarcinare, convallare, convelare, convexare, convexio, obnubilare, praelinere, praeministrare, praevincire, subobscure.

[1] No attempt has been made here to give an exhaustive list. It will be instructive to compare our author's practice with that of Tacitus, who goes to the other extreme (see Gudeman on *Dialogus* c. 10 l. 25), or with that of his favorite Cato Censor, as laid down by Elmer, *Amer. Journ. Philol.* VIII. 303.

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I pass now to the third point which I had proposed to consider in this division of my subject. Not infrequently for a non-prepositional construction Gellius substitutes a prepositional phrase, which, while not always in itself obnoxious to criticism, is yet less common than the construction which it supplants. Thus *alienus* is constructed with *ex* xix. 7. 13, with *ab* i. 11. 18, xi. 8. 3, xv. 21. 1, xviii. 10. 8, xx. 10. 4, never with a simple case. For Cicero's practice, see Reid on Cic. *Acad. Pr.* ii. 25. *Nubere* is followed by *apud* i. 23. 8 (contrast the dative twice in § 10), by *cum* vi. 1. 2. *In* and *inter* are somewhat freely used with the gerund and gerundive: iii. 1. 4 longe iam diu *in eo* ipse *quaerendo fui;* iii. 7. 12 Hostes quorsum ire pergant, *in exspectando sunt;* xi. 5. 3 nihil enim decernunt . . . sed *in quaerendo* semper *considerandoque sunt;* xi. 16. 6 cum diutule tacitus *in cogitando fuissem;* xiii. 31. 9 Pueri in ludo rudes . . . non hi *magis in legendo deridiculi fuissent.* Draeger 2. 851 would regard this combination as archaic. For *inter* with the gerund, see below, p. 25. Compare also vii. 7. 5 pecuniam emeruerat *ex eo quaestu* uberem; xiv. 1. 2 cibum quaestumque *ex mendaciis captantes;* iii. 11, 3 Varro . . . dicit . . . id *ex epigrammate ostendi* (but abl. alone iii. 2. 7, iv. 3. 3, ii. 27. 5); iii. 11. 4 argumentis utitur *per quae* ostendi putat; ii. 30. 6 quod dicimus *ex* . . . Homericis versibus . . . *adminiculari* potest; xiv. 2. 1 *ex* ipsa lege Iulia et ex Sabini . . . commentariis *commoniti et adminiculati sumus;* iv. 7. 4 tertia syllaba *de* Hannibalis nomine; iv. 17. 7 secunda littera *in* his verbis, and similar phrases at xiii. 23. 17, xiii. 26 in lemm., xvii. 3. 5, xvi. 14. 4.

After what has been said, it certainly seems odd to meet a construction, in which, contrary to the general practice, a preposition is *omitted*, yet such there are: ii. 29. 7 *fac amicos eas. Infitias ire* occurs several times, always with a negative: ii. 26. 7, iv. 18. 6, vi. 7. 8, x. 19. 1, xii. 2. 1, xvi. 19. 22, xix. 8. 5. This phrase had already been used in prose by Nepos and Livy: see Weissenborn on Livy vi. 40. 4, and Draeg. 1. 395. In iv. 6. 7 *ante sacrificia sollemnia pridie*, he treats *pridie* as an adverb, though even in the best

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writers it is a quasi-preposition with the accusative. *Ex* is omitted, contrary to his own custom elsewhere, at iii. 15. 1 Polycritam nobilem feminam *Naxo insula:* see below, p. 22, and Draeger 1. 498; the same preposition is omitted in *redeuntes Graecia* xvi. 6. 1 (Draeger 1. 497).

II.

I proceed now to a consideration of those points in the use of the individual prepositions which seem especially worthy of notice.

A[1] seems to bear the sense of "after" xi. 7. 7 Alter quoque *a lectionibus* id genus paucis apirocalus = "another ignoramus, after (fresh from) a few readings of that sort." See Weiss. on Livy xxxvii. 32. 12; Peterson on Quint. x. 5. 17; Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* i. 19. 4; Draeg. 1. 623. 6. *Ab* has causal meaning xv. 31. 1 Demetrius . . . cui a peritia disciplinaque faciendi obsidii machinarumque ad capienda oppida repertarum cognomentum πολιορκητής fuit. Draeg. 1. 623, 7; Kühnast *Liv. Synt.* p. 359; Schmalz § 136. *Ab* is coupled with *integer* iii. 5. 1 incorruptus et a stupro integer. Add to Draeg. 1. 620, Livy ix. 41. 8, xxxviii. 14. 6; Seneca *De Ira* i. 18. 3; Tac. *Ann.* xv. 52. *Otium a* is found at praef. 23, v. 21. 6, xi. 3. 1, xvi. 10. 1, xix. 8. 1; compare Cic. *De Off.* iii. 2; Ter. *Heaut.* 75; so *vacatio a* i. 12. 7 (cf. Livy xxiii. 32. 15); *vacuus a* ii. 23. 19; *tranquillus a* ii. 30. 3; *tutus a* v. 14. 17; *diverse a* vi. 17. 9.

Instead of the instrumental ablative we find at times *a* or *ab* after the passive, especially when a certain degree of personification is present. Our author's ventures in this regard, however, can easily be illustrated from earlier writers.[2] Compare ii. 6. 2 a belua immanissima rapti laniatique; ii. 30. 9 ab aquilonibus . . . fluctus excitatos; ibid. ab austris . . . (fluctus) propelli; x. 12. 2 accipitrem . . . a chamaeleonte . . . detrahi; xii. 5. 8 voluptati a natura conciliatus; § 9 non victi

[1] The form *abs* is several times preserved, in the formula *abs te* ii. 26. 8, xv. 13. 1 (quater) and oddly in *abs re* xi. 1. 6, xviii. 14. 6.

[2] Draeger 1, 548.

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nec oppressi a dolore; xv. 22. 5 a cerva sese monitum praedicabat; iii. 1. 3 animum virilem ab ea (= avaritia) effeminari dixit. Here, as elsewhere, Gellius is inconsistent, for in precisely similar connections the preposition is not expressed, as in vii. 1. 1 neque res humanae (videntur) providentia gubernari; iv. 20. 9; x. 6. 2; xii. 13. 18.

Absque = (1) *sine*, ii. 2. 7 *Absque praeiudicio* . . . tu interea sede, dum inspicimus quaerimusque, utrum conveniat tene potius sedere, qui pater es, an filium, qui magistratus est. Weiss[1] renders: "Ohne etwa die Absicht zu haben . . . dieser hohen Würde irgendwie Eintrag zu thun etc." (2) = *praeter* "with the exception of," xiii. 19. 4 eundem esse versum *a. paucis syllabis*. (3) A true Plautine usage appears ii. 26. 20 *a. te uno* forsitan lingua profecto Graeca longe anteisset. For full discussions of this preposition, see Draeger 1. 638; Brix-Niemeyer on Plaut. *Trin.* 832; Dziatsko on Ter. *Phorm.* 188; Schmalz § 147; Jordan, *Kritische Beiträge*, pp. 308–314; Praun in Wölfflin's *Archiv* vi. 197–212.

Ad. 1) From the base-meaning of motion towards a person or place the idea of hostility is readily developed, so that *ad* bears a meaning akin to that of *contra*, *adversus*, or *in*. See Draeg. 1. 576; Weiss. on Livy i. 5. 7. Compare in Gellius i. 11. 9 ad hostem itur; xvi. 11. 6 uti armis sumptis ad Austrum, quasi ad hostem, iure belli res petitum proficiscerentur; xvii. 21. 33 (bis); xviii. 4. 1 dissimulationis qua ad Sophistas utebatur; perhaps also ii. 2. 1 exercitia corporis ad fortuitas patientiae vices firmandi, and xv. 22. 2 mentiebatur ad milites. For this last phrase compare Plaut. *Aul.* 690 Egone ut te adversum mentiar; *Poen.* i. 2. 188 mendax advorsum. 2) In xii. 13. 20 *ad* has lost all idea of motion and apparently equals *in* with the ablative: Sed si ex una tantum parte orbis oceanus foret, tum quae terra ad eam partem foret, citra oceanum dici posset. 3) In certain phrases, mostly technical, *ad* = *apud*, or *coram* "in the presence of": orationem dicere ad populum i. 6 in lemm. and § 1; orat. habere ad p. xv. 12. 1; oratione qua usus est ad milites i. 23. 1; verba facere ad

[1] Fritz Weiss, in his translation of Gellius, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1875, 76.

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populum vi. 3. 3, xi. 9. 1, xiii. 16. 3; sententia . . . ad equites dicta xvi. 1. in lemm. (cf. *apud* § 3); ad populum dicere xi. 1. 7; diem dicere ad populum iii. 4. 1, iv. 14. 3; accusare ad p. iv. 18. 3. 4) Two temporal expressions may be noted: *ad extremum* vi. 11. 5; *ad postremum* ii. 29. 14, iii. 16. 20, xiv. 1. 27. 5) The modal *ad* (for which see in general Draeger 1. 580. 6) appears in several collocations: (*a*) *ad hunc modum* i. 4. 8; *ad hunc ferme modum* x. 1. 7, xiv. 4. 2, xviii. 10. 8 (see Schmalz p. 441); (*b*) *ad hoc exemplum* xviii. 13. 5; *ad hanc sententiam* iii. 16. 19, xiii. 4. 2, xx. 5. 9; *ad hanc ferme sententiam* iii. 7. 2, vii. 2. 1, ix. 1. 7, ix. 3. 5, xiii. 28. 3, xiv. 1. 2; (*c*) *ad instar* xx. 1. 39 (see Wölfflin, *Archiv* 2, 592); (*d*) *ad vicem* ii. 15. 1 (maiores natu a minoribus colebantur ad deum prope et parentum vicem); (*e*) *ad amussim* i. 4. 1, xx. 1. 34; (*f*) in expressions of comparison or ratio: xviii. 14. 4 Est autem 'hemiolios' qui numerum aliquem totum in sese habet dimidiumque eius, ut tres ad duo, quindecim ad decem, triginta ad viginti. Compare § 5. 6) *Ad* with its case is freely attached to adjectives: i. 7. 20 Illud . . . iucundius ad aurem completiusque, insuavius hoc imperfectiusque est; vi. 20. 2 melius suaviusque ad aures; xiii. 21. 20 subtilius ad aurem molliusque; xvii. 15. 7 his (sagittis) ictae, exanimatae ferae teneriores ad epulas fiant; xix. 9. 1 Adulescens . . . ad rem musicam facili ingenio ac lubenti; praef. 16 vescae ad . . . frigidae ad.

Adusque twice has prepositional value: ii. 24. 15 a trecentis sestertiis *adusque duo sestertia;* xv. 11. 2 vini lubidine *adusque ludibria* ebriosus. Draeger 1. 598.

Adversus, adversum. The forms of this preposition are used indifferently by Gellius: compare xvii. 15 in lemm. with xvii. 15. 1, xiv. 1. 27 with xvii. 1. in lemm., xiv. 1 in lemm. with xiv. 1. 1. The meaning is nearly always "against," and there is present generally a notion of hostility, of combat, whether the combat be the physical contest of war, or the less dangerous conflicts of wordy disputants. To the first class belong ix. 13. 20 *bello a. Latinos* cum esset consul; xvii. 21. 40, 46 *bellum a. Poenos;* vi. 3. 3 regem *a. populum Romanum* adiutarent; iii. 7, 13 mittit *a. illos* imperator.

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Akin to these passages are figurative uses like the following: iii. 6. 2 Si . . . super palmae arboris lignum magna pondera imponas . . . *adversus pondus resurgit et sursum nititur;* ii. 22. 12 is (ventus) *adversus aquilonem* flat (so twice again in same paragraph; compare *exadversum* in § 22); vi. 12. 2; xv. 2. 8; xii. 5. 2. To the second class belong v. 10. 3; vii. 8. 6; vi. 3. 51; vii. 1 in lemm. Quem in modum responderit Chrysippus *adversum eos* (the personal dative occurs i. 14. 2, iii. 7. 8, vi. 2. 12); vii. 11. 1; viii. 14 in lemm. *altercatio a. quendam;* x. 1. 5; x. 19. 3; xiv. 1. 1 *disserere adversum;* xiv. 1. 27, xvii. 1 in lemm. *dicere adversus;* xiv. 1. 30; xvii. 11 in lemm.; xvii. 15 in lemm. and § 1 *scribere adversus.* In i. 13. 5 tum posse *adversum mandata fieri* censuerunt, the idea of strife is perhaps least plainly present. In *Non igitur simus adversum deos ingrati* iv. 18. 3, *adversum* = *erga.*

Apud indicates 1) nearness to a thing or place: aput mensam ix. 9. 4; aput eandem mensam xii. 8. 2; apud mensam Favorini ii. 22. 1; Favorinus . . . apud mensam suam . . . denarravit, ibid. § 27; apud mensam Tauri xvii. 8 in lemm.; apud cenam Favorini iii. 19. 1; aput eius lecti fulcrum x. 15. 14 (it should be noted that this chapter is largely borrowed, probably from Fabius Pictor); apud duo ista foramina xvii. 11. 4; apud tribunalia i. 22. 2; apud Mausoli sepulcrum x. 18 in lemm.; Pisis apud Iovem Olympium i. 1. 2; apud fanum Carmentis xviii. 7. 2; apud orientum occidentemque ii. 22. 18; apud eandem caeli plagam ix. 4. 6. (Just above in the same paragraph he writes *sub eadem regione caeli; sub* also xiv. 1. 8). Here too we must include xiv. 1. 3 Si vitae mortisque hominum rerumque humanarum omnium tempus et ratio et causa in caelo et *apud stellas* foret, where the meaning seems to be "if the time etc. were lodged in, were under the control of." Four times *apud* stands with the name of a river: vii. 3. 1, xiv. 1. 9 (bis), xvii. 21. 13; with the name of a city (probably = 'near,' not 'in') iii. 15. 4, vi. 8. 2, xvii. 21. §§ 23, 26, 30, 36. Add finally *apud Sirenios scopulos* xvi. 8. 17. Sometimes there is a transfer from the idea of rest or presence *near* a place to that of presence or rest *in* a place, so that *apud* with its case

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equals *in* with the ablative. In this matter, however, Gellius has been very temperate, as but a few clear examples can be cited: ix. 4. 9 esse item alia *aput ultimas orientis terras* miracula homines; ibid. § 10 gentem esse aiunt *aput extrema Indiae.* In xvi. 10. 11 to which, in illustration of this meaning, reference is made by Draeger (both in his Hist. Synt. 1. 586 and *Syntax und Stil des Tacitus* § 82), the phrase *apud rem publicam* may be taken as equivalent to *in re publica* "under a democratic form of government." Perhaps we may add xviii. 3. 1 oratorum qui *apud contiones Atheniensium* floruerunt. A clearer instance is v. 4. 1 *apud Sigillaria,* for which *in Sigillariis* is written ii. 3. 5. For this use in general see Draeger as cited above, and Schmalz § 114. 2) *Apud* very frequently denotes nearness to a person. Various shades of meaning must be distinguished. a) *In the presence of,* compare *coram:* i. 2. 2 cum essemus *apud eum* ("in his company") in villa; i. 4. 8; i. 6. 5; viii. 3 in lemm.; xi. 7. 3 cum *apud* (before) *praefectum* urbi verba faceret (so xiii. 23. 13); xvi. 1. 3; xvii. 21. 45; xviii. 1. 15. b) *At the house of:* vii. 13 in lemm.; xi. 13. 1; xv. 17. 1; xvii. 20. 1; iii. 2. 12; v. 5. 1 *apud regem Antiochum,* and similar phrases at viii. 9 in lemm., xvii. 9. 21, xv. 20. 9, xvii. 21. 41. Under this head fall also i. 2. 1 cum *apud magistros* Athenis essemus; xviii. 5. 7 Cumque aliquot eorum, qui aderant, 'quadrupes ecus' *apud suum quisque grammaticum* legisse se dicerent; x. 16. 2 *aput inferos.* c) In technical phrases, like *apud censores, iudices, consules, apud* corresponds to our "in the presence of," "before": i. 5. 3 *apud consilium iudicum;* iv. 20. 6, v. 10. 6, v. 19. 3, vi. 3. 18, 19, vii. 11. 2, xiv. 1. 4, xiv. 2. 8, 14, 17, 21, xv. 28. 3. Draeger 1. 584 marks *iurare apud* as rare: note then ii. 24. 2. d) With a plural noun, *apud* = *inter:* i. 13. 11; xiv. 3. 9 oritur *apud diversos favisores* . . . contentio; ibid. § 11 *apud alios* uter esset exsuperantior certabatur. When combined with a plural noun describing a nation or a class of persons, *apud* calls attention to a custom, or belief, which obtains among such persons. Examples are: *apud Graecos* i. 8. 4; ii. 26. 16; xiii. 23. 19; ii. 15. 2; ii. 19. 4; vi. 18. 1; x. 3. 13 *aput civis Romanos* (=from the

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standpoint of); x. 4. 2; xi. 18 in lemm., also §§ 16, 17; xii. 5. 4; xvi. 2 in lemm. Sometimes in virtue of the meaning of particular words, such phrases have a temporal value: vi. 15. 1 *apud veteres;* ii. 15. 1 *apud antiquissimos* Romanorum (compare *antiquitus* in the lemma); ii. 24. 1; iv. 20. 12. *e*) *Apud* with the name of an author = "in the works of," is extremely common. Slight extensions of this use are to be recognized in the following passages: praef. 18 *apud alium;* xiii. 22. 7 *apud quemquam alium;* i. 7. 18 *apud veteres scriptores;* ii. 20. 4; v. 20. 4 *apud Graecorum idoneos;* x. 26. 5 *apud scriptorem idoneum;* xi. 6. 3; xiii. 25. 18 *apud eundem poetam;* xvii. 2. 9 nec facile id reperias *apud civilium causarum oratores;* xix. 13. 4; xx. 7. 1 *apud Graecos poetas.* Yet side by side with *apud Vergilium* iv. 17, §§ 5, 9, we find *in Vergilio* § 11, and again at xv. 13. 10. *f*) Certain phrases deserve special notice. *Aput me* (se) *quaerere,*[1] *exquirere* occurs three times in the sense of "to think out for myself": xi. 3. 1 quaerere nonnumquam *aput memet ipsum* soleo res eiusmodi; xii. 6. 3 Hoc qui nolit diutius *aput sese* quaerere ("Wer selbst nicht lange erst bei sich darüber denken will"); xi. 16. 3. *Aput aures* (a Tacitean phrase: see Furneaux on *Ann.* i. 31. 5) may be found at ix. 15. 5. With *apud sensus nostros* xi. 5. 7 we may compare Livy vi. 39. 11 *apud animos,* with Weissenborn's notes: see also Draeger 1. 584, 3.[2]

Circa = *de* "concerning," xi. 14 in lemm. Sobria et pulcherrima Romuli regis responsio *circa vini usum.* On the origin and development of this preposition see Wölfflin, *Archiv* 5. 295; on its meaning here see Gudeman on Tac. *Dial.* 3; Draeger *Syntax und Stil* § 85; Schmalz § 129.

Citra = *sine* is rare, occurring only vii. 14. 4 *citra poenam* (but *sine poena* iv. 12. 1); xii. 12. 1 res criminosas *citra periculum* confiteri. Draeger 1. 616.

Clam. In ii. 23. 16 *Ea res clam patrem fuit,* Gellius is probably borrowing from Caecilius. See the whole context. Wölfflin (*Archiv* 7. 278) regards *clam patrem* as an old for-

[1] Compare *mecum quaerere* Cic. ad Att. ix. 11. A 1; *agitare mecum, secum, cum animo.*

[2] For the prepositional *causa* see below on *gratia.*

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mula, a view supported by the citations in Holtze 1. 213, Draeger 1. 665.

Cum with its substantive is frequently used in modal relations, to indicate the manner in which an action is performed or to point out an attendant circumstance, *e.g.*, viii. 1 in lemm. *cum vitio dicere;* xii. 12. 1 *callide et cum astu;* xi. 16. 7 *cum industria et celeritate;* ix. 2. 5 *cum bona venia* dicas mihi; xviii. 1. 9 *cum bona venia* respondeas (but *bona venia*[1] *dic mihi* xvii. 4. 2); xv. 3. 5 quod sit *cum honore multo* dictum P. Nigidii; xvii. 6. 4 *cum pace*[2] autem *cumque venia* istorum . . . dictum hoc sit; twice with parts of *esse*, iv. 2. 13, vi. 22. 3. For other instances see i. 3. 29, i. 15. 2, i. 17 in lemm., i. 23. 1, ii. 8. 9, ii. 22. 27, iv. 1. 1, iv. 18. 5, v. 2. 4, vi. 22 in lemm. and § 1, ix. 8 in lemm., x. 22. 24, xi. 2. 1, xii. 1. 8, xii. 13. 23, xiii. 11. 4, xiii. 25. 11, xiii. 28. 1. A noteworthy expression is *omnes cum uno;* iii. 7. 16 Quadringenti omnes cum uno . . . cadunt. *Ad unum omnis interisse* xvi. 11. 8.

Cum stands before the relative, an order which became common after Cicero's time; see Greef in Philologus 32, p. 711 sqq. Examples are *cum quo* vi. 1. 2; vi. 3. 2; *cum quibus* xv. 3. 6, xvi. 19. 21. Conversely *quicum* is written iv. 1. 5, on which compare Neue-Wagener 2. 465.

De denotes cause, xvi. 6. 2 erat enim *fessus*[3] atque languens animus *de aestu maris.* Compare Lorenz on *fessus de via* Plaut. *Pseud.* 640. Other examples are xii. 1. 8 nituntur ut fetus quoque ipsi . . . aboriantur ne aequor illud ventris inrugetur ac *de gravitate oneris et labore partus* fatiscat; xiii. 22. 1 Sed si hic vester huiusmodi vestitus *de multo iam usu* ignoscibilis est; v. 6. 24 *de levissimis causis.* Twice this preposition follows its case, in the phrase *qua de* xii. 13. 17, xiv. 2. 18. See Wilkins' note on *de quo agitur* Cic. *De Orat.* i. 210; Schmalz § 152, 1.

Erga = "towards," of friendly relations xiii. 4. 3 ea mulieris scitae atque prudentis erga ferocem filium comitas, xiii. 17. 1 benevolentiam erga omnis, xii. 4 in lemm. comitas hominis minoris erga amicum superiorem; in a more general sense,

[1] See Draeger 1. 537. [2] Draeger 1. 538.

[3] *Defessus* with simple ablative xiv. 5. 1, xvi. 14. 5.

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ii. 7. in lemm. De officio erga patres liberorum, xiii. 21. 9 ut mos eius fuit erga indociles.

Ex. 1) In making citations, Gellius frequently uses the local *ex* with a pregnant force, doubtless with a view to brevity, as in i. 6. 7 Hoc quoque aliud ex eadem oratione; ii. 26. 21 verba illa ex annali amoenissima; i. 21. 1 versus istos ex Georgicis Vergilii. Compare also iii. 3. 4, 6, and, as might be expected,[1] the titles of various chapters: i. 6, 7; ii. 7, 23; iii. 18; iv. 15; v. 9; x. 3, 23; xvii. 3. In these passages the prepositional phrase depends directly upon the noun. In i. 7. 20, i. 21. 6, i. 22. 5, ii. 6. 7, iii. 16. 7, v. 13. 5, vi. 10. 2, xi. 2. 2, xv. 1. 7 it is coupled with *esse*. This pregnant force disappears when in similar connections we find *ex* with *commeminisse, eximere, exscribere, legere, ponere, apponere, sumere, subscribere.* 2) The local *ex* also serves to point out the place from which a person hails; compare Aesopus ille e Phrygia ii. 29. 1; e Lesbo Theophrastus xiii. 5. 11; ex insula Creta quispiam xv. 2. 1; Graecus quispiam dives ex Asia xix. 1. 7 (in § 11 divitem illum Asiaticum); Adulescens e terra Asia xix. 9. 1; Aristoteles tradidit (Homerum) ex insula Io (fuisse) iii. 11. 6. Similar are i. 8. 1 Sotion ex Peripatetica disciplina haut sane ignobilis vir fuit; ii. 18. 1 Phaedon . . . ex cohorte illa Socratica fuit; xviii. 13. 7 quodam dialectico ex Platonis diatriba. In the same meaning we find the simple ablative iii. 15. 1 Polycritam nobilem Naxo insula. Such ablatives are rare in post-classical times. See Draeger 1. 498. 3) The local *ex* with its substantive denotes the material out of which anything is made, most frequently in dependence on the passive forms of *facere*, as in v. 6. §§ 7, 9, 12, 19, vi. 21 in lemm., x. 12. 9; with *confici* xvii. 9. 2; with *esse* iii. 1. 5 homo ex anima et corpore est, v. 6. 7 Haec (coronae) e lauru erant. In ix. 13. 2 *torquis ex auro* and xv. 1. 4 *aedificatio e ligno*, the prepositional phrase is exactly equivalent to an attributive adjective. See Draeger 1. 636. *Constare* = "to consist of" is construed with the ablative xvi. 18. 2, but with *ex* v. 15. 8, xviii. 15. 1, xix. 8. 12;

[1] Brevity is studied everywhere in the lemmata.

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consistere takes *ex* iv. 1. 10. For the classical construction with these verbs, see Draeger 1. 556; Munro on Lucr. i. 221. 4) In modal relations *ex* is common, signifying "in accordance with." *E re publica* occurs i. 23. 8, vi. 3. 47, xi. 9. 1. Less common formulas are *ex utilitate* i. 13. 1, and *e re* iv. 14. 5 eum sibi recipere non fuisse e re sua, of which the former is found first in the Silver Latin (Draeger 1. 637), the latter is perhaps borrowed from the comic writers: see Lorenz on Plaut. *Pseud.* 247. Mark also xiii. 5. 5 vinum ait . . . non esse *ex valetudine sua;* xvii. 11. 6 *ex salutis usu;* i. 11. 1; ii. 19. 1; iv. 1. 14; iv. 2. 8, 10; iv. 11. 2, 3; v. 10. §§ 8, 10, 14 *ex pacto;* v. 10. §§ 10, 14, ix. 15. 8 *ex sententia* (iudicum); ix. 1. 8; xiii. 8. 2; xiv. 2. 3; xv. 2. 3; xv. 27. 5 ter; xvi. 2. 12; xvii. 2. 16; xviii. 3. 4. 5) In a number of passages the idea of source is merged into that of cause (Draeger 1. 637): ex alia qua causa ii. 22. 19; ex contraria causa iv. 9. 10; *ex quo* = "wherefore" ii. 22. 24, xiii. 23. 5. Add i. 3. 7 Hanc capio ex eo facto molestiam; ii. 23. 17 ex eo vitio gravida; iv. 14. 3 vulnus ex eo lapide ostendebat; xvii. 21. 32 Philippus ex insidiis occiditur; ix. 4. 4 volumina ex diutino situ squalebant; ii. 28. 3; v. 14 in lemm.; vi. 1. 5; xiii. 13. 2; xiv. 1. 8, 23; xiv. 2. 14; xiv. 3. 10; xv. 4. 3; xv. 20. 9; xvi. 5. 7; xvii. 1. 7; xix. 4. 6; xix. 12. 2. 6) *Ex* with the ablative interchanges with the genitive: iii. 6 in lemm. lignum ex ea (*i.e.*, the palm-tree), but § 2 palmae arboris lignum; xix. 5. 3 aquam . . . ex diluta nive, § 5 aquam e nive, but in the lemma and § 3 nivis aqua. 7) A strange use of *ex*, as Draeger 1. 638 has pointed out, occurs in the phrase *ex persona* x. 22. §§ 1, 24. For the normal *sub persona* compare § 24, xiii. 23. 11; also *sub historia Gemini Servili* xii. 4. 1. 8) *Ex* seems loosely used for *de* xvii. 9. 22 capillum *ex* capite omni . . . *deradit.*[1]

Exadversum is a preposition with the accusative ii. 22. 22 (Iapyx) . . . videtur e. Eurum flare. Draeger 1. 595 wrongly refers to vi. 7. 4 as supplying another example. On this preposition see C. Hamp in Wölfflin's *Archiv* 5. 348.

[1] For *ex* and *de* with ablative as substitutes for partitive genitive, see above, p. 9.

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Extra with its noun = a predicate adjective iii. 16. 23 extra fidem esse videri potest. See below on *ultra*.

Gratia and **Causa**, the prepositional ablatives, may for convenience be treated together. In prose *gratia* is of much the later origin.[1] Gellius writes *gratia* in 59 passages, *causa* in 36. Some of the phrases with *causa* have a technical and formulaic character, as *matrimonii c.* iii. 2. 12, iv. 3. 3; *ignominiae c.* x. 3. 19, x. 8. 1; *notae c.* xvi. 13. 7; *publicae rei c.* xi. 9. 1; *liberum quaerundorum c.* xvii. 21. 44; *furti faciendi c.* xi. 18. 22; *triumviros rei publicae constituendae c. creatos* xiv. 7. 5; *praefectus Latinarum c. creatus* xiv. 8 in lemm. and § 1. *Honoris gratia* has entirely supplanted *honoris causa*, i. 23. 13, iii. 18. 4, iv. 10. 3. Beside *eius rei c.* ii. 28. 2, iv. 1. 20, iv. 6. 2 we find *eius rei g.* xx. 1. 3. Elsewhere we find (*a*) with dependent noun *gratia* i. 11. 1, iv. 6. 8, iv. 17. 9, vii. 7. 4, ix. 15. 6, xii. 1. 24, xvi. 3. 2, xvi. 6. 2, xvii. 21. 39, 48, xix, 14. 4, *causa* iv. 1. 21, vi. 4. 4, vii. 1. 1, xv. 27, 5, xvii. 5. 1; (*b*) with gerund *gratia* praef. 17, vi. 14. 9, xvii. 16. 4, vi. 17. 1, vii. 14. 2, xii. 10. 3, xiii. 18. 3, xv. 1. 6, xvii. 9. 22, xvii. 12 in lemm., xvii. 20 in lemm., xix. 8. 1, *causa* iii. 2. 13, x. 23. 1, xv. 6. 4; (*c*) with a gerundive construction *gratia* i. 9. 10, ii. 2. 1, iv. 1. 11, iv. 6. 6, v. 3. 1, v. 10. 9, v. 14. 21, vi. 3. 25, ix. 2. 10, x. 24. 3, x. 28. 1, xi. 3. 1, xi. 9. 1, xiii. 14. 5, xiii. 25. 8, 27, xiv. 1. 2, xiv. 3. 4, xiv. 5. 1, xv. 28. 5, xvii. 2. 1, xvii. 20. 4, xviii. 3. 3, xviii. 5. 11, xviii. 10. 3, 5, xix. 12. 9, *causa* i. 3. 17, iii. 18. 7, vi. 3. 45, vii. 5. 8, xii. 1. 7, xii. 12. 3, xiii. 25. 9, 19, xv. 27. 1, xvii. 5. 12, xvii. 16. 5, xviii. 10. 8, xx. 1. 40, 42. Both *causa* and *gratia* always follow the dependent construction except once (xiv. 1. 2 ostentandi g. ingenii), where *gratia* is inserted between the parts of a gerundive expression. On this order see Wölfflin, *Archiv* 1. 174. Sometimes both words appear to have lost all reference to the future, and to signify "on account of, because of," and so to be equivalent to *ob* or *propter*. The cases in point are ii. 28. 1. 2 (too long to quote); iv. 8. 3 osus eum *morum causa* fuit; iv. 3. 2 uxorem . . . *morum gratia* carissimam habuit; v. 3. 4

[1] Wölfflin, *Archiv* 1. 169 sqq., Schmalz, p. 430.

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virtutis et philosophiae gratia venerandus; ix. 4. 13 *ingenii dignitatisque g.* auctoritate magna praeditus; xvi. 19. 4; i. 24. 1.[1]

Inter. An extension of its use in local relations is to be recognized at ix. 4. 5 ea his commentariis aspersi ut qui eos lectitabit ne rudis omnino et *ἀνήκοος inter istiusmodi rerum auditiones* reperiatur; iv. 7. 1 Probus grammaticus *inter suam aetatem* (= inter homines suae aetatis) praestanti scientia fuit. Some temporal phrases may be noted: iii. 2. 8 i. ("during") noctem; iii. 15. 2 *i. illud gaudium* repente mortuus est; xiii. 7. 1 inter (= in the course of) omnem vitam. In x. 18. 3 inter lamenta et manus uxoris sepultus est, there is a strange mixture of temporal and local ideas. (On *inter manus* see Draeger 1. 609.) *Inter ipsam philosophi orationem* (= dum philosophus orationem dicit) v. 1. 3 is also temporal. The temporal *inter* is freely joined to the gerund, a construction unknown to classical prose: see Draeger 1. 611 and 2. 852. Examples: i. 5. 2 i. agendum; i. 12. 19 i. capiendum ("during the ceremony of induction"); i. 26. 7 i. vapulandum; iii. 1. 1 i. ambulandum; xii. 12. 4 risit satis atque i. ridendum; xiv. 2. 16 i. cognoscendum; xv. 1. 4 i. fabulandum; xv. 2. 5 i. bibendum; xvii. 19. 3 i. clamandum. Note finally *excellere inter* ix. 9. 17.

Intra is used of time i. 9. 4. See Schmalz, p. 445, and correct with his aid Draeger 1. 612, where it is said that this use is not found in Cicero or Cæsar.

Iuxta is a preposition (1) in local sense v. 12. 12, vi. 1. 3. Out of the local force springs (2) the meaning of succession or order in rank or time. Under this head fall iv. 9. 1 iuxta M. Varronem doctissimus; v. 13. 2 primum iuxta parentes locum; xvii. 21. 14 iuxta ea tempora. Draeger 1. 587; Schmalz § 118.

Ob thrice retains its local meaning: i. 2. 7 atra verborum et argutiarum fuligine ob oculos audientium iacta; v. 21. 4 eas (inauditiunculas) quasi pulverem ob oculos . . . adspergebat; xii. 5. 11 manu alicuius ob oculos . . . repente agitata.

[1] I have reserved the treatment of *in* for another time.

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See Draeger 1. 591. 1; Schmalz § 121. Its causal meaning is very common, especially in phrases with *rem* and *causam*: (*a*) *quam ob rem*, which is (1) interrogative with the subjunctive i. 13. 12, ii. 21. 3, ii. 28. 1, iv. 15. 3, vii. 14 in lemm., ix. 1 in lemm., xiii. 15. 5, (2) relative with the indicative i. 16. 9, xi. 16. 6, xii. 1. 14, xiii. 17. 2, xv. 6. 2, xv. 20. 10; (*b*) *quam ob causam*, always interrogative (1) with indicative xx. 1. 11, (2) with subjunctive ii. 4. 2, ii. 12. 2, xii. 7 in lemm., xiii. 12. 9, xiii. 14. 4, xiv. 6. 3, xviii. 2. 11, xix. 4. 2, xix. 6. 3, and in the titles of i. 6, ii. 4, iii. 1, 18, v. 17, vi. 4, x. 17, 21, xv. 17, xvi. 6, xix. 1, xx. 3; (*c*) *ob hanc rem* ii. 28. 3; (*d*) *ob eam rem*[1] iv. 5 in lemm., vi. 3. 20, xvii. 8. 10; (*e*) *ob eam causam* ii. 12. 1, ii. 16. 3, ii. 17. 9 (followed by *quoniam*), iii. 18. 4, iii. 19. 4 (followed by *quod*), vi. 19. 2, vii. 5. 5, ix. 2. 11, xvii. 21. 36; (*f*) *ob hanc causam* iv. 14. 2, ix. 11. 8; (*g*) *ob eandem causam* ii. 22. 14, iv. 17, 2, xi. 1. 2; (*h*) *ob similem causam* v. 9. 5. On these phrases see Draeger 1. 592; Wölfflin, *Archiv* 1. 166. For the causal *ob* in other connections, see 1. 5 in lemm., i. 8. 3, i. 23. 13, i. 26. 5, ii. 12. 1, iii. 3. 15, vi. 3. 5, vi. 19. 6, 8, vii. 7. 7, x. 6. 3, x. 8. 3, xii. 8. 2, xiii. 3. 4, xiii. 21. 14, xvii. 6. 2, xviii. 2. 15.

Of *ob* combined with a substantive and past passive participle, a construction introduced by Livy (Wölfflin, *Archiv* 1. 167), there are but two examples vi. 20. in lemm. *ob aquam sibi non permissam*, xx. 1. 19 si unus *ob pecuniam debitam* iudicatus addictusque sit pluribus. With the gerundive, likewise, *ob* is rarely coupled by Gellius, for the only instances quotable are iii. 3. 14 ob quaerendum victum; iv. 5. 2 ob id fulgur piaculis luendum; and the old formula *ob rem dicendam* xx. 1. 7 (Wölfflin, *Archiv* 1. 168). In *ob equi honores* v. 2. 5, *ob honorem triumphi* v. 6. 5, *ob luxuriae notam* iv. 8. 7, the causal idea practically passes into that of finality.

Per often has instrumental force: (*a*) with words denoting persons, i. 12. 12 gratia Papiae illae legis *per senatum* fit; v. 19. 1, 2; ii. 12. 4; ii. 28. 3; xiii. 12. 4 *per viatorem* a tribunis plebi vocatus; xiv. 7. 8; xvii. 17. 2; xvii. 21. 36. Occa-

[1] Contrast *ea* re = therefore iv. 1. 13, xx. 8. 3; ea sive qua alia re non amici fuerunt xii. 8. 1.

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sionally *per* seems to denote the agent, as xiv. 7. 4 ponit . . . *per quos* senatus haberi soleret; ibid. § 7 loco *per augurem* constituto. See Schmalz § 135. (*b*) With words referring to things: iii. 11. 4 argumentis *per quae* ostendi putat; iii. 15 in lemm. *per hominum memorias traditum;* iii. 16. 14 *per hoc vetus proverbium* Varro significat; v. 6. 16, xiii. 1. 5, xvi. 19. 11 *per vim* (but *vi*, iv. 14. 5, xx. 1. 16); xiv. 7. 9 per discessionem . . . aut per singulorum sententias exquisitas (but § 12 aut conquisitis sententiis); xv. 31. 4 per victoriam potieris; iii. 14. 13, ix. 14. 18, xii. 5. 14, xiii. 23. 14 per quod apparet; i. 22. 19 per quod significat; vi. 10. 3 per quod satis dilucet; x. 11. 5 per quod monebat; xii. 13. 24 per quod ostendit; xiii. 21. 5 'urbes' dixit per e litteram (similar phrases with *dicere, scribere, pronuntiare* ii. 14 in lemm., iv. 17. 7, v. 12. 9, vi. 9 in lemm. and § 2, x. 24. 8, xiii. 21. 4, xiv. 5. 2, 4); i. 11. 10; ii. 12. 5; iii. 18. 2; v. 6. 23; v. 19. 8, 12; vi. 21. 3 bis; x. 7. 2; xiii. 8. 2; xiv. 1. 9; xiv. 1. 29 bis; xiv. 7. 13; xv. 2. 5; xv. 18 in lemm.; xv. 26. 2; xv. 27. 3; xvi. 18. 5; xvii. 5. 5; xix. 2. 1; xix. 12 in lemm. Here too Draeger (1. 604. 4) includes passages like the following: v. 9. 1 cum iam fari *per aetatem* posset, infans erat; xii. 7. 7 quod *per leges* non licuit. *Per sese* is frequently used of things: ii. 7. 18 p. s. neque honesta sunt neque turpia (compare §§ 19, 20); ii. 21. 7 Triones enim p. s. nihil significare aiunt; vi. 3. 47 p. s. honestum est; xvii. 5. 1 ipsa (amicitia) p. s. plena virtutis; xvii. 5. 4 benignitas . . . eum p. s. ipsa delectet; xvii. 6. 11 p. s. evidentia; xvii. 7. 6; xx. 1. 27 non per se 'morbum,' sed 'morbum sonticum.' Contrast xvii. 20. 9 Nihil namque horum ipsum *ex sese* honestum est.[1] *Per* is found also in modal relations: per morem iv. 6. 5; per defectionem dici v. 8. 3, xii. 14. 3; per calumnias vi. 2. 2; vii. 1. 9; vii. 5. 4; ix. 11. 5 per contemptum et superbiam circumspiciens; x. 8. 3 factitatum credo per consuetudinem; x. 3. 2 per iniuriam caesos; vii. 2. 8, xvi. 5. 11, xvi. 6. 10 per naturam (but *natura* xi. 12. 1, xvii.

[1] The instrumental force of *per* (especially in phrase *per quod*) does not become common till post-classical times. Schmalz § 135; Gudeman on Tac. *Dial.* 24. 4.

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5. 4); xvii. 1. 11 per facetias; xviii. 13. 7 per contumeliam; xx. 1. 15 per talionem. In xx. 1. 16 *imprudentia* and *per imprudentiam* stand side by side.

Of the causal force of *per* some examples may be cited: iii. 1 13 ut *per illam unam* (*i.e.*, avaritiam) neque virtutis neque virium cura adsit; v. 6. 24 milites . . . *per ambitum* . . . coronis donasset; xiv. 7. 2 *per militiae tempora* . . . rerum expers urbanarum fuit; xiv. 7. 9 per ambitionem gratiamque; xvi. 8. 5 vocibus utendum fuit quas pati aures *per insolentiam* vix possent; xvii. 5. 13; i. 16. 7; xv. 20. 3 in certamen *per ambiguam aetatem* receptus non est; xvi. 6. 14 'bidentes' appellari scripsit hostias quae *per aetatem* duos dentes altiores habent; xvi. 13. 9 quibus uti iam *per innotitiam* non queunt.

Pro = "on behalf of" is very common. It is found once with the gerundive, a rare construction, ii. 25. 10 *multa pro ἀναλογίᾳ tuenda scripsit.* Of *pro* = "instead of, as equivalent to, as" over 90 examples might be cited. A few references must suffice: i. 7. 6, iii. 16. 1, v. 8. 5, vi. 14. 5 ter, viii. 4 in lemm., x. 24. 1, xi. 18. 17, xii. 2. 14, xii. 4. 3, xii. 9. 2, xiii. 22. 1, xiv. 1. 11, xv. 22. 2, xviii. 4. 10. Only one passage calls for special notice, to wit xvi. 13. 5 id illis Tiberium *pro ferenda gratia* tribuisse, where we note again the gerundive. Sometimes *pro* with its substantive is equivalent to a predicate accusative or nominative. Compare ii. 23. 15 pro virgine habebatur; xx. 1. 13 pro delectamento habebat; x. 24. 1 pro rudi atque indocto despicitur; xiii. 31. 17; xix. 3. 2 pro iniquo et inimico ducitur; ii. 29. 19.[1] Of *pro* in modal relations, with meaning "in accordance with" (compare *ex, secundum*) few examples can be cited: ii. 10. 2 voluisse . . . aream Capitolinam deprimere ut . . . suggestus *pro fastigii magnitudine* altior fieret; xiii. 14. 2 pomoerium *pro incrementis* reipublicae . . . prolatum est; xiv. 2. 19; xx. 1. 9.

Pone = *post* i. 11. 11 qui pone eum loquentem staret. Schmalz § 116.

[1] Draeger 1. 643. 4.

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Prae in local sense occurs in the archaistic phrase *prae manibus* v. 13. 3 Unum hoc . . . quod prae manibus est ponemus; xix. 8. 6 si liber prae manibus est. See Draeger § 291. 1; Schmalz § 141. For *prae* in expressions of comparison see i. 2. 4 *prae se uno* ceteros omnes . . . rudes esse et agrestes praedicabat; i. 3. 25 tunc quod utile amico est, id *prae illo* quod nobis honestum est fit plenius; iii. 1. 9 omnia prae pecunia; xiv. 1. 33 quae . . . vera dicunt *prae ceteris* quae mentiuntur, pars ea non sit millesima; ii. 27. 5; xiv. 1. 25.

Praeter retains its adverbial force i. 23. 13 Senatus . . . consultum facit uti . . . pueri . . . in curiam ne introeant praeter ille unus Papirius. In its local sense the preposition helps to express a comparison: v. 14. 8 praeter alia omnia leonum immanitas admirationi fuit praeterque omnis ceteros unus; x. 17. 1 virum p. alios venerandum; xiii. 14. 5 p. eas omnis (causas) ipse unam probat; xvii. 1. 3 in quo sibimet ipsi p. cetera esse visi sunt verborum pensitatores subtilissimi; xviii. 4. 1 p. alios doctus; xix. 8. 3 p. alios suae aetatis castissimi; xx. 10. 4 versus insigniter p. alios factos. *Praeter* with its noun = an adjective iv. 9. 12 istiusmodi inclinamenta nimium ac p. modum significant. See notes on *extra* and *ultra*.

Procul = *sine*, chiefly in the phrase *procul dubio*, for which see i. 2. 7, i. 3. 25, i. 19. 6, ii. 6. 5 bis, ii. 29. 15 (dubio procul), iii. 7. 6, vi. 3. 24, xii. 13, 7, xiii. 13. 3, xvi. 2. 2, xvii. 6. 6, xx. 6. 13. In xvii. 19. 1 *factis procul, verbis tenus* is a translation of a saying of Epictetus ἄνευ τοῦ πράττειν, μέχρι τοῦ λέγειν. In other collocations *procul* remains an adverb, *e.g.*, *procul a via* xvi. 5. 3, *procul a seditione* ii. 12. 2.

Propter bears its local meaning "near" xix. 4. 3 p. ignem. The causal *propter* is common: i. 9. 9 bis; ii. 17. 4 p. eam rem (compare *ob eam rem* above, p. 26); iii. 10. 3; iii. 16. 12; iv. 9. 10; v. 11. 5; v. 12. 10 *propter quod* (post-classical); vi. 14. 8; vii. 1. 1; ix. 14. 2; xii. 10. 3; xii. 12. 4; xiii. 26. 5; xvi. 4 in lemm.; xvi. 8. 11 *p. hoc unum;* xvi. 13. 9; xvi. 14. 4; xvii. 8. 10; xvii. 15. 7. As with *ob*, so with *propter* the causal meaning seems occasionally to pass into that of purpose: vii.

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14. 4 Tertia ratio vindicandi est . . . cum poenitio *propter exemplum* necessaria est; § 6 Plato . . . duas solas esse poeniendi causas dicit: unam quam primo in loco *p. corrigendum*, alteram, quam in tertio *p. exempli metum* posuimus (compare § 2 Una est causa . . . cum poena adhibetur *castigandi atque emendandi gratia*); § 9 praeterierit poenae sumendae causam *p. tuendam laesi hominis auctoritatem*. See Draeger 1. 590. 3. The last citation affords also an example of *propter* with the gerundive, a construction found first in Valerius Maximus, then in the elder Pliny (Schmalz § 120). *Propterea* is extremely common (1) with the value of a demonstrative phrase = *ob eam rem*, ii. 4. 5, iii. 3. 4, 13, iv. 13. 4, iv. 17. 8, iv. 20. 13, vii. 2. 5, xiii. 5. 5, xiv. 2. 25, xviii. 1. 14, xviii. 4. 5, xviii. 10. 8, xix. 3. 2; (2) with the value of a relative phrase = *quam ob rem*, i. 14. 2, ii. 7. 18, ii. 28. 2, ii. 29. 5, iii. 6. 3, iii. 14. 14, iii. 18. 4, and elsewhere 18 times; (3) *propterea . . . quia* i. 12. 13, ii. 21. 10, iv. 9. 12; *propterea . . . ut* x. 28. 2, xix. 2. 7; *propterea . . . ne* i. 25. 18. The frequency with which Gellius employs *propter*, *propterea* is noteworthy from the fact that some of his more immediate predecessors (Tacitus, Florus, Pomponius Mela) hardly use these words at all. See Wölfflin, *Archiv* 1. 161 sqq.

Secundum denotes order in rank v. 13. 2 secundum eos proximum locum clientes habere. See on *iuxta* above. Of time we find *secundum ea* xviii. 2. 12 = *postea* of § 11. Most frequent, however, is the meaning "according to," in modal relations (Draeger 1. 600. 4): i. 1. 3 s. naturalem membrorum omnium inter se competentiam; i. 17. 4 s. hanc sententiam; iii. 10. 8, xix. 12. 3 s. naturam; iv. 9. 9 s. hanc Sabini interpretationem; xi. 18. 23 s. ea quae supra scripsi; xii. 5 in lemm. s. Stoicorum decreta; xii. 13. 12 s. verbi ipsius rationem; xii. 13. 29; xiii. 21. 22 s. grammaticam legem; xiii. 26. 2 s. id praeceptum Nigidii; xiv. 2. 14 bis; xiv. 5. 3 s. tuam definitionem; xx. 1. 13; xiv. 2. 21 s. eum iudicaretur; v. 10. 10 sin vero s. te iudicatum erit, with which compare *pro te* § 9, *pro me* § 13, and in the opposite sense *contra me* § 13.

Sine with its substantive forms a predicate adjective in three places: iv. 12. 1 non id sine poena fuit; vii. 5. 6 quod

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esse utile ac sine vitio videretur; xvii. 16. 4 id tamen sine noxa fuisse. Compare notes on *extra* above, and on *ultra* below.

Subter occurs in x. 15. 15 *subter arborem felicem*, but was probably borrowed by Gellius from Fabius Pictor.

Super with accusative in local meaning is not common: compare however iii. 6. 2 si s. palmae . . . lignum magna pondera imponas; iii. 18. 4 in quo curru sella esset super quam considerent; ix. 11. 7 corvus . . . super galeam tribuni insistit. (2) With ablative = *de* it is extremely common, occurring 34 times in the phrase *super ea re*, 103 times in other combinations. See *American Journal of Philology* xiv. 224; Stolz § 150. *Super* is coupled with *tractare* i. 23. 5 *eam rem super qua tractavissent.* We may compare *tractare de*, cited from Quintilian, Tacitus, and Suetonius. In analogous passages Gellius elsewhere treats *tractare* as transitive: ii. 23. 13 *personae isti quam tractabat;* vi. 7 in lemm. *quaedam non incuriose tractata.*

Tenus occurs twice, first in xvii. 8. 5 Gutum Samium *ore tenus imprudens* inanem, tanquam si inesset oleum, adfert. Weiss renders, "seiner (Aus-) Rede nach aus Versehen . . . etc." Compare Tacitus *Ann.* xv. 45 Graeca doctrina *ore tenus* exercitus (cited by Wölfflin, *Archiv* i. 420). The other example is xvii. 19. 1 Epictetum . . . dixisse plerosque istos, qui philosophari viderentur, philosophos esse eiuscemodi ἄνευ τοῦ πράττειν, μέχρι τοῦ λέγειν, id significat, *factis procul, verbis tenus.* See *Archiv* i. 421.

Trans. In xv. 30. 6 Hertz has edited: 'petorritum' enim est non ex Graecia dimidiatum, sed totum [ortum] trans Alpibus. Madvig objected to the words *trans Alpibus*, and proposed to read *non ex Graecia dimidiatum, sed totum Transalpinum.* Hertz (*Vind. Alt. Gell.* p. 71) defends his text, partly by calling attention to Gellius' love of anomalous constructions, partly by pointing out that such a phrase as *trans Curione* (C. I. L. i n. 200, 21), though probably rightly regarded as an instance of the accusative with the loss of final *m*, might well have led Gellius to believe that in old Latin *trans* was constructed with the ablative.[1]

[1] It should be noted, however, that Hertz does not pretend to certainty in the reading.

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Ultra with a substantive forms an adjectival phrase: vi. 8 in lemm. *res ultra fidem;* x. 12. 3 *aliud ultra humanum fidem.* See Thielmann, *Archiv* 4. 379. *Ultra* appears in an adverbial collocation x. 18. 1 Artemisia Mausolum virum amasse fertur . . . ultra affectionis humanae fidem.

Appendix.

Draeger (2. 35) maintains that before the time of Livy *que* is not in general joined to monosyllabic prepositions, unless the same preposition has preceded. "Similar remarks regarding Livy as marking the time when *que* began to be attached to the preposition, even when it had not gone before, are made by Ringe, *Zum Sprachgebrauch des Caesar*, p. 19; . . . Kühner, *Ausf. Gr. d. lat. Sprache*, § 113. All these statements are misleading. Ante-classical literature, as Draeger remarks, had not been examined in this connection. The inscriptions show that no such rule can hold, for here *que* is always appended to the preposition, whether monosyllabic or not, and whether repeated or not."[1] It is none the less true that in classical prose a strong tendency is exhibited to avoid joining *que* to an unrepeated monosyllabic preposition. Of such avoidance in Cicero numerous examples might be cited in addition to those given by Draeger 2. 35. Without ever making a systematic search for such examples I have noted the following: *De Off.* i. 4 *in eoque . . . colendo;* i. 11 *ad eamque* (vitam) *degendam;* i. 12 *ob easque causas;* i. 69 *ad otiumque;* iii. 101 *ad eamque;* Tusc. v. 57 *in rebusque.* In Cicero *Acad. Post.* 1. 24 the MSS. give: De natura . . . ita dicebant, ut eam dividerent in res duas, ut altera esset efficiens, altera autem quasi huic se praebens eaque efficeretur aliquid. Reid (so too Müller independently) reads *ex eaque*, commenting thus: "the correction is certain; cf. Div. 2. 89 where one of the best MSS. drops out *ex.* Cicero rarely attaches *que* to the preposition: see Kühner on Tusc. 3. 27, and cf. § 38 in angustumque." Nepos writes *in foroque*

[1] Professor H. C. Elmer in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* VIII. 302.

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Cato 1 ; *ob eamque causam* Milt. 6, Cim. 1 ; *in araque* Paus. 4 ; *in Hispaniamque* Hamil. 4 ; *in Italiamque* Hann. 3 (but *deque* twice in Lys. 4). In reference to Gellius it may be noted that he, too, occasionally refuses to join *que* to the preposition ; compare ii. 12. 1 in eo tempore in eoque casu ; ii. 16. 3, xvii. 21. 36 ob eamque causam ; vi. 3. 20, xvii. 8. 10 ob eamque rem ; xiii. 20. 14 ex eoque ; xiv. 7. 9 de rebusque divinis ; xvii. 2. 9 ex eademque figura ; xvii. 11. 2 per earumque alteram ; ibid. ex eoque. In these 10 instances *ob* occurs 4 times, *ex* 3, *in*, *per*, and *de* each once. But generally *que* is attached to the preposition "whether monosyllabic or not and whether repeated or not." The statistics are as follows : (1) when the preposition is not repeated : *deque* 11 times, *exque* 5, *inque* 7, *perque* 3, *praeque* 1 (total 27) ; (2) when the same preposition has preceded : *contra* . . . *contraque* 5 times, *cum* . . . *cumque* 2, *de* . . . *deque* 25, *de* . . . *deque* . . . *deque* 2, *ex* . . . *exque* 1, *in* . . . *inque* 6, *per* . . . *perque* 3, *praeter* . . . *praeterque* 2, *pro* . . . *proque* 3, *sine* . . . *sineque* 1, *supra* . . . *ultraque* 1 (total 51). In view of these facts it is surprising to find *in eo tempore in eoque casu* ii. 12. 1, or *eadem in causa eodemque in tempore* xiv. 2. 19.

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II. — *On Urbs Aeterna and Urbs Sacra.*

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This paper owes its suggestion to a familiar passage in Tibullus:

> Romulus aeternae nondum firmaverat urbis
> Moenia, etc. (ii. 5, 23).

Probably few have read either this passage or its counterpart in the Fasti of Ovid (iii. 72) for the first time without some surprise at finding in a work of the Augustan age a phrase so thoroughly modern in its ring; and some desire to know whether it can be traced still further back; how frequently it was used, and by whom; whether it ever attained to a public character and an official sanction; whether more common in the best days of the empire, or in the age of evident decline. But these are questions to which the commentaries either pay no heed at all, or give very unsatisfactory answers. The commentators on Ovid, *e.g.*, Crispin (Delph., 1689), Burmann (1727), Lemaire (1822), are silent. Among the interpreters of Tibullus some have found food for reflection and comment in the passage cited; thus Achilles Statius, Jan Dousa in his Praecidanea (cp. 8), but especially Vulpi in his edition (1749). From the lexicons a few references — not always correct — may be gathered.[1] For an exhaustive collection of instances

[1] Other sources of information are Lindenbrog's note on Ammian xiv. 6, 1; Lipsius, de Magnitudine Romana (Opera 1675, III.); some of the old Thesauri, as that of Pitiscus (Lexicon Antiq. Romanar., Leovardiae 1713, II. 633-4) or that of Rossfeld (Rosinus) and Dempster (Antiq. Romanar. Corpus, Coloniae 1620, col. 18, or ed. Amstel. 1743, p. 9); also Castalio in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. Romanar. 1697, IV. 1855-6 [Castalio's note on Rutil. Namat. ii. 55 (in Almeloveen's edition), cited by Bernays, I have not seen, but suppose it to be nearly or quite the same as the above]. Unfortunately the books mentioned refer to a number of others not to be had in the Harvard Library, perhaps not accessible

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an actual search up and down the whole field of Roman literature would be necessary. Time has failed the present writer for so laborious a search, especially in view of its unpromising character, as shown by a careful study of indices, the most complete available, to nearly all of the classical writers and many of the church fathers, supplemented by more independent work in the case of a considerable number of authors, the Poetae Minores, etc. It is a singular fact that, while this search among so many writers of different periods yielded much material by way of illustration, it did not, in the case of authors to whom no clue is given in the commentaries, lexicons, etc., bring to light anything nearer to the phrase itself than '*ipsius urbis aeterna maiestas*' in the Panegyrici Veteres (ix. 16, 2, auct. incert.).

A collection of instances from the literature begins with the passage already cited from Tibullus (ii. 5, 23):

> Romulus *aeternae* nondum firmaverat *urbis*
> Moenia, etc.

This cannot be later than 19 B.C.

2d. Ovid, Fasti, iii. 71–3:

> Iam, modo qua fuerant silvae pecorumque recessus,
> Urbs erat; *aeternae* cum pater *urbis* ait:
> 'Arbiter armorum,' etc.

This was probably not written before 3 A.D.

elsewhere in this country. Their classical references are not many, and usually the same. The later and mediaeval ideas are discussed by Graf, Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo, Torino 1882–3, II. 470 ff. [the book is dedicated 'urbi aeternae']. The following books, inaccessible to me, have been consulted for me by my brother, Mr. Charles A. Moore, at the University Library in Göttingen: Broukhusius, Tibullus, Amstel. 1708; — though his note on ii. 5, 23 is often cited, B. gives nothing of importance; Merula, Cosmographiae Generalis Libri Tres, item Geographiae Particularis Libri Quattuor, Antverp. Plantin. 1605, pars II. lib. iv. cp. 22, p. 1008; Goltz, Thesaurus Rei Antiquariae, Antverp. Plantin. 1579, cp. 3 (Urbis Romae Epitheta); Barri, Gabriel, De Aeternitate Urbis, Romae 1571 (there seems to have been an earlier edition, 1554); — from its title one would expect to find this a mine of information on *urbs aeterna*, but it adds nothing to the references to be had from books less rare.

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3d. Frontinus, de Aquis Urbis Romae, 88 *ad init.*:

'Sentit hanc curam imperatoris piissimi Nervae principis sui regina et domina orbis in dies, quae terrarum dea consistit, cui par nihil, et nihil secundum; et magis sentiet salubritas eiusdem *aeternae urbis*, aucto castellorum, operum, munerum, et lacuum numero.'

—a passage very noticeable as rising above the level of Frontinus's usually plain, concise style. Lipsius[1] suspected an interpolation:—'gravis atque eruditus reliquus Frontini stilus non probat aut amat lasciviam poetarum,'—the poet in this case being Martial, whose lines (xii. 8, 1–2) have probably been written on the margin of Frontinus, and then incorporated into the text. Hence Bücheler in his text edition of 1858 bracketed the words *quae terrarum . . . nihil secundum*, and also *aeternae urbis*, which in a passage otherwise suspicious may have been a gloss on *eiusdem*. Some doubt therefore attaches to this instance, which if genuine appears to be the first example in any prose writer before the fourth century. The book was written in 97.

Then, after a gap of nearly three centuries, three contemporaries, Ausonius, Ammianus, and Symmachus.[2]

4th. Ausonius (cos. 379) in the 'Epigrammata iv quibus Fastorum a se digestorum meminit,' 1, 1:

Ignota *aeternae* ne sint tibi tempora *Romae*.

Ib. 2, 3:—Haec erit *aeternae* series ab origine *Romae*.

Ib. 3, 1:—*Urbis* ab *aeternae* deductam rege Quirino
Annorum seriem cum, Procule, accipies.

5th. Ammianus Marcellinus [extant books composed ca. 390].

xiv. 6, 1:—'Inter haec Orfitus praefecti potestate regebat *urbem aeternam*.'[3]

xv. 7, 1:—'*urbem aeternam* Leontius regens,' etc.

[1] De Magnitudine Romana i. 2 (Opera, Vesaliae 1675, III. 667).

[2] An instance in S. Jerome, belonging here in chronological order, is reserved for treatment in connection with the other church fathers (p. 52).

[3] v. Freeman, Comparative Politics 43–4,—he seems to think of the phrase as of late origin.

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xvi. 10, 14 fin. : — 'et Urbis templum, forumque Pacis, et Pompeii theatrum, et odeum, et stadium, aliaque inter haec decora *urbis aeternae*.'

xix. 10, 1 : — 'difficultatem adventantis inopiae frumentorum *urbs* verebatur *aeterna*.'

xxiii. 3, 3 : — 'Palatini Apollinis templum . . . in *urbe* conflagravit *aeterna*.'

xxvi. 3, 1 : — 'Apronianus regens *urbem aeternam*,' etc.

xxviii. 1, 1 : — 'saeviens per *urbem aeternam* urebat cuncta Bellona.'

xxviii. 1, 56 : — 'funera *urbs* deploravit *aeterna*.'

xxix. 6, 17 : — 'Claudio regente *urbem aeternam*.'

Ammian is the only writer who uses the formula frequently in unofficial language. How well it accords with his bombastic style, some of the above examples clearly show. The list is not exhaustive.

6th. Symmachus, the orator [cos. 391].

Epist. ii. 78 (77) : — 'Itaque avidus civicae gratiae quaestoris filii mei sumptibus studeo aliud genus largitatis adicere, ut curulibus stabulis *urbis aeternae* etiam quina mancipia largiamur' [anno 394].

ii. 12 : — 'Spatiari in foro *urbis aeternae*.'

iii. 55, written at a suburban villa on the Tiber at a time when the danger of famine had been averted : — 'Hinc libens video quid frugis *aeternae urbi* in dies accedat.'

ix. 129 : — 'muros *urbis aeternae*.'

x. 34 : — 'corporatos negotiatores, membra *aeternae urbis*.'

x. 38 : — 'Felicitas quidem vestra *aeternae urbi* sollemnis alimoniae copiam pollicetur.'

x. 57 : — '*aeternae urbis* expensas.'

x. 60 : — 'quae horreis *aeternae urbis* accesserant. . . . ob necessitates *urbis aeternae* . . . ne populus utilitatibus *aeternae urbis* obnoxius,' etc., — three times in a single letter.

x. 61 : — 'per omnes vias *aeternae urbis*.'

x. 77, Honorius to Symmachus : — 'Saepe de episcopis *urbis aeternae* altercatione partium sub examine sacerdotum concessa cognitio est.'

It will be noticed that of the twelve instances just given no less than eight are from one book,[1] while only four are

[1] Cp. also in i. 2, in verses by the father of Symmachus : —

Nam dives, tum celsus honoribus, attamen illis
Grandior, aeternam complebat nomine Romam.

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from the remaining nine books. The explanation bears upon a point to be noticed later, namely the use of the phrase in official language. For the tenth book of our editions, in which examples abound, is made up almost entirely of the Relationes, official letters of Symmachus as praef. urbi to the emperors (Valentinian, Theodosius, Honorius) with a few letters of Honorius and others in reply, in one of which the last of the examples noted occurs. In the private letters, composing the first nine books, he is sparing in his use of the formula, — so much so, in fact, that we cannot claim for him any special predilection for it. For his free use of it in the official letters is to be explained simply as part and parcel of the public and legal formalities of the day.[1]

Of the official use of the phrase in public documents the best examples are to be found in the Constitutions of the Emperors, contained in the Codex Theodosianus,[2] which was completed in the year 438, and published at Constantinople.

Thus at the beginning of the Codex, in the 'Gesta in senatu urbis Romae de recipiendo Codice Theodosiano':

'Iunius Pomponius Publianus, vir spectabilis, vicarius *urbis aeternae*' (Hänel p. 81).

Arranging a list of examples (by no means exhaustive) in chronological order, we have:[3]

xiv. 2, 1; an. 364; Valentinian I. and Valens: 'Ea privilegia, quibus pro reverentia *urbis aeternae*,' etc.

[1] In Symmachus's Christian imitator Sidonius Apollinaris I do not find any examples. A late instance, of no value on account of its uncertain date, is found in an old gloss on Juvencus, Evang. Hist. praef. 10 sq.:

> Immortale nihil mundi compage tenetur,
> Non orbis non regna hominum, non aurea Roma, etc.

Barth gives the gloss 'hoc ideo iungitur, quia vulgo aeterna urbs Roma dicebatur' (Advers. Comm. xi. 23, Francofurti 1624, col. 552).

[2] Quoted here in the edition of Hänel, Bonn 1842.

[3] Of Constantinople Constantine says (ib. xiii. 5, 7; anno 334): — 'Pro commoditate urbis, quam *aeterno nomine*, iubente Deo, donavimus' — which concerns us here only as showing the same confidence in the destiny of the new capital, though it was never called *urbs aeterna*.

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ib. 22, 1; same year: — 'ad portum *urbis aeternae.*'

xv. 1, 11; same year: — 'Intra *urbem Romam aeternam.*'

xi. 2, 2; an. 365; same emperors: — Commoda cogitantes *urbis aeternae.*'

xiv. 6, 3; same year: — 'Statum *urbis aeternae* reformare cupientes.'

ib. 1, 3; an. 389: Valentinian II., Theodosius I., Arcadius: — 'Perire nolumus quod *aeternae urbi* constat fuisse concessum.'

ib. 4, 6; same year: — 'Porcinarii *urbis aeternae.*'

i. 6, 10; no date; same emperors: — 'Sacrum iudicium praefecti *urbis aeternae.*'

xiv. 3, 19; an. 396; Arcadius and Honorius: — 'Pistores *urbis aeternae.*'

ib. 2, 3; an. 397; same emperors: — 'In honorem *aeternae urbis.*'

i. 6, 11; an. 423; Honorius and Theodosius II.: — 'et senatorem vel corporatum *urbis aeternae.*'

xv. 5, 4; an. 424; Theodosius: — 'nullum penitus spectacula oportere solennia *urbis aeternae* populis exhibere.'

Compare also

xi. 20, 3; an. 400; Arcadius and Honorius: — 'excepta scilicet *aeternabili urbe*, quam ab huius modi munere reverentia propriae maiestatis excusat.'

On inscriptions we find *urbs aeterna*, *Roma aeterna*, etc., but not very frequently. The city inscriptions, in which it is surprisingly rare and late, show it chiefly in its official character.

The best known of all are the inscriptions commemorating the restoration of the wall of Aurelian by Arcadius and Honorius (C. I. L. VI. 1188–90). One of these is to be found at the Porta Maggiore (1189); another over the Porta S. Lorenzo (1190); the third was at the Porta Portese until its destruction by Urban VIII. Each of these contains the words:

ob instauratos urbi aeternae muros portas ac turres.

C. I. L. VI. 1154; Constantine (probably), — a mutilated inscription (no longer extant) found in front of S. Adriano: — [aete]rnae urbis sua[e].

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ib. 1759; anno 339, — found on the island: — . . . nam rexit annonariam potestatem urbis ae[t]ernae ea aequitate ut, etc.

ib. 8405; anno 399: —. . . vicarie [sedis urbis Romae] aeternae, etc.

Wilmanns, Exempla Inscr. Lat. 644; an. 421; Honorius, Theodosius, Constantius: — . . . post praef. urbis aet. . . .

ib. 1233 a; Valens, Gratian, Valentinian, — found near forum of Trajan: — . . . vicario urbis Romae aeternae. . . .

Inscriptions from other parts of Italy: —

C. I. L. V. 6991, Turin: — urbis Romae [aete]rnae.

X. 16 [= C. I. N. 8], Locri, Bruttii (Gerace): — Iovi optimo maximo diis deabusque inmortalibus et Romae aeternae Locrenses.

ib. 6425, Circeii; temp. Honorii: — vicarius urbis (a)eternae.

Inscriptions from the provinces: —

C. I. L. XII. 1120, Apta, Gall. Narbon.: — sacerdot. urbis Rom. aetern.

(This has been suspected.)

VII. 392, Uxellodunum, Britain (Ellenborough): — Romae aeternae et Fortunae reduci.

ib. 370, same: — Genio loci Fortun. reduci Romae aetern. et fato bono. . . .

VIII. 6965, Cirta, Numidia: — . . . Romae aeternae. . . .

ib. 1427, Thibursicum, Provincia: — [urbi Romae ae]ternae aug. (the left side of the stone being under a wall).

III. 1422, Sarmizegetusa, Dacia, A.D. 238: — Fortunae reduci lari viali Romae aeternae. . . .

Turning from inscriptions to coins, we find far more abundant materials. The series begins with a single coin of Trajan,[1] whose example was followed by Hadrian, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus, and many of the later emperors.

[1] A silver coin of Vespasian bears the legend ROMA PERPETUA. This was coined in Asia; v. Cohen, Description historique des monnaies, etc., Suppl. VII. 60, 31. In the references to coins, metals are indicated by abbreviations, — *Au.*, *Ar.* or *Ae.*

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Trajan (5th consulship, — contorn.) : —

URBS ROMA HETERNA (sic). Cohen VI. 573, 42 (sacrifice before a temple) ; VIII. (Feuardent) 303, 251 ; Eckhel VI. 428, who says 'illustris numus, si modo genuinus.'

Hadrian : —

ROMAE AETERNAE (3d consulship). Cohen II. 156, 462, 463 (Au.) ; 461 (Ar.).

ROMA AETERNA (3d consulship). Cohen II. 156, 460 (Au.) ; 240–1, 1093–4 (Ae. with S.C.).

URBS ROMA AETERNA (3d consulship, — contorn.). Cohen VI. 577 (heterna) ; VIII. (Feuardent) 308, 292–3 (aeterna) ; Eckhel VI. 510–11.

All of these we may connect with the great temple of Venus and Rome, and safely infer that one end of the temple bore the inscription ROMAE AETERNAE.

Antoninus : —

ROMA AETERNA, S.C. (3d consulship). Cohen II. 384, 766 (Ae.).

ROMAE AETERNAE (2d and 3d consulships). Cohen II. 384, 767–72 (all Ae.).

Commodus : —

ROMAE AETERNAE COS. V. P. P. S. C. Cohen III. 166, 721 (Ae.).

ROM. AETER. P. M. TR. P. XIIII Cos. V. P. P. S. C. Cohen III. 166, 722 (189 A.D., Ae.) [723 (Ae.) nearly same two years later].

ROMAE AETERNAE C. V. P. P. Cohen III. 84, 219 (Ar.).

Pescennius Niger : —

ROMAE AETERNAE. Cohen III. 218, 39 (Ar.).

ROMAE AETERN. id. VII. 206, 12 (Ar.).

Albinus : —

ROMAE AETERNAE. id. III. 226, 34 (Ar.).

Septimius Severus : —

ROMAE AETERNAE. Cohen III. 277, 366 (Ar.) — 194 A.D. ; ib. 313, 613–4 (Ae. with S.C.) — 195 ; ib. 313, 615 (with IMP. VI.) — 196 ; ib. 277, 367 (Ar.) — after 201 A.D.

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Geta: —

ROMAE AETERNAE. Cohen III. 468, 84 (Ar.).

Alexander Severus: —

ROMAE AETERNAE. id. IV. 27, 194 (Au.); 60, 435-6 (Ae. with S.C.; also with Mamaea, same legend — Cohen IV. 74, 20 (Ae.) — 231 A.D.; ib. 72, 12 (Ae.).

To trace the legend further in the coins of the emperors is unnecessary for our present purpose. Nearly all of the more important emperors down to Constantius II. stamped this device upon their coins, and what legitimate rulers did, mere usurpers, such as Carausius and Allectus, did not hesitate to imitate.

Having reviewed with some approach to completeness the occurrences of the formula in literature, with no lack of illustration from laws, coins and inscriptions, official and private, we are prepared to consider at this point the origin of the phrase, and its rise into the public and official character which distinguishes it, along with *sacra urbs*, from *felix*, *invicta*, and even *perpetua Roma* of coins on the one hand, and on the other from *aurea*,[1] etc., of the poets.

Both *urbs aeterna* and *urbs sacra* obviously stand in some relation to the worship of Rome as a goddess, and inasmuch as that worship had its rise among the Greeks of Asia Minor, it would at first sight appear to be an entirely reasonable inference that the epithets were suggested by Greek votive inscriptions in Asia, Bithynia and other eastern provinces. Could we venture to argue from antecedent probabilities, nothing would seem more likely than that the provincials — Greek at first — hit upon epithets of this stamp, as at the same time more flattering to the Romans and less offensive to provincial feeling than any others, — the proud *invicta*[2] of coins, for instance. Were it possible to assume a provincial

[1] *Aurea* became common in very late times; cp. Jordan, Topographie u. s. w. II. 374.

[2] Cp. also Lucan iii. 334: —

ut invictae fatum si consulat urbi.

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origin for *urbs aeterna*, we should at once be provided with a satisfactory explanation of a fact otherwise so unaccountable, viz. the extreme rarity of its occurrence in literature before the second half of the fourth century. For if it were felt to be something foreign, if to the taste of the Roman born it still savored of the provinces, it would be natural enough that not only he, but also the Roman by adoption, should leave its use to others, however it might appeal to their imagination. But this provisional explanation rests upon a pure assumption, for we find no evidence that the Greeks in their votive inscriptions employed any epithets which could have suggested to Tibullus or Ovid the one with which we are dealing. Both on coins and in inscriptions the use of Θεὰ Ῥώμη is well-nigh invariable. The best known example is, of course, the inscription of the temple of Rome and Augustus on the Acropolis at Athens (C. I. A. III. 63):

[Ὁ δ]ῆμος Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Σ[εβαστ]ῷ Καίσαρι, κτλ.

This probably belongs to the first half of the reign of Augustus.

Compare the inscription on the Σεβαστεῖον at Ancyra in Galatia (C. I. G. 4039):—

. . . Θεῷ σεβαστῷ καὶ Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ.

Another at Mylasa in Caria is worth quoting here (C. I. G. 2696):—

Ὁ δῆμος Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ υἱῷ Σεβαστῷ,
ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ, καὶ Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ.

This is not earlier than 12 B.C.

Coins of Pergamon of the time of Augustus have ΘΕΑΝ ΡΩΜΗΝ (ΡΩΜΑΝ), ΠΕΡΓ. ΘΕΑΝ ΡΩΜΗΝ, and ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ (Mionnet, Description de médailles antiques, Suppl. V. 428, 934; 425–6, 910–15; 427, 926; 426, 916, — all Ae.). A coin of Smyrna of the reign of Claudius has ΘΕΑΝ ΡΩΜΗΝ (Mionnet III. 221, 1235, Ae.). Another of the time of Alexander Severus ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ (ib. 306, 14, Ae.). For other

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examples from Pergamon (Trajan), Aezani and Ancyra in Phrygia, Temenothyrae in Lydia, cp. Mionnet, Suppl. V. 435, 969–70; IV. (original work), 207, 75; 219–20, 149–51; 147, 835 (all Ae.).[1]

On coins with Latin devices testifying to the joint worship of the emperor and the city no epithets are given to either. We find simply ROM. ET AUGUST. This is frequent, especially in the reign of the earlier Caesars, on coins struck in the provinces. Thus on a silver coin of 19 B.C. minted in Asia (Cohen I. 46, 34) COM. ASIAE, and on the façade of a temple ROM. ET AUGUST. Another (bronze) coined at Lyons has the same legend (Cohen I. 69, 258; cp. 71, 273–6); also a number of bronze coins of Tiberius, some of them coined at Lyons (id. I. 123–4, 39–46). Claudius (ib. 165, 84–5, Ae., Lyons), Nero (ib. 205, 241, Ae., Lyons), and Domitian (ib. VII. 81, 1, Ar., Asia) placed the same legend on some of their coins.

The worship of Rome and the emperor[2] had reached Italy

[1] Other examples from Mysia, Aeolis, and Phrygia are given by Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies grecques, 1883, pp. 258, 274, 392; compare also Head, Historia Numorum, 1887, pp. 530, 549–51, 556, 557, 569 (Caria, Lydia, Phrygia).

[2] For the regular establishment of the cult of Rome and the emperor in the east by Augustus our chief authority is Dio Cassius (li. 20), according to whom Octavian in 29 B.C. allowed the erection of temples in honor of Rome and Julius (*τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας*) in Ephesus and Nicaea, to be venerated by the Roman residents of Asia and Bithynia, and others at Pergamon and Nicomedia in his own honor, — these for the other foreign residents (*ξένοι, Ἕλληνες*) of the same provinces respectively. That in the latter case the living emperor was not honored alone, but in company with the deified Rome, is not here expressly stated, but is proved by Suet. Octav. 52: — 'Templa . . . in nulla tamen provincia, nisi communi, suo Romaeque nomine recepit'; and by Tac. Ann. iv. 37: — 'Cum . . . sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset,' etc. The passage in Dio is strangely misunderstood by Desjardins (Le culte des Divi et celui de Rome et d'Auguste, Revue de Philologie III. 1879, 33 ff.). In his analysis of the passage (p. 38) D. contrives to ignore the distinction clearly made by Dio, viz. that the temples at Ephesus and Nicaea were, so to say, 'Romae et Divo Iulio,' while those at Pergamon and Nicomedia had nothing to do with the worship of the deified Julius, but were in honor of the living Octavian [and Rome]. D. is therefore quite wrong in saying (p. 39): — 'ce culte . . . fut le même pour les Romains (*cives romani*) qui se trouvaient dans les provinces et pour les étrangers, c'est-à-dire pour les non-citoyens qui habitaient ces mêmes provinces,' — a statement

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even in the time of Augustus, but did not become at all general. It was in fact confined at first to certain cities standing in some special relations to the emperor, such as Beneventum, Fanum Fortunae, Pisae, Assisium, Pompeii, Ostia, Puteoli.[1] Inscriptions found in these towns and in two or three others furnish us with a qualification of Dio Cassius' (li. 20) sweeping denial of Caesar-worship in Italy under Augustus.[2] As for Rome itself, we have no reason to doubt the truth of Suetonius' statement: — 'in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore.'[3] And it is safe to say that the question how an altar or shrine, to be set up in honor of Rome within the city itself, should be inscribed, — what epithet chosen, — never arose in the lifetime of Augustus. It was not until Vespasian that she had a temple at Rome, the *templum sacrae urbis* of the topographers,[4] though the epithet *sacrae* was added after the restoration of the temple by Severus. This temple of Vespasian's time was soon eclipsed by Hadrian's great temple of Venus and Rome. Among all the various epithets available for the purposes of his inscription, such as *felix*, *invicta*, *victrix*, *perpetua*, *aeterna*, — epithets still associated with the mere personification rather than the worship of Rome, and none of them claiming any special pre-eminence above the rest, — Hadrian decided in favor of *aeterna*, inscribed it upon one end of the double temple, and stamped it upon his coins. Thus a phrase heretofore uncommon became an official formula, with distinctly religious associations. The real history, therefore, of *urbs*

which, however true in later times, is wholly incorrect for the early part of Augustus's reign.

See also Boissier, G., La religion romaine,[2] 1878, I. 131; Réville, J., La religion à Rome sous les Sévères, 1886, p. 32; Eckhel VI. 100, 101; Preller-Jordan, Römische Mythologie,[3] II. 354; Hirschfeld, Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaisercultus, Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad. 1888, II. 837; a short account of the Caesar-cult in Neumann, Der römische Staat u. die allgemeine Kirche, 1890, pp. 7–11.

[1] v. Hirschfeld, op. cit. p. 838; Guiraud, Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire romain, 1887, p. 24; Nipperdey on Tac. Ann. i. 10.

[2] Boissier, op. cit. I. 133; Merriam, The Caesareum and the Worship of Augustus at Alexandria, in Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. XIV. 16, 17.

[3] Octav. 52. [4] Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome, II. 19.

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aeterna begins with Hadrian.[1] It was not until the worship of the city had advanced beyond the provincial, even beyond the Italian, stage, and firmly established itself in the capital, that the phrase acquired its formulary character and received the stamp of official approval and authority.

If we go back a little to the time in which there was no direct connection between the worship of Rome and the use of our phrase in a formal and official way, and enquire why, after it had once appeared in literature, it should be so very rare in extant writings, there is simply no explanation of the strange fact that the example of Tibullus and Ovid found in extant literature no imitators, apparently, from the eighth to the twelfth century of the city, with the single doubtful exception of Frontinus, in a passage which has been suspected of interpolation. Scarcely more susceptible of answer is the question from what source Tibullus and Ovid drew the phrase. Ovid may have simply imitated Tibullus, and there is enough of similarity between the two passages to make this a probability rather than a possibility. Or both may be borrowers from some other unknown writer. If Tibullus first introduced the expression to Roman literature, he was almost certainly himself the happy discoverer. We have seen how impossible it is to suppose that he had seen or indirectly heard of some inscription in the provinces, or in Italy, which either gave him the phrase outright or was its inspiration. Between the first establishment of the cult of Rome and the emperor in Asia and Bithynia and the death of Tibullus there was an interval of but ten years.

It seems altogether natural that the idea of an eternal Rome should first find expression in a time when new hopes had succeeded the despair of the civil wars, and men were astounded to find that a new and vigorous youth had come again to the worn-out state, while at the same time the expected Aeneid carried the thoughts of many, — certainly of

[1] Cp. Preller-Jordan, Römische Mythologie,[3] II. 357: — "Aus der Zeit Hadrians stammt auch der Name Roma aeterna, unter welchem die Schutzgöttin der Stadt, je mehr das römische Reich u. mit ihm die alte Hauptstadt dem Verfall entgegeneilte, desto sehnsüchtiger gefeiert u. angerufen wurde."

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all the friends of Vergil — back to the far past. That it should not have been Vergil himself, who expressed that idea in its briefest form, need not surprise us. In the end no Vergilian verse could have given the idea a wider currency, or made it dearer to the imagination of later ages.

Livy has the adjective *aeterna* of Rome, not however in such a way as to suggest the set form of speech with which we have here to do, but as any one in the enthusiasm of a moment of harmony between the orders might have said 'beatam urbem Romanam et invictam et aeternam illa concordia (v. 7, 10), — and that with no particular thought of an 'Eternal City.' In other words, the passage cited belongs not with those already given, but with the illustrative material to which we now turn, passing from *aeterna urbs* and *aeterna Roma* to other phrases less stereotyped, in which the duration of the city is set forth in various ways.

Nearest of all stands *in aeternum condita* which Livy has more than once:

iv. 4, 4: — 'Quis dubitat, quin *in aeternum urbe condita*, in immensum crescente nova imperia, sacerdotia, iura gentium hominumque instituantur?'

xxviii. 28, 11: — '*urbem* auspicato deis auctoribus *in aeternum conditam*.'

And so Ammianus xxii. 16, 12: — 'Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma *in aeternum* attollit.'[1]

Even Rutilius Namatianus, writing in 416, still thinks of Roman rule as eternal, and in condemning Stilicho for the destruction of the Sibylline books speaks of them (ii. 55) as 'aeterni fatalia pignora regni,' and still 'plenas . . . colos.'

[1] A more general use of *aeternus* — applicable, in fact, to any state — is found in Tacitus Ann. iii. 6 fin. in the edict of Tiberius repressing grief after the funeral of Germanicus: — 'Principes (not 'emperors' here) mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse.' [Schöner in Acta Sem. Phil. Erlang. II. 497 pretends to see in this a refusal of the title *aeternitas!*] Livy in a similar contrast between the state and the individual has *inmortalis*: — 'quid attinere cum mortali corpore uno civitatis, quam inmortalem esse deceat, pati consenescere vires'? (vi. 23, 7). Tacitus's 'aeternitas rerum et pax gentium' (Hist. i. 84 fin.), though of the empire rather than the city, may find a place here.

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In spite of an Alaric and a Radagaisus, Rutilius's faith in Rome's destiny is unshaken —

Dum stabunt terrae, dum polus astra feret (i. 138).

Also in the same context (133–4): —

Porrige victuras Romana in saecula leges,
Solaque fatales non vereare colos, etc.[1]

And we may here quote the lines (i. 145–6): —

Aeternum tibi Rhenus aret, tibi Nilus inundet;
Altricemque suam fertilis orbis alat.

It was not that Rutilius was blind to all the signs of impending ruin. It is his faith that out of that ruin city and empire will rise to new life and power.[2]

Vergil's 'Imperium sine fine dedi' (Aen. i. 279) we find repeated and enlarged upon in the later poets. Thus Silius Italicus vii. 474–8: —

Tum pius Aeneas, terris iactatus et undis,
Dardanios Itala posuit tellure Penates.
Dum cete ponto innabunt, dum sidera caelo
Lucebunt, dum sol Indo se litore tollet,
Hic regna, et nullae regnis per saecula metae.

Also in a poem of uncertain date and authorship, placed by Baehrens after the time of Ausonius, though it purports to be of the time of Domitian, and relates to the expulsion of the philosophers in that reign: —

Haut frustra Veneri mendaxque Diespiter olim
'Imperium sine fine dedi' dixisse probatur.
(Baehrens P. L. M. V. 95, Incerti Sulpicia 33–4.)

[1] Cp. Martial ix. 1, 8–9: —

Manebit altum Flaviae decus gentis
Cum sole et astris cumque luce Romana.

And Dracontius 7, 23 (Bährens, P. L. M. V. 155): —

Ut daret aeternum Romana in saecla Quirinum, etc.

[2] Cp. Bernays, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, 1885, II. 126: — "Selbst dichterisch gestimmte Nachzügler des Heidenthums, wie Rutilius Namatianus (I. 137), wagten es nicht länger, die altgeweihte Formel von der 'Ewigkeit Roms' im Sinne einer unerschütterten Dauer zu gebrauchen, sondern wollten sich darunter die Kraft der Weltstadt denken, aus dem Tode einst wieder zum Leben zu erstehen." Cp. Burckhardt, Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen[2], 1880, 253.

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Ammian expresses the idea in various ways, thus: —

xix. 10, 4, 'divini arbitrio numinis, quod auxit ab incunabulis Romam perpetuamque fore respondit.'

xiv. 6, 3, 'victura, dum erunt homines, Roma.'

And then Claudian: —

Nec terminus umquam
Romanae dicionis erit. Nam cetera regna
Luxuries vitiis, odiisque superbia, vertit.
(de cons. Stilich. iii. 159–61.)[1]

Compare the ode to Rome (of uncertain date) by Melinno [ap. Stob. Floril. vii. *περὶ ἀνδρείας* 13]:[2] —

Χαῖρέ μοι Ῥώμα, θυγάτηρ Ἄρηος,
Χρυσεομίτρα, δαΐφρων ἄνασσα,
σεμνὸν ἃ ναίεις ἐπὶ γᾶς Ὄλυμπον,
αἰὲν ἄθραυστον.

σοὶ μόνᾳ πρέσβιστα δέδωκε Μοῖρα
κῦδος ἀῤῥήκτω βασιλῆον ἀρχᾶς,
ὄφρα κοιρανῆον ἔχοισα κάρτος
ἀγεμονεύῃς.

* * * * * *

πάντα δὲ σφάλλων ὁ μέγιστος αἰὼν,
καὶ μεταπλάσσων βίον ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως,
σοὶ μόνᾳ πλησίστιον οὖρον ἀρχᾶς
οὐ μεταβάλλει.

In the church fathers we find the idea that the empire and city would last until the end of the world. Even though *Roma aeterna* was to them a blasphemy, and Rome the Babylon of the Apocalypse,[3] they still distinguished between the

[1] Mere wishes and prayers do not directly concern us, but a single example may be given, — from the Octavia (285–7): —

Edat partu pignora pacis
Qua tranquillus gaudeat orbis
Servetque decus Roma aeternum.

[2] The metrical translation of Grotius is in Gaisford's Stobaeus IV., that of Lipsius in his De Magnitudine Romana (Opera, Vesaliae 1675, III. p. 668); another in Cornelius à Lapide Com. in Scriptur. Sacr. X. p. 1276.

[3] Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom u. s. w.[3] I. 117; Hieron Ep. 46, 11, Vallarsi I. 206.

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'mater fornicationum et abominationum terrae' and the empire, even before it became Christian, and prayed for the long life of the emperor and the stability of his rule. To quote the words of S. Achatius before the prefect (temp. Decii): — 'Assidua est enim nobis pro eo ac iugis oratio, ut prolixum aevum in hac luce conficiat, ac iusta populos potestate moderetur: et pacatum maxime imperii sui tempus accipiat. Deinde pro salute militum, et pro statu mundi et orbis.' And S. Dionysius of Alexandria: — 'Huic [Deo] continuas preces offerimus pro imperio illorum [Valeriani et Gallieni], ut stabile et inconcussum permaneat.'[1]

The attitude of the Christian toward emperor and empire, together with his own idea of the duration of the latter, are stated by Tertullian: — 'Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum imperatoris: quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut et ipsum diligat, et revereatur, et honoret, et salvum velit, cum toto Romano imperio, quousque saeculum stabit. Tamdiu enim stabit.'[2] This last is, of course, very different from the pagan confidence in an eternal Rome, and may mean much or little, according to the writer's views as to the proximity of the end of the world. That the catastrophe is delayed by the lease of life granted to the empire, that it is hence a duty to pray for the emperor and the state, we find set forth in another passage in Tertullian: — 'Est et alia maior necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausulam saeculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Ita quae nolumus experiri, ea dum precamur differri, Romanae diuturnitati favemus.'[3]

Lactantius ascribes to Rome — the city here, rather than the empire — the power of preserving the world, otherwise on the brink of destruction:[4] — 'Etiam res ipsa declarat, lap-

[1] Ruinart, Acta Martyrum, Verona 1731, pp. 129 and 157; Burckhardt, Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen[2], p. 253. More references to Ruinart in Guiraud, Les assemblées provinciales, 241–2.

[2] Lib. ad Scapulam cap. 2. [3] Apologeticus cap. 32.

[4] "Attribuendo in certo qual modo a Roma una virtù arcana, per la quale con-

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sum ruinamque rerum brevi fore: nisi quod incolumi urbe Roma nihil istiusmodi videtur esse metuendum. At vero cum caput illud orbis occiderit, et ῥύμη esse coeperit, quod Sibyllae fore aiunt,[1] quis dubitet venisse iam finem rebus humanis, orbique terrarum? Illa, illa est civitas, quae adhuc sustentat omnia: precandusque nobis et adorandus est Deus coeli, si tamen statuta eius et placita differri possunt, ne citius quam putemus tyrannus ille abominabilis veniat, qui tantum facinus moliatur, ac lumen illud effodiat, cuius interitu mundus ipse lapsurus est.'[2] And in another place:— 'Cuius vastitatis et confusionis haec erit causa, quod Romanum nomen, quo nunc regitur orbis (horret animus dicere: sed dicam, quia futurum est) tolletur de terra, et imperium in Asiam revertetur, ac rursus Oriens dominabitur, atque Occidens serviet.'[3]

S. Benedict prophesied that Rome would not be destroyed by the barbarians, nor all at once, but by storms and earthquakes:— 'Roma a gentibus non exterminabitur, sed tempestatibus coruscis, et turbinibus, ac terrae motu fatigata, in semet ipsa marcescet.'[4]

S. Jerome thought that S. Paul in 2 Thess. 2, 3 ff.[5] spoke obscurely of the fall of the empire for good reasons:— 'Nec vult aperte dicere Romanum imperium destruendum, quod ipsi qui imperant aeternum putant. . . . Si enim aperte audacterque dixisset, non veniet Antichristus, nisi prius

servavasi il mondo, che altrimenti, sarebbe precipitato a pronta ruina." — Graf, Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo, Torino 1883, II. 472. Several of the passages in this immediate connection are quoted or referred to by Graf, but the author is indebted for them to other sources.

[1] Oracula Sibyllina viii. 165:—

ἔσται καὶ Ῥώμη ῥύμη καὶ Δῆλος ἄδηλος
καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος . . .

Cp. also iii. 366 (Rzach 1891).

[2] Div. Inst. vii. 25 fin.

[3] ib. vii. 15; Graf II. 477; cp. Hieron. Com. in Ezech. iii. prol.

[4] S. Gregor. Magn. Dial. ii. 15 (Migne LXVI. 162); Graf II. 474–5.

[5] The idea that the fall of the empire would immediately precede the end of the world was directly inspired by this passage, τὸ κατέχον (vs. 6) being understood to mean the empire.

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Romanum deleatur imperium, iusta causa persecutionis in orientem tunc ecclesiam consurgere videbatur.'[1]

S. Augustine refers to this view of Paul's obscurity, — 'ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quod Romano imperio male optaverit, cum speraretur aeternum.'[2] Augustine elsewhere remarks upon the false assurances of eternal rule, and cites Vergil's 'imperium sine fine dedi' as an example: — 'Qui hoc terrenis regnis promiserunt non veritate ducti sunt, sed adulatione mentiti sunt. . . . Transient quae fecit ipse Deus; quanto citius quod condidit Romulus?'[3]

In the Apocalypse 13, 1 and 17, 3, *nomina blasphemiae* were understood by Jerome and the Pseudo-Prosper to refer to *Roma aeterna*. Thus Jerome, in a letter, forgetting for the moment that the *nomina* of 17, 3 were borne by the beast and not by the 'mulier circumdata purpura': — 'Unde secundum Apocalypsim Ioannis, in fronte purpuratae meretricis, scriptum est nomen blasphemiae, id est, *Romae aeternae*.'[4]

And Pseudo-Prosper: — 'Aeterna cum dicitur quae temporalis est, utique nomen et *blasphemiae*.'[5]

Just as *aeterna* had assumed an official character in the time of Hadrian, so other epithets, *sacra*, *sacratissima*, *venerabilis*, became in due time official designations, of frequent occurrence in the later empire. Unlike *aeterna* they were also applied to Constantinople; and the older title alone was not carried over from the old Rome to the new.[6]

[1] Epist. 121, quaest. 11, Vallarsi, Verona 1734, I. 882.

[2] Civ. Dei xx. 19 med. 'Quidam putant,' etc.

[3] Sermo 105, 7. [4] Epist. 121, quaest. 11, — in a passage cited above.

[5] Liber de promiss. et praedict. Dei iv. 7, 14 (Migne LI. 843). So Grotius on Apoc. ll. cc.: — 'Nomina blasphemiae tam 13. 1. quam 17. 3. sunt Urbs Aeterna, Semper Triumphatrix, Invicta, aliaque his similia' (Critici Sacri 1695, V. 2076, cp. 1998, 2066). Cp. also Spanheim, Dissertationes de Praestantia et Usu Numismatum Antiquorum 1706, I. 3, § 3, p. 138, who argues that the allusion must be rather to ΘΕΑΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ of the Greek coins of the early empire than to *urbs aeterna*, etc., of a later period, and never so well known in Asia. Cp. Cornelius à Lapide, Comm. in Script. Sacr. (Lyons and Paris ed. 1875) X. 1277, who thinks that both *Roma aeterna* and *Roma dea* are meant.

[6] Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom u. s. w.[3] I. 11: — "Nur Rom allein wurde unter allen Städten der Welt mit dem göttlichen Titel der 'Ewigen' geschmückt."

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Sacra is the one of these epithets most worthy of consideration in connection with *aeterna;* for here too we are able to fix upon the time when it received the official stamp. The oldest known inscription in which it occurs is of the time of Severus and Caracalla (an. 201):—

. . .]i urbi sacrae reg. XIIII.[1]

Jordan considers this a sufficient proof that *urbs sacra* was first used by these emperors.[2] The desire of Severus to pose as restorer and patron of the city,[3] as Hadrian had been before him, would lead him also to imitate Hadrian's example in fixing upon an official title for the city, to distinguish his inscriptions from those of all his predecessors. As the city came to be more and more regarded as the property[4] of the imperial house, and that house and its members were called 'divine,' 'sacred,' etc.,[5] it was a logical consequence that sooner or later the same epithets should be applied to the city, and in time to nearly everything belonging to or connected with the emperor. This wide extension of the uses of the term will be noticed further on. It leaves no room for doubt that Jordan's explanation is the correct one. The city was 'holy' not so much because she was worshipped as a goddess, whose chief temple was one of the

[1] C. I. L. VI. 1030.

[2] Forma Urbis Romae, Proleg. p. 8:—"nam cum inde ab Hadriani principatu, qui Romae Venerisque templum fecit, *urbis aeternae* nomen pervagatum sit, *urbis sacrae* nomen videtur imperantibus Severo et Caracalla primum esse usurpatum." v. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte Roms[6] I. 64. The senate had long been ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ, ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ and ΘΕΟΣ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ on Greek coins. Thus on coins of Aezani in Phrygia (Mionnet, IV. 206–7, 67, 70, 72, 73, Ae.), of Pergamon (id. Suppl. V. 425–6, 910–15; 428, 934; 431, 947, Ae.—the last two of Augustus (Livia) and Titus (Julia) respectively), of Clazomenae (id. III. (original work), 69, 74, Ae.), of Temenothyrae in Lydia (id. IV. 147–8, 836–40, Ae.); compare Head, Historia Numorum, Index p. 768. Juvenal (11, 29) has 'sacri in parte senatus'; cp. Cassiod. Variar. iv. 25:—'qui ad sacri ordinis cupit fastigia pervenire.'

[3] Jordan ib.

[4] Cp. the use of *vestra*, as, *e.g.*, in Symmachus Ep. x. 57 fin. 'urbi vestrae,' ib. 71, 'quietem urbis vestrae.'

[5] Jordan ib.

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foremost among the 'decora urbis aeternae,' as because the deified emperors had their seat there.

Other inscriptions showing *urbs sacra* are: —

C. I. L. VI. 1245; Caracalla, 212–13, — over the porta S. Lorenzo: — . . . aquam Marciam . . . in sacram urbem suam perducendam curavit.

ib. 1225; at the base of the Phocas column: — . . . sacrae urbis. . . .

ib. 1646; a fragment in the cemetery of S. Callixtus: — . . . sacra[e urbis].

Wilmanns 851; temp. Diocl. et Maxim.; Trastevere, by the river: — . . . curat. alvei Tiberis riparum et cloacarum sacrae urbis.

C. I. L. XIV. 2852; temple of Fortune, Praeneste: —

> Notus in urbe sacra notus quoque finibus illis
> Quos Umber sulcare solet quos Tuscus arator.

ib. 2078; Pratica: — . . . consu[l]ari sacrae urbis. . . .

IX. 4796; Forum Novum: — . . . notus in urbe sacra, etc.

ib. 5860; Auximum: — . . . in urbe sac[ra]. . . .

V. 7643; temp. M. Aurelii; al Piasco, Gall. Cisalp.: — . . . u. sacr. (= urbis sacrae.)

ib. 7783; ca. 191; Albingaunum: —. . . curator aquarum sacrae urbis. . . .

C. I. N. 4550; 315–323 A.D.; Atina: — . . . cur. alvei Tiberis et cloacarum sacrae urbis . . . (= Wilmanns, 1221; cp. 1230 *a* = C. I. N. 4036).

C. I. N. 2618; an. 343; Neapolis (Puteoli?): — . . . praef. annonae urbis sacrae . . . (= Wilm. 1228).

C. I. L. III. 1464; an. 211–12; Sarmizegetusa, Dacia: — . . . sub. praef. annon. sacrae urbis . . . (= Wilm. 1277; cp. his 1291 and 1331, Pisaurum and Rome, respectively).

Also a few examples from the Codex Theodosianus: —

xiv. 10, 3; an. 399; Arcadius and Honorius: —'coercitus sacra urbe pelletur.'

ib. 15, 2; an. 366; Valentinian, Valens, Gratian: —'ad sacrae urbis portum.'[1]

[1] Also in Cod. Just. xi. 22, 1.

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ib. 15, 3; an. 397; Arcadius and Honorius: — 'praeter sacram urbem.'[1]

Later still came the use of *sacratissima* as an official title. But of this instances are so numerous that a few examples will suffice: —

Honorius in Symmachus, Epist. x. 77: — 'nec in urbe sacratissima fas est.'

id. ib. 80: — 'a sacratissima urbe conversatione seiunctus.'

Cod. Theod. xiv. 10, 4; an. 416; Honorius and Theodosius: — 'intra sacratissimam urbem.'[2]

ib. xiv. 3, 12; an. 365?; Valentinian and Valens: — 'ad urbem sacratissimam.'

Ammian xxvii. 3, 3: — 'urbs sacratissima.'

To *venerabilis*[3] also was given an official sanction: —

Cod. Theod. xiv. 3, 17; an. 380; Gratian, Valentinian, Theodosius: — 'pistores venerabilis Romae.'

ib. 6, 4; an. 382: — 'in urbe venerabili.'

ib. xv. 7, 5 and 10, 2 (380–1).

ib. xiv. 10, 2; 11, 1; 15, 4 (397–8; Arcadius and Honorius). Also in unofficial language, as *e.g.* in Symmachus, Epist. viii. 27: — 'Capuano itinere venerabilem nobis Romam, laremque petemus.'[4]

The words *aeternus* and *sacratissimus*, along with *venerabilis* and other equivalents, in their use as standing epithets

[1] Even the prefect of the *sacra urbs* has a *iudicium sacrum*, as *e.g.* in Cod. Just. vii. 62, 17: — 'praefecturae urbis iudicium sacrum'; Cod. Theod. i. 6, 10: — 'sacrum iudicium praefecti urbis aeternae.' After the time of Diocletian *vice sacra iudicans* is very frequently used of the praefectus urbi, often abbreviated, sometimes V. S. I. Cp. C. I. L. VI. 1663, 1661, 1664, 1668 (V. S. I.), 1672, 1682–3, 1690–1, 1703, 1718–9, 3791, etc. Cp. also the frequent *iudici sacrarum cognitionum*, ib. 1735, 1739–40, 1742 et saep.

[2] So of Constantinople ib. xvi. 2, 37; also xiv. 12, 1 — 'intra urbem sacratissimi nominis' (Const.) [same in Cod. Just. xi. 19 (20); cf. ib. xii. 5, 2: — 'in hac sacratissima urbe' (an. 428)].

[3] Cp. Cod. Theod. xiv. 15, 5; an. 399: — 'in fraudem venerandae urbis.'

[4] Cp. Apuleius, Met. xi. 258 fin.: — '*sacrosanctam* istam civitatem accedo' [in his Florida i. 1 init. *sanctissima* of Carthage].

Cp. also *alma*, *e.g.* in a letter of Justinian to the pope (Cod. Just. i. 1. 8.) — 'Iohanni sanctissimo archiepiscopo almae urbis Romae et patriarchae' (an. 533); and of Constantinople ib. i. 17, 2, 24.

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of the emperors have a much more direct and intimate connection with *aeterna* and *sacra* of the city than would at first sight appear. The joint worship of emperor and city had its roots in the fertile soil of Greek and Asiatic imagination. From the very beginning the two ideas of the emperor, as the symbol and impersonation of Roman power, and of the city, were so perfectly blended that, once united, they were never parted. In the mind of the whole Roman world emperor and imperial city became, and remained, so linked with one another that language, as if from necessity, treated them as a single notion. Hence the similar, even identical, epithets. If the emperor was honored by the title of 'eternal,' so was the city; if he was 'sacred,' so was his capital.

We are therefore unable to separate Hadrian's adoption of *urbs aeterna* as a formal title of the city from the use of *aeternus* as an epithet of the emperor on coins of Trajan and Hadrian (not to mention later emperors), and *aeternitas* or *aeternitas Augusti* on those of the Flavians and of Hadrian himself. Nor can we altogether separate the *urbs sacra* of Severus, *sacratissima*, etc., from *sacratissimus* and similar titles of the later emperors.[1]

On coins *aeternus* and *aeternitas* of the emperors[2] appear in a number of different forms, and are so frequent that only a few typical examples from the earlier emperors are needed here: —

AET. AUG. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI: — Trajan; 111 A.D.; Cohen II. 4, 10 (Ar.); cf. ib. 9 and 11 (Ar.).

[1] On the titles of the emperors see Christoph Schöner, Ueber die Titulaturen der römischen Kaiser, in Acta Sem. Philol. Erlangensis II. (1881) 449 ff., esp. 463–4, 472. On p. 496–7 it is wrongly said that Aurelian was the first who used *aeternitas* of himself on coins. According to Schöner (472) Trajan had *sacratissimus* as a title from the year 111. Ammian (xv. 1, 3) censures Constantius for talking about his *aeternitas*.

[2] Also *aeternitas* of the empire: —

AETERNIT. IMPERI: — Septimius Severus and Caracalla; after 201; Cohen III. 328, 1 (Ar.); frequent later; cp. 357, 1–3; 449, 1–2. Cp. Suet. Ner. 11: — 'Ludis quos pro aeternitate imperii susceptos appellari maximos voluit,' etc. Tacitus says of the temple of Claudius, erected in his lifetime at Camulodunum in Britain, 'quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur' (Ann. xiv. 31).

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AET. AUG. P.M. TR. P. Cos. II. : — Hadrian ; 118 A.D. ; Cohen II. 110, 80 (Ar.) ; cp. 81–3 (Ar.).

AETERNITAS AUGUSTI, S.C. : — Vespasian ; 77 or 78 A.D. ; Cohen I. 298, 250 (Ae.) ; Hadrian, ib. II. 181, 648 (Ae.) (cp. AETER. AUG. P.M., etc., Hadrian).

AETERNITAS : — Vespasian ; Cohen I. 271, 1–2 (Au. and Ar.).

So Titus (see also Eckhel VI. 355, Au.) and Domitian.

For completeness' sake we add some illustrations from inscriptions, from the constitutions of the emperors, and the literature.

C. I. L. VI. 1676, found near the Flaminian circus; Honorius and Theodosius : — [salvis] DD. NN. aeternis principibus Honori[o et Theodosio Augg.]. . . .[1]

ib. 1727 : — . . . aeterni principes. . . . Cp. 1749 fin.

Waddington, Inscr. grecques et latines de la Syrie, 1847 a ; found at Beirut : — . . . decretis provinciae Phoenices sententia divina firmatis dd. nn. Constanti et Constantis aeternorum principum. . . .[2]

The adjective in this use and the formula *aeternitas nostra* are frequent in the constitutions of the emperors : —

Cod. Theod. init. (Hän. p. 82) in the 'Gesta in senatu,' etc. : — 'Aeternorum principum felicitas.'

ib. p. 83 : — 'aeternus princeps.'

Cf. ib. 92, 'de Theod. Cod. auctoritate' : — 'principum aeternitas.'

Cf. ib. 99 (i. 1, 5) : — 'Hos a nostra perennitate electos' [Theod. and Valent. an. 429].

Just. Novellae 143 fin. : — Quae igitur per hanc legem nostra statuit aeternitas.'

[1] Cp. the use of *perpetuus* : —

C. I. L. VI. 1707; an. 311; Constantine : — . . . comiti domini nostri Constantini invicti et perpetui semper Augusti. . . .

ib. 1703; Honorius and Theodosius : — Salvis ac florentibus DD. NN. Honorio et Theodos[io] perpetuis semper Augg. . . .

Cf. ib. 3791 b (Arcadius).

[2] A legion (II.) had in addition to *Parthica Severiana pia felix fidelis* also the name *aeterna* (v. Waddington, op. cit. nos. 2279 and 2643), doubtless bestowed upon it as evidence of its loyalty to the 'aeterni principes.' Cp. Nettleship, Contributions to Latin Lexicography, s.v. *aeternalis* (p. 66), on that word as applied to a praetorian cohort and "virtually = imperial."

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Aliae Constit. (Const. Justini imper. de filiis liberarum, ad fin.): — 'Quae igitur per hanc divinam pragmaticam sanctionem nostra sanxit aeternitas,' etc.

We should naturally expect to find the most unrestrained use of the adjective *aeternus* of the emperors in the writers of panegyric.

Eg. Pan. Vet. v. 13, 3: — 'tu domine Maximiane, imperator aeterne.'[1]

ib. vi. 8, 8: — 'imperator aeterne.' And so ib. 11, 5 and 12, 1.

ib. 2, 1: — 'vobis, aeterni principes.'

ib. 13, 3: — 'imperatori aeterno.'

ib. iv. 16, 4 (Eumenius): — 'aeternorum principum.'

ib. v. 3, 1: — 'aeternorum auspices imperatorum.'

ib. vii. 16, 6: — 'hic aeternus est rei publicae custos.'

Cp. also ib. iv. 8, 2: — 'pro divina intelligentia mentis aeternae sentiat' (of Constantius).

So *sempiternus* in a piece of the grossest flattery, ib. iii. 6, 4: — The souls of other men are 'humiles et caducas, vestras vero caelestes et sempiternas.'

Even Ovid had used *aeternus* of the emperor, — Ex Ponto ii. 2, 50 (addressed to Messallinus): —

gratia . . .
Principis aeterni quam tibi praestat amor.

Cp. Fast. iii. 421–2 [6th Mar., anniversary of Augustus's appointment as Pont. Max.]: —

Ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt
Caesaris.

Of the Flavians 'in deorum numerum relati,' Statius (Silv. v. 1, 240) has 'aeternae . . . genti.'

Pliny the Younger has *aeternitas tua* in his letters to Trajan in stock phrases, but not yet as a title: —

41, 1 (Keil): — 'opera non minus aeternitate tua quam gloria digna.'

[1] Cp. *aeternitas* indirectly of the emperor: —
ib. iii. 3, 2 (Mamertinus).
ib. xii. 10, 1 (Pacatius).

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59 init.: — 'per salutem tuam aeternitatemque petit a me,' etc.
83: — 'per aeternitatem tuam salutemque,' etc.

The letters of Symmachus will supply us with further instances, both of adjective and noun, from the literature: —

ii. 31: — 'apud aeternum principem dominum nostrum Theodosium.'
iv. 74: — 'ad aeternorum principum providentiam.'
x. 56: — 'venerabilis aeternitas vestra' (to Theodosius).
x. 61: — 'aeternitas vestra' (bis)[1] (to Valentinian, Theodosius, Arcadius).
x. 66: — 'ad aeternitatis vestrae perfero notionem' (to Theodosius).
Cp. x. 38, 63 and 65: — 'perennitatis vestrae' (Theod.).

In like manner *sacratissimus princeps* became stereotyped, and is too well known for remark here.[2] *Venerabilis* is simply a variation, but with less of the public and formal character.[3]

More frequently the sacredness of the emperor is indirectly expressed by applying the words 'sacred,' 'hallowed,' 'divine,' etc., to his decrees, his palace, council chamber, *scrinia*, and nearly everything that concerns the emperor,[4] or by such

[1] Cf. ib. 'imperii aeternitatem.'

[2] Cp. the title of the Codex of Justinian, that of the Digest and Novels, — also Cod. i. 17, 1, §§ 1 and 4; Novell. 47, § 1 (in a law regulating the forms of documents, — the Greek version reads τοῦδε τοῦ θειοτάτου Αὐγούστου).

[3] For an instance cp. Symmachus, Epist. ii. 23: — 'in amore domini nostri Theodosii venerabilis principis.'

[4] Thus in laws the constitutions are *divales*, *sacratissimae*, etc.; *e.g.*: —
Cod. Theod. Hän. pp. 90–91 ('de Theod. Cod. auctoritate'): — 'constitutionum divalium.'
Just. Inst. iii. 1, 2 a: — 'secundum divalium constitutionum . . . tenorem.'
ib. praef. 2: — 'sacratissimas constitutiones antea confusas.'
Novell. 38 fin. Exc.: — 'Excipimus autem ab hac nostra divina constitutione Theodosium,' etc.
Cod. Theod. xiv. 3, 12: — 'Secundum parentis nostri Constantini divale praeceptum' (cf. ib. xiv. 4, 6).
Of the palace: —
Cod. Theod. Hän. p. 85 ('Gesta in senatu,' etc.): — 'quaestorem sacri palatii.'
ib. vi. 16 tit.: — 'sacri palatii'; cp. xiii. 3, 14 and 19; Just. Inst. praef. 3; ib. i. tit.; Cod. vii. 63, 5 tit.; cp. Novell. 8, 7; C. I. L. VI. 1200 (column of Phocas); Priscian, Laud. Anast. 119–20 (Bähr. P. L. M. V. 268).

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phrases as 'auctoritas principalis oraculi,' 'a nostris adytis,' 'nostrae maiestatis oraculo,'[1] etc.

Of the council chamber: —

Cod. Theod. Hän. p. 94 ('De Theod. Cod. auct.'): —'comites sacri nostri consistorii; cp. Cod. Just. praef. and vii. 63, 5, 3; C. I. L. VI. 1725.

The 'sacrum cubiculum': —

Cod. Theod. vi. 8, 1; Cod. Just. xii. 5 tit.; 16, 4 tit.; Novell. 8, 7, etc.

The 'sacra scrinia': —

Cod. Theod. vi. 26 tit., etc.

[1] Cod. Theod. i. 15, 8; xiii. 3, 18; cp. also Priscian, Laud. Anast. 199 (Bähr. P. L. M. V. 271).

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III. — *Some Poetical Constructions in Thucydides.*

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I. *Prepositional Constructions.*

It is rather remarkable that Thucydides has in general more prepositions than Xenophon, and even than Herodotus (see Tycho Mommsen, *Beiträge zu der Lehre von den griechischen Präpositionen*, p. 17), and in this agrees with the Tragedians, who are polyprothetic (*ibid.* p. 15). The older Attic prose holds in general a middle place in the matter of frequency of prepositions, only Thucydides and Aeneas Tacticus being exceptions (*ibid.* p. 16), and in this respect agreeing with the Tragedians.

According to Mommsen (*ibid.* p. 21), "In Tragedy there appears at first the same [*i.e.* as in Epic and Lyric poetry] peculiar preponderance of the *dative*-prepositions, at least this case decidedly preponderates in three plays (*Sept.*, *Choeph.*, *Eum.*), and in the fragments of Aeschylus, but in two others (*Suppl.*, *Agam.*) the *genitive*, and the accusative only in the probably later revised *Prometheus;* in the *Persians* the three cases are about equal." In Sophocles, Mommsen adds, the *genitive* preponderates; but in the probably oldest play of Euripides, the *Alcestis*, the Epic relation (preponderance of the dative) prevails, as it does in the *Cyclops* and the fragments of the Satyr plays not only of Euripides, but also of the other Tragedians, while this Epic relation appears in Comedy only in the fragments of some poets of Middle Comedy. In Aeschylus the proportion of *dative*-prepositions to accusative is 5 : 4, in Sophocles 2 : 2, but in Euripides 4 : 5, and in Aristophanes 2 : 3. In prose (see Mommsen, p. 23) the dative falls into the background, though not so much in

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Xenophon (especially on account of σύν), in *Ionic*, and in the *earlier portions of Thucydides*. At the end of the course of development a poetical prose brings the *dative* back (Mommsen, p. 23).

a. The preposition ξύν in Thucydides.

All the world knows now, since Tycho Mommsen has demonstrated it, that the use of ξύν is essentially a poetical construction, while μετά with the genitive belongs to prose. Mommsen (p. 1) states the result of his exhaustive discussion as follows: "Σύν belongs in the good period almost wholly to the elevated language of poetry and to Xenophon, while μετά with the genitive is to be found almost alone in prose writers, or in such poets and poetic passages as approximate prose." According to Mommsen's tables, we have in

	μετά c. gen.	ξύν.
Thucydides	400 times	37 times
Antiphon	17 "	2 "
Andocides	25 "	1 "
Lysias	102 "	2 "
Isaeus	57 "	7 "
Plato	586 "	37 "
Demosthenes	346 "	12 (15) times

On the other hand, in

Homer	5 times	181 times
Hesiod *Theog.*	1 "	7 "
Aeschylus	8 "	67 "
Pindar	6 "	113 "
Theocritus	2 "	27 "
Euripides	101 "	197 "
Sophocles	23 "	91 "
Theognis	6 "	13 "

In the following works the only construction is σύν (or ἅμα) with the dative, not an example of μετά with the genitive occurring: Hesiod, *Works and Days*, the greater *Homeric Hymns*, *Batrachomyomachia*, *Shield of Heracles*, the drama of Lycophron, etc. Mommsen having demonstrated the poetical character of the construction with σύν and shown its frequency not only for the authors mentioned above, but practi-

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cally for all extant Greek literature, it remains here simply to classify the examples that occur in Thucydides.[1]

α) *ξύν, with, including:*

i. 12. 11 Δωριῆς ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον, ii. 6. 18 τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί, ii. 13. 51 τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, ii. 13. 54 ἱππέας ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν ἱπποτοξόταις, iii. 104. 16 ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ ἐθεώρουν, iv. 124. 8 ἱππῆς ἠκολούθουν Μακεδόνων ξὺν Χαλκιδεῦσιν, v. 26. 15 ξὺν τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷ δεκαετεῖ . . . εὑρήσει τις τοσαῦτα ἔτη, v. 74. 10 Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν Αἰγινήταις κτέ., vii. 42. 3 ναῦς τρεῖς καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ξὺν ταῖς ξενικαῖς, viii. 90. 24 ἐτειχίζετο οὕτω ξὺν τῷ πρότερον πρὸς ἤπειρον ὑπάρχοντι τείχει, viii. 95. 9 ξὺν ταῖς πρότερον ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ οὔσαις ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο.

β) *ξύν, with, having* (arms *and all*):

ii. 2. 11 ξὺν ὅπλοις ἦλθον, ii. 90. 28 ἐπεσβαίνοντας ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, also iii. 22. 8, 15; iv. 14. 13; v. 11. 2; 50. 9, 13; vi. 105. 10; viii. 32. 11; ii. 70. 14, 15 ξὺν ἑνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δύο (cf. Xen. *Anab.* iv. 5. 33 παῖδας ξὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς).

γ) *ξύν, with the help of* (the gods):

i. 86. 19 ξὺν τοῖς θεοῖς (cf. Hom. Γ 439 σὺν Ἀθήνῃ, Xen. *Cyrop.* iii. 1. 15 σὺν θεῷ, vi. 4. 19 σὺν θεοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπορήσομεν, *Anab.* iii. 2. 31 σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν τινά).

δ) *ξύν, along with, on the side of,* implying a willing connexion:[2]

ii. 58. 11 ἀπὸ τῆς ξὺν Ἄγνωνι στρατιᾶς, iii. 90. 3 Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις, vii. 57. 53 μὴ ξὺν τοῖς ἀποίκοις.

[1] Marchant (on Thuc. vii. 42. 3) says: "*σύν* is *very* rare with persons and never implies a willing connexion, in Attic prose after Thucydides; he has *ξύν* fairly often with persons, and in cases implying will, viz. ii. 58. 11; iii. 90. 3; vii. 57. 53. The latter is common in Tragedy and Xenophon. In ordinary Attic, *σύν* is the word for adding the items of a sum total. *ξὺν* (*τοῖς*) *ὅπλοις* seems to be an old military phrase." See same on ii. 2. 11.

[2] "This use is common in Tragedy and Xenophon," Marchant.

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ε) ξύν, *with*, indicating means or instrument:

i. 84. 7 τῶν ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυνόντων, i. 84. 9 ἤν τις ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνῃ, i. 141. 5 ξὺν φόβῳ ἕξοντες.[1]

ζ) ξύν, *with* (accompaniment):

vi. 62. 3 ἔπλεον ξὺν παντί (*sc.* τῷ στρατεύματι).

η) ξύν, *together with:*

ii. 77. 13 ἐμβαλόντες πῦρ ξὺν θείῳ καὶ πίσσῃ.

θ) ξύν in adverbial phrase (μὴ ξύν = ἄνευ):

iii. 40. 28 οἱ μὴ ξὺν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς ποιοῦντες, iii. 40. 30 ὁ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθών.[2]

b. ἐπί τινι = κατά τινος, *in Thucydides.*

In his note on Thuc. i. 102. 19 ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν, Classen says: "Rare for the accusative." Krüger, on the same passage, remarks, "*Against*, with the idea of purpose," and, in his grammar (*Spr.* 68, 41, 7), classes under this head the two or three examples that he cites. ἐπί with the dative implying purpose is, of course, common enough, but this is not the idea in our passage. Kühner (Gr. 438, ii. d) cites the const. from Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides, and one example from Antiphon, but does not suggest that it is Ionic and poetical. And yet the examples of this const. that I find, outside of Thucydides, are almost all from either Herodotus or the poets, though one class of examples should probably be excepted as not poetical, *e.g.*, Thuc. i. 40. 24 τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῖν θήσετε.[3]

[1] Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7. 13 ἡ κτῆσις πιστῶν φίλων ἐστὶν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ, *Anab.* ii. 6. 18 οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ, *Mem.* ii. 1. 28 τὸ σῶμα γυμναστέον σὺν πόνοις καὶ ἱδρῶτι, Soph. *O. R.* 656 τὸν ἐναγῆ φίλον μήποτ' ἐν αἰτίᾳ ξὺν ἀφανεῖ λόγῳ ἄτιμον βαλεῖν.

[2] The two cases of ξύν quoted in iii. 104, from the hymn to the Delian Apollo, are not cited here. In iii. 13. 19 ξύν is adv.

[3] Cf. Andoc. i. 89 μηδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ νόμον (ἐξεῖναι) τιθέναι ἐὰν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις, Dem. xlvi. 12 οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσι μηδὲ νόμον ἐξεῖναι ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θεῖναι, ἂν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις. The const. that one would naturally expect is found in Dem. xxiv. 59 οὐκ ἐᾷ νόμον ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν τιθέναι κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων.

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Other examples in Thucydides may be mentioned under four heads.

a) ἐπί τινι, in hostile attitude:

(*ἐπί τινι τετάχθαι*): ii. 70. 8 *τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἐπὶ σφίσι τεταγμένοις*, iii. 13. 18 *νῆές τε αὐτοῖς, αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν [γῆν] εἰσίν, αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετάχαται.*[1]

β) ἐπί τινι, with hostile intent toward:

i. 102. 19 *τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν*, also iii. 63. 8; vi. 79. 3; iii. 92. 15 *ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ναυτικὸν παρασκευασθῆναι ἄν*, iii. 93. 2 *ἐνόμισαν [τὴν πόλιν] ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ μάλιστα καθίστασθαι*, iii. 93. 7 *ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο*, iv. 14. 29 *ἔμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ*, iv. 133. 14 *καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' αὐτῇ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ*, v. 33. 7 *κείμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι τῆς Λακωνικῆς*, v. 51. 4 *οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ γῇ τὸ χωρίον ἐτειχίσθη*, vii. 19. 9 *ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖς κρατίστοις . . . ᾠκοδομεῖτο τὸ τεῖχος* (cf. vi. 86. 13 *ἐποικοῦντες ὑμῖν*, vii. 27. 11 *τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῳκεῖτο*), viii. 60. 4 *ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ Ἐρετρίᾳ τὸ χωρίον ὄν* (which the Schol. explains by *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπικείμενον τῇ Ἐρετρίᾳ*).

γ) ἐπί τινι, directed against:

viii. 105. 12 *τὰς ἐπὶ σφίσι ναῦς ἐπεχούσας.*[2]

δ) One other example, though a little different from the preceding, implies hostile intent toward, viz., vi. 61. 5 *ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐδόκει πραχθῆναι*, to which may be

[1] Cf. Hom. B 472 *τόσσοι ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι κάρη κομόωντες ἐν πεδίῳ ἵσταντο διαρραῖσαι μεμαῶτες*, Aesch. *Sept.* 447 *ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ . . . αἴθων τέτακται λῆμα*, 620 *ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα Λασθένους βίαν ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν ἀντιτάξομεν.* The accusative occurs in Thuc. iii. 78. 4 *οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν περικύκλωσιν ἀθρόαις μὲν οὐ προσέπιπτον οὐδὲ κατὰ μέσον ταῖς ἑφ' ἑαυτοὺς τεταγμέναις*, though even here the Codex Palat. has *ἑαυτοῖς.*

[2] Cf. Hdt. vi. 49. 7 *δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι*, Soph. *Ant.* 986 *ἀλλὰ κάπ' ἐκείνᾳ Μοῖραι μακραίωνες ἔσχον* (where Humphreys explains, "Probably by tmesis for *καὶ ἐκείνᾳ ἐπέσχον*"), Hom. E 240 *ἐμμεμαῶτ' ἐπὶ Τυδεΐδῃ ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους.*

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added two doubtful examples, i. 70. 10 ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες, vii. 62. 1 ἀρωγὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λιμένος στενότητι.[1]

c. ἐκ = ὑπό. Of this construction, Kühner (430, 2, 3 c) says: "Of the author with passive or intransitive verbs for ὑπό, almost altogether Ionic, especially in Herodotus, also frequently in the Tragedians, seldom in Attic prose." Humphreys, commenting on Soph. *Ant.* 973 εἶδεν ἀρατὸν ἕλκος | τυφλωθὲν ἐξ ἀγρίας δάμαρτος, says, "ἐξ = ὑπό. Here the actual agent is denoted (see on 957). This probably never occurs in Attic prose; for ἐκ with the passive of verbs of giving denotes the *source*, and the few other seeming examples (such as Thuc. iii. 69. 3 ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι) are doubtful. In Herodotus it is common."

That the construction is essentially Ionic and poetical is true beyond question, but the examples in Thucydides do not sustain Humphreys's view, that it "probably never occurs in Attic prose." On the contrary, it must be regarded as a survival in Thucydides of an Ionic and Tragic construction. The following examples are found in Thucydides: i. 20. 10 ὑποτοπήσαντες . . . Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων σφίσιν Ἱππίᾳ μεμηνῦσθαι,[2] i. 120. 5 ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται,[3] ii. 49. 1 ὡς ὡμολογεῖτο

[1] Cf. Lys. xxv. 19 ἔνιοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐδωροδόκουν, Dem. xix. 205 χρήματα ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, Antiph. vi. 36 τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἐμηχανήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Λυσιστράτῳ, Hdt. i. 61. 12 μαθὼν τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ, vi. 88. 2 οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτῃσι, Aesch. *Prom.* 97 τοιόνδ' ἐξεῦρ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δεσμὸν ἀεικῆ, 921 τοῖον παλαιστὴν νῦν παρασκευάζεται ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ, *Choeph.* 991 ἥτις δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τοῦτ' ἐμήσατο στύγος, *Choeph.* 616 γυναικοβούλους τε μήτιδας φρενῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τευχεσφόρῳ, Soph. *Phil.* 1138 ὅσ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν κάκ' ἐμήσατο.

Other examples from the poets of ἐπί τινι in a hostile sense are: Hom. Γ 15, 132; Ε 97, 244, 882; Θ 110; Λ 293, 352, 460; Ν 542; Π 358; α 382; κ 214; χ 8; Aesch. *Sept.* 298, 483, 544 (cf. the title Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις); *Agam.* 60, 357, 363; *Prom.* 1089; Soph. *Aj.* 18, 772; *Ant.* 1345; *O. R.* 508; *O. C.* 1472; Eur. *Med.* 632.

[2] Shilleto renders, *that information had been conveyed from the body of their fellow-conspirators*, and Morris adds that "ἐκ would not have been joined with the singular."

[3] On this Classen remarks, "ἐκ = ὑπό, mostly Ionic and poetical."

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ἐκ πάντων, iii. 57. 1 7 καὶ περιεώσμεθα ἐκ πάντων,[1] iii. 69. 3 φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι, vi. 36. 9 αἱ οὐκ ἐκ ταὐτομάτου, ἐκ δὲ ἀνδρῶν, οἵπερ αἰεὶ τάδε κινοῦσι, ξύγκεινται.[2]

d. περί τινι, *for* or *about anything.*

In Thuc. vi. 34. 23 the MSS. read οὐ περὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ πρότερον ἔσται ὁ ἀγὼν ἢ τοῦ ἐκείνους περαιωθῆναι τὸν Ἰόνιον. Jowett's note on this passage is, "οὐ περὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ, either 1) *in the neighborhood of Sicily*, or 2) *for*, or *about Sicily*. This latter meaning is uncommon in prose, but cf. Plato, *Prot.* 313 e ὅρα, ὦ μακάριε, μὴ περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις κυβεύῃς τε καὶ κινδυνεύῃς, *Antiph.* v. 6 ἀνάγκη δὲ κινδυνεύοντα περὶ αὐτῷ καί πού τι καὶ ἐξαμαρτεῖν. τοῦ περαιωθῆναι is gen. after ὁ ἀγών." This construction of περί with the dative (= the poetical const. μάχεσθαι περί τινι, Hom. ρ 471, or μάρνασθαι περί τινι, Tyrt. 1. 2) seems to be found, except in the examples just cited, only in the poets (Kühn. 437, ii. 1), Thucydides himself using elsewhere the genitive, *e.g.*, v. 9. 39 ὁρῶντες περὶ ὅσων ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν (also ii. 42. 2; iii. 53. 7; v. 101. 2; vi. 11. 28). But neither the fact that the construction is poetical, nor that it occurs only once in Thucydides is sufficient reason for emending, and Jowett is probably right in retaining the dative and in preferring the meaning *for* or *about*.[3] The commentators are greatly divided on this pas-

[1] This might, of course, be rendered, *thrust out from all.*

[2] Cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 1. 6 ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, ii. 6. 1 εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ πολεμικός, Plato *Phaedr.* 245 b ἐκ θεῶν ἐπιπέμπεται, *Theaet.* 171 b ἐξ ἁπάντων ἀμφισβητήσεται, Lycurg. 62 τοῦτο δὲ Μεσσήνην πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνοικισθεῖσαν, Aesch. *Sept.* 805 ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων, *Suppl.* 942 τοιάδε δημόπρακτος ἐκ πόλεως μία ψῆφος κέκραται, *Agam.* 1495 δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμεὶς ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ, Soph. *El.* 124 ἐκ δολερᾶς . . . ματρὸς ἀλόντ' ἀπάταις Ἀγαμέμνονα, 264 κἀκ τῶνδε ἄρχομαι, *Ant.* 63 ἀρχόμεσθ' ἐκ κρεισσόνων, *Phil.* 335 ἐκ Φοίβου δαμείς, *O. R.* 225 ὅστις . . . κάτοιδεν, ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο, *O. R.* 854 δεῖπε χρῆναι παιδὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ θανεῖν, *O. R.* 970 οὕτω δ' ἂν θανὼν εἴη 'ξ ἐμοῦ, *Ant.* 209 θανὼν καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμήσεται, *Ant.* 293 ἐκ τῶνδε τούτους ἐξεπίσταμαι καλῶς πεπραγμένους μισθοῖσιν εἰργάσθαι τάδε, *Ant.* 972 εἶδεν ἁρατὸν ἕλκος τυφλωθὲν ἐξ ἀγρίας δάμαρτος.

[3] As examples of a striking deviation from his usual construction may be mentioned Thuc. iii. 102. 11 δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, iv. 88. 4 περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ φόβῳ,

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sage. Some write *περὶ τῆς Σικελίας*, as Dobree, Krüger, Stahl, and Classen, on the ground that the preposition *once* expressed could not have *two* different constructions (dat. and gen.), though Jowett's explanation, that *τοῦ περαιωθῆναι* is gen. after *ὁ ἀγών*, would eliminate this difficulty. If, on the other hand, *περί* be taken in a *local* sense, *around, about*, with Kühner (437, ii. 1), and others, the construction is still, if not poetical, at least rare in prose. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2. 13; Hom. A 317, N 570, Σ 453; Hdt. vii. 61. 2; Plato, *Rep.* 359 d.

e. ἀνά with the accusative:

ἀνά occurs only twice in Thucydides, both times of course with the accusative. In iii. 22. 6 *ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν οὐ προιδόντων αὐτῶν* it is used temporally. Cf. Hdt. viii. 123. 3; Soph. *O. C.* 1247. In iv. 72. 11 *τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσκεδασμένων* it is used in a local sense. Cf. Hdt. i. 85. 8; 96. 14; 97. 7; ii. 135. 24; Soph. *O. R.* 477; *O. C.* 1058, 1247; *Aj.* 1190; Eur. *El.* 80; *Ion* 1455, Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 60. In the local sense especially, but also in the temporal, *ἀνά* frequently occurs in Homer and Herodotus. The construction is common in Xenophon, but seems to occur in no other Attic prose writer. In Plato the preposition occurs in the phrase *ἀνὰ (τὸν) λόγον.*

f. ἀμφί with the accusative:

This preposition also occurs only twice in Thucydides. Prof. E. C. Marchant remarks (on Thuc. vii. 40. 6): "*ἀμφί* is not used freely by any prose author but Xenophon. It is not found in inscriptions, except in metre, and in Aristophanes only when he imitates tragedy." In Thuc. vii. 40. 6 *καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐκβάντες τά τε ἄλλα διεπράσσοντο καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄριστον* the preposition means *pertaining to, with reference to*, and seems to occur in this sense elsewhere in Attic prose only in Xenophon.

viii. 93. 17 *ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ*, for elsewhere Thucydides has *περί* with the dative after verbs of fearing (i. 60. 3; 67. 2; 74. 25; 119. 8; ii. 5. 18; 72. 18; 90. 12; iv. 70. 4; 123. 10; vii. 53. 12, 22; vi. 9. 8), according to the usual Attic construction (cf. Phrynichus in Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 37 *δέδοικα περὶ τῷδε, κατὰ δοτικὴν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ Ἀττικοί*).

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In viii. 65. 1 *οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον*, *Pisander and his followers*, it has a sense common in Plato, Herodotus, and Homer (cf. Hdt. i. 62. 12; iii. 76. 7, 9; viii. 25. 12; ix. 69. 7, 9; Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 5. 4; Plato, *Crat.* 399 e; *Apol.* 18 b; *Theaet.* 170 c; *Soph.* 216 c; *Euthyd.* 286 c; 305 d; *Men.* 99 b; *Hipp. Maj.* 281 c; Hom. Γ 146, Z 435; γ 162, χ 281, ω 497), and seems to be a prose usage as much as poetical.

II. *Two Dative Constructions in Thucydides.*

a. ἐλθεῖν (μολεῖν, κτέ.) τινι.

Kühner (423, 4) says: "In poetic language, especially in the Epic, very often the goal toward which the action of the subject is directed is conceived as personal and expressed by the dative." Again (423, 5), "In prose, too, the dative is so used; seldom, however, with simple verbs, though often with those compounded with prepositions." All the prose examples cited by Kühner are from Thucydides. Humphreys, on Soph. *Ant.* 186 *στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς*, says, "Such datives after verbs of motion are datives of interest." This statement is a little too strong. Very many of the numerous examples in Tragedy may very well be considered datives of interest; others are at least debatable; still others are clearly datives of the goal to which the action is directed. At any rate, this construction of the dative, which is so common in Tragedy, is essentially poetical, but survives in no small measure in Thucydides, who was doubtless influenced mainly by Tragic usage. The examples in Thucydides are, viz.:

i. 13. 12 *ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθε*, 27. 1 *ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου ἦλθον ἄγγελοι*, 61. 1 *ἦλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι*, 107. 26 *ἦλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν*, iii. 33. 6 *τῷ δὲ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἀγγελία*, 70. 1 *ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦλθον αὐτοῖς*, 113. 1 *καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἦλθε κῆρυξ*, vi. 46. 11 *τότε ὅτε οἱ πρῶτοι πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦλθον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν κατασκοπὴν τῶν χρημάτων*, vii. 73. 5 *ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὖσιν*, viii. 88. 4 *ἡ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄξειν*

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'Αθηναίοις τὰς Φοινίσσας ναῦς ἡ Πελοποννησίοις γε κωλύσειν ἐλθεῖν, 96. 1 τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ὡς ἦλθε τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν γεγενημένα.[1]

Still other examples are Thuc. iii. 5. 12 αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων ἀφικνεῖται[2] καὶ Ἑρμαιώνδας Θηβαίοις, 29. 5 πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον, 33. 4 καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν δίωξιν ἔπλει διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ὡς γῇ ἑκούσιος οὐ σχήσων ἄλλῃ ἢ Πελοποννήσῳ, vii. 1. 14 σχόντες Ῥηγίῳ καὶ Μεσσήνῃ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Ἰμέραν, 17. 7 ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ἦκον.[3]

[1] Cf. Xen. *Symp.* 2. 1 ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κῶμον Συρακόσιός τις ἄνθρωπος. Plato, *Prot.* 321 c ἀποροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἔρχεται Προμηθεὺς ἐπισκεψόμενος τὴν νομήν. Sauppe considers this a dat. of interest, for he says, "ἔρχεται freq. with the dat. of interest in the poets."

[2] "ἀφικνεῖσθαι has in prose the value of a simple verb," Kühner, 423, 5.

[3] Some examples of this construction from the Tragedians are viz.: Aesch. *Prom.* 358 ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος . . . κεραυνός, 664 ἐναργὴς βάξις ἦλθεν Ἰνάχῳ, *Sept.* 444 αὐτῷ . . . τὸν πυρφόρον ἥξειν κεραυνόν, *Choeph.* 117 ἐλθεῖν τιν' αὐτοῖς δαίμον' ἢ βροτῶν τινα, Soph. *Ant.* 186 στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς, 233 τέλος γε μέντοι δεῦρ' ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν σοι, *O. C.* 1601 μολοῦσαι τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς πατρί(?) ταχεῖ πόρευσαν σὺν χρόνῳ, *O. T.* 765 πῶς ἂν μόλοι δῆθ' ἡμῖν ἐν τάχει πάλιν, *Phil.* 817 ὕπνε . . . εὐαὴς ἡμῖν(?) ἔλθοις, *Trach.* 18 ἀσμένη δέ μοι(?) ὁ κλεινὸς ἦλθε Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς, *El.* 169 τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐμοὶ ἔρχεται ἀγγελίας ἀπατῶμενον, 506 ὡς ἔμολες αἰάνῃ τῇδε γᾷ, *O. C.* 1095 μολεῖν γᾷ τᾷδε καὶ πολίταις, 1447 νέα τάδε νεόθεν ἦλθέ μοι, 396 καὶ μὴν Κρέοντά γ' ἴσθι σοι τούτων χάριν ἥξοντα βαιοῦ κ' οὐχὶ μυρίου χρόνου, 1265 καὶ μαρτυρῶ κάκιστος ἀνθρώπων τροφαῖς ταῖς σαῖσιν ἥκειν, *El.* 1318 ὅτ' οὖν τοιαύτην ἡμῖν(?) ἐξήκεις ὁδόν, 1316 ὥστ' εἰ πατήρ μοι ζῶν ἵκοιτο, μηκέτ' ἂν τέρας νομίζειν αὐτό, *O. C.* 969 εἴ τι θέσφατον πατρὶ χρησμοῖσιν ἵκνεῖθ' ὥστε πρὸς παίδων θανεῖν, *Ant.* 11 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων οὔθ' ἡδὺς οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸς ἵκετο, *Trach.* 756 μέλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ πολυθύτους τεύχειν σφαγὰς κῆρυξ ἀπ' οἴκων ἵκετ' οὐ κενὸς Λίχας, *O. T.* 831 ἀλλ' ἐκ βροτῶν βαίην ἄφαντος πρόσθεν ἢ τοιάνδ' ἰδεῖν κηλῖδ' ἐμαυτῷ συμφορᾶς ἀφιγμένην, *O. R.* 324 ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲ σοὶ τὸ σὸν φώνημ' ἰόν, *Ant.* 618 εἰδότι δ' οὐδὲν ἔρπει πρὶν πυρὶ θερμῷ πόδα τις προσαύσῃ, *O. R.* 711 χρησμὸς γὰρ ἦλθε Λαΐῳ ποτ', *Aj.* 233 κεῖθεν κεῖθεν ἄρ' ἡμῖν δεσμῶτιν ἄγων ἦλυθε πολίμην, *Aj.* 1223 καὶ μὴν ἰδὼν ἔσπευσα τὸν στρατηλάτην Ἀγαμέμνον' ἡμῖν(?) δεῦρο τόνδ' ὁρμώμενον, Eur. *Or.* 941 ἔρχεται σοὶ πικρὸν θέαμα, *Androm.* 488 διὰ πυρὸς ἦλθ' ἑτέρῳ λέχει, *Peirith.* (frg. 3) ἐμῇ ἦλθε μητρὶ(?) πρὸς λέχος Ζεύς, *Alcest.* 998 μή μοι μείζων ἔλθοις, *Med.* 418 ἔρχεται τιμὰ γυναικείῳ γένει, *H. F.* 531 εἰς ἀκμὴν ἐλθὼν φίλοις(?), *Rhes.* 50 σοι ἦλυθον ἄγγελος.

Some of the above examples, especially those to which I have appended an interrogation mark, might be very well regarded, I admit, as datives of interest (advantage or disadvantage), and the following seem certainly to be best explained as such: Aesch. *Agam.* 621, 1377; *Pers.* 432, 701; *Choeph.* 117, 935; *Eum.* 213; frg. 269; Soph. *Ant.* 197; *O. C.* 228, 1420, 1475, 1770; *Aj.* 530, 833, 1138, 1370;

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b. Dative of the Agent in Thucydides.

Goodwin (Grammar, 1187) says, "With other tenses (than the perfect and pluperfect) the agent is regularly expressed by *ὑπό*, etc., and the genitive (1234), only rarely by the dative, except in poetry." Kühner (423, 25 c) is not quite so strong in his statement: "In prose this construction (dative of the agent) occurs most frequently with the perfect, far less frequently with the remaining tenses of the passive."

The examples in Thucydides, which seem to follow rather the poetical than the prose usage, are, viz.:

(With the *present*) *τοῖς Ἕλλησι . . . μισοῦντο*, iii. **64.** 15; *ἑκατέρῳ . . . διδόμενοι*, iii. **82.** 45; *ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων . . . οἰκοῦνται*, iv. **109.** 11; (with the *imperfect*) *ἐλύοντο . . . αὐτοῖς*, i. **44.** 7; *τοῖς Κερκυραίοις . . . ἐωρῶντο*, i. **51.** 3; *αὐτῷ . . . ἐπράσσετο*, ii. **101.** 17; *τοῖς βουλομένοις . . . ἐπορίζοντο*, iii. **82.** 8; *αὐτοῖς . . . ἐπράσσετο*, iii. **85.** 10; (with the *future*) *τοῖς νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα . . . θαυμασθησόμεθα*; (with the *aorist*) *τοῖς πάλαι . . . ἐδοκιμάσθη*, ii. **35.** 17; *σφίσιν . . . προσαχθείη*, ii. **77.** 7; *ἐπράχθη αὐτοῖς*, iv. **54.** 3; (with the *perfect*) *ποιηταῖς . . . δεδήλωται*, i. **13.** 20; *αὐτῷ . . . μεμιασμένης*, ii. **102.** 33; *προξένοις . . . διηγγυημένοι*, iii. **70.** 4; *μοι . . . δεδήλωται*, v. **1.** 6; *ποιηταῖς . . . εἴρηται*, vi. **2.** 5 (*i.e.*, dat. with *present* passive = 3; with *imperfect* = 5; with *future* = 1; with *aorist* = 3; with *perfect* = 5).

The examples that I have collected from Homer and the Tragedians are, viz.:

In Homer: (with the *present*) *Τρωσὶν . . . δαμναμένους*, N 353; *Τρώεσσιν . . . δάμνασθαι*, Θ 376; *σοὶ . . . ἐπιπείθονται*, E 878; *ἀνδράσι ὀχέεσθαι*, K 403; P 77; (with *imperfect*) *τίετο δήμῳ*, E 78; K 33; Λ 58; N 218; Π 605; Ξ 203; *ἡμῖν . . . ἐπιπείθετο*, β 103; (with *future*) *ἐμοὶ . . . ἐπιπείσεται*, P 154; (with *aorist*) (*ἀνδρὶ*) . . . *δαμείς* (*δαμῆναι*), Γ 301, 429; I 545; K 403; Z 461; T 417; Υ 312; X 40; γ 90;

Phil. 827, 832; Eur. *Hipp.* 1461; *Alcest.* 950; *Androm.* 844; *Or.* 991; *Phoen.* 943, 992; *I. A.* 842; *I. T.* 523; *Suppl.* 706, 1156; *Troad.* 1157; *H. F.* 529; *El.* 42, 858; *Cyclops* 597.

In prose, cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 250 d *ὄψις . . . ἡμῖν ὀξυτάτη τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔρχεται αἰσθήσεων*, Arist. *Metaph.* iii. 7 *ἐλήλυθε δ' ἐνίοις αὕτη ἡ δόξα.*

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δ 397; ω 100; τινι . . . δαμασθείς, X 55; (with *perfect*) τινι . . . δεδμήατο, Γ 183; E 878; τινι . . . λέλειπται (λέλειπτο), Ν 168, 256; P 77; θεοῖσι (λαοῖσι, ἀθανάτοισι) . . . τετιμένος, Ω 534; ν 28; θ 472; Hymn *ad Aphrod.* 205; H. *ad Cer.* 397; H. *ad Apoll.* 479 (with *present* = 5; with *imperfect* = 7; with *future* = 1; with *aorist* = 13; with *perfect* = 11).

In Aeschylus: (with *present*) ὅσοις . . . πατοῖτο, *Agam.* 371; (with *aorist*) Φοίβῳ . . . στυγηθέν, *Sept.* 690; Ἄρει . . . δαμέντων, *Prom.* 863; δαμῆναι . . . φίλοις, *Choeph.* 368; (with *perfect*) μοι . . . γεγραμμένος, *Agam.* 801 (with *present* = 1; with *aorist* = 3; with *perfect* = 1).

In Sophocles: (with *present*) προσπόλοις . . . φυλάσσεται, *Aj.* 539; ἀτιμάζοιτο . . . σοι, *Aj.* 1342; πᾶσι . . . καλούμενος, *O. T.* 8; αἰσχροῖς . . . ἐκδιδάσκεται, *El.* 621; ὑμῖν . . . δρώμενα, *El.* 1332; σκαιοῦντι . . . διόλλυται, Frg. 660; κυδάζεται τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις, *Aj.* 722; Ἀργείοις . . . ἀπόλλυμαι, *Aj.* 435; (with *future*) ἐμοὶ . . . ἀξιώσεται, *Ant.* 637; (with *aorist*) σοὶ . . . ηὑρέθη, *Aj.* 119; ἐμοὶ . . . μισηθέντος, *Aj.* 817; βροτοῖς . . . ἐκλήθην, *O. T.* 1359; ἐμοὶ . . . λεχθέν, *Trach.* 1187; αὐτοῖν . . . ἐπέμφθην, *O. C.* 430; πεισθεὶς . . . ἐμοί, *O. C.* 756; πεισθῆναι . . . μοι, *O. C.* 1414; πεισθεῖσα . . . μοι, *El.* 974 (with *present* = 8; with *future* = 1; with *aorist* = 8).

In Euripides: (with *present*) ἐμοὶ φιλεῖ, *Hec.* 1000; στυγοῦμαί τινι, *Androm.* 157; *I. T.* 949; *Alcest.* 62; *Or.* 19; *Troad.* 891; (with *future*) δεσπόταις μισήσομαι, *Troad.* 660; (with *aorist*) ὅτῳ ὤφθην, *Hec.* 970; ὄφθητί μοι, *Bacch.* 914; ἐμοί γε . . . στυγηθείς, *Alc.* 478 (with *present* = 6; with *future* = 1; with *aorist* = 3).

It will thus be seen that, whether the examples collected from these several authors be exhaustive or not, the poets at least make no distinction in favor of the perfect (and pluperfect) in this construction, and that in this respect Thucydides seems to follow the poets.

III. *Some Poetical Constructions of Adjectives and Participles.*[1]

[1] For the collection of examples in this part of the paper I am especially indebted to Mr. J. B. Browder, Assistant in Greek in Vanderbilt University.

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a. Adjective Neuter Plural as Predicate.

Kühner (366) says, "When the subject is an infinitive or a whole sentence, where the Germans use the indefinite pronoun the Greeks are fond of using the *adjective neuter plural* for the *singular*. This occurs most frequently with verbal adjectives in *-τός* and *-τέος*." After citing numerous examples from Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, and Herodotus, Kühner adds, "So mostly Thucydides; rarer with him in the singular. To other Attic prose writers this usage is foreign." Krüger (*Spr.* 44, 4, 2) also says, "Of verbals in *-έος* and of other adjectives the *neuter plural* (without subject) is used for the singular, especially by Thucydides and the dramatists." The construction is thus recognized as essentially Ionic and poetical; but no one seems to have made any large collection of examples.

a) Verbals in *-τέα*:

The examples in Thucydides are viz.: *ἀνθεκτέα*, i. 93. 14; *βουλευτέα*, vii. 60. 2; *διακριτέα*, i. 86. 12; *ἐπιχειρητέα*, i. 118. 15; ii. 3. 10; *καθαιρετέα*, i. 118. 16; *παραδοτέα*, i. 86. 11; *παριτητέα*, i. 72. 4; *πλευστέα*, vi. 25. 7; *πολεμητέα*, i. 79. 6; 88. 2; vi. 50. 23; *τιμωρητέα*, i. 86. 13 (13 examples in all).

In Herodotus Stein cites only two examples: *ἀκουστέα*, iii. 61. 17; *προσλογιστέα*, vii. 185. 2. Sophocles has *ἀκουστέα*, *El.* 340; *ἀμυντέα*, *Ant.* 677; *ἡσσητέα*, *ibid.* 677; *συγχωρητέα*, *O. C.* 1426; Aristophanes has *ἀκουστέα*, *Ran.* 180; *ἀφεκτέα*, *Lys.* 124; *βαδιστέα*, *Acharn.* 393; *ἐμπορευτέα*, *Acharn.* 480; *ἡσσητέα*, *Lys.* 450; *μαλθακιστέα*, *Nub.* 727; *περικαλυπτέα*, *Nub.* 727; *πλευστέα*, *Lys.* 411; *συνεκποτέα*, *Plut.* 1085. To these must be added two examples from Plato, which Kühner seems to have overlooked: *πειρατέα*, *Legg.* 770 b; *προθυμητέα*, *ibid.* 770 b.

In Homer no instance of this construction of the verbal in *-τέα* occurs, though he uses the verbal in *-τά*; *e.g.*, *οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν*, λ 456. This seems to be the only clear case (and this passage is suspected), though Kühner (366) cites under this head *φυκτὰ πέλωνται*, Π 128, *θ* 299, *ξ* 489, and *ἀνεκτὰ πέλονται*, *υ* 223. But Leaf (on Hom. Ξ 98) and

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Monro (on Hom. Ξ 98; O 128) explain *ἀνεκτά* and *φυκτά* as substantives used for the abstract, an explanation which *εὐκτὰ γένηται*, Hom. Ξ 98, seems to support.

β) *Other Adjectives in Neuter Plural* (some of which may have been verbals originally):

ἀδύνατα,[1] i. 1. 11; 59. 4; 125. 5; ii. 72. 16; 74. 6; 97. 29; iii. 88. 4; iv. 1. 12; v. 14. 23; vi. 39. 10; vii. 43. 13; viii. 60. 6; *ἀντίπαλα*, v. 8. 6; *ἄπορα*,[2] iii. 16. 10; viii. 56. 23; *ἄριστα*,[3] i. 95. 8; 145. 1; vi. 8. 15; 26. 4; *δυνατά*, vi. 92. 3; *ἐνδεᾶ*, i. 102. 6; *ἑτοῖμα*, ii. 3. 15; 10. 5; 56. 4; 98. 2; vii. 50. 26 (cf. *ἐπειδὴ ἑτοῖμα πάντα ἦν*, vii. 65. 9); *εὐφύλακτα*, iii. 92. 28; *εὐφυλακτότερα*, viii. 55. 8; *κράτιστα*,[4] v. 40. 20; *πλοϊμώτερα*, i. 7. 2; *πρόσφορα*, vii. 62. 9; *ῥᾴδια*,[5] iv. 108. 9.[6]

γ) *Neuter Plural for Singular in Absolute Construction.*

πλοιμωτέρων ὄντων, Thuc. i. 7. 1; *ἀκρίτων ὄντων*, iv. 20. 5; *εἰσαγγελθέντων*, i. 116. 5.[7]

[1] Cf. Hdt. i. 91. 1; iii. 82. 2; v. 124. 4; 106. 2; vi. 13. 7; Eur. *H. F.* 1057; Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 81.

[2] Cf. Pind. *Ol.* i. 52; *Nem.* iv. 71.

[3] Cf. Hom. N 54; (*βέλτιστα*) Ar. *Lys.* 34; *Ran.* 277.

[4] Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 216; Eur. *Med.* 384; Ar. *Eq.* 30, 73.

[5] Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1395.

[6] Cf. Hdt. ix. 2. 8. Compare also *αἰσχρά*, Soph. *Phil.* 524; *ἀνασχετά*, Eur. *Hipp.* 354; *ἄσημα*, Eur. *Hipp.* 269, 371; *ἀχθεινά*, Eur. *Hec.* 1240; *βιώσιμα*, Hdt. iii. 109. 3; *δεδογμένα*, Soph. *Ant.* 576; *δεινά*, Soph. *Phil.* 628; *δῆλα*, Hdt. i. 4. 1; 207. 3; ii. 5. 3; 146. 2, 13; iii. 35. 2; 83. 1; vi. 52. 31; vii. 162. 8; 238. 4; ix. 11. 2; 17. 6; *δίκαια*, Soph. *Aj.* 1126; *Trach.* 409, 495, 1116; Eur. frg. 52 (B); *H. F.* 583; *δύσμαχα*, Aesch. *Agam.* 1537; *δύσκριτα*, Soph. *Trach.* 949; *ἡρμοσμένα*, Soph. *Ant.* 570; *κηρυχθέντα*, Soph. *Ant.* 447; *μακρά*, Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 247; *οἷά τε*, Hdt. i. 194. 24; iii. 57. 12; iv. 31. 2; v. 20. 16; 49. 13; vi. 31. 12; vii. 16. γ 16; viii. 133. 5; ix. 80. 14; *συγγνωστά*, Eur. *Med.* 491, 703; *Phoen.* 994; *El.* 1026; *Hec.* 1107; *σχέτλια*, Soph. *Aj.* 887. (Hdt. = 28 examples; Eur. = 14; Soph. = 12; Aesch. = 2; Ar. = 4; Pind. = 5; Theog. = 1; Hom. = 1.)

[7] Cf. *εἰσαγγελθέντων*, Dem. L. 17; *ἐπινεφέλων ὄντων*, Hdt. vii. 37. 9; Arist. *Prob.* 25. 18; *οὕτως ἐχόντων*, Hdt. vii. 144. 25; Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2. 10; *ὧδε ἐχόντων*, Hdt. i. 126. 27; Aesch. *Agam.* 1264; Soph. *Ant.* 1179; *Aj.* 981; *πεπραγμένων*, Eur. *Alcest.* 88; *τελεωσθέντων*, Hdt. v. 12. 1; *τελουμένων*, Soph. *El.* 1344; Eur. *Androm.* 998; *ἀπαγγελθέντων*, Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2. 19; *οὕτω γιγνομένων*, Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 3. 13; *οὕτω προχωρούντων*, Xen. *Heil.* ii. 4. 29; *σημασθέντων*, Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4. 18.

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b. Neuter Plural = Cognate or Adverbial Accusative.

A few examples may suffice merely to indicate the extent of this construction in Thucydides.

ὁμοῖα,[1] i. 25. 18; vii. 29. 24; ὁμοιότροπα, i. 6. 24; ἀγχώμαλα, vii. 71. 21; ἀντίπαλα, vii. 34. 23; βραχέα, iii. 40. 12; ἐναντία,[2] i. 29. 6; iii. 55. 9; τὰ ἐναντία (= τὸ ἐναντίον, iv. 86. 6; v. 87. 5), iii. 67. 17; vi. 79. 15; τὰ δεύτερα,[3] vi. 78. 23; τὰ εἰκότα, i. 38. 6; ἴσα,[4] iii. 14. 2; μεγάλα, iii. 40. 12; ὀλίγα, iii. 73. 1; παραπλήσια,[5] vii. 71. 38; τὰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, iii. 54. 9; τὰ πρὸ Ἕλληνος, i. 3. 4; τὰ πρότερα, i. 2. 2; iv. 114. 5.[6]

c. Articular Neuter Adjective or Participle for Abstract Noun.

Classen (on i. 36. 3) says, "This use of neuter participles and adjectives for abstract nouns is a favorite one with Thucydides. It presents to the mind the abstract quality in operation." It is proposed here simply to give the examples of this construction from Thucydides as exhaustively as possible, citing parallels from the poets wherever I have been able to do so. Cyranka, *De Orationum Thucyd. Elocutione cum Tragicis Comparata* (Breslau, 1875), p. 41 f., discusses this construction, but his collection of examples, here as elsewhere, gives a very incomplete view.

[1] Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 231; Soph. Frg. 143. 3; Eur. *Phoen.* 171; Hdt. iii. 8. 2; 57. 9; vii. 118. 7; 120. 9; 141. 4.

[2] Cf. Hdt. vi. 32. 3; Plato, *Symp.* 194 b; *Rep.* 492 d; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 11; (τὰ ἐναντία) Xen. *Mem.* ii. 6. 5; *Cyrop.* v. 5. 24; (ἀντία) Hom. Γ 425; Υ 80, 88, 113, 188; Φ 481; Χ 458; α 78; ο 376; Pind. *Ol.* i. 36; xiii. 51; *Pyth.* iv. 285; viii. 54; Aesch. *Pers.* 694, 700; Hdt. i. 80. 19; 124. 15; iii. 160. 12; v. 99. 7; vii. 236. 21; ix. 31. 22; 48. 10; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1. 23; *Eq.* 6. 2; *Ages.* 5. 7.

[3] Cf. Hdt. vii. 18. 5; 53. 2; 141. 5; 144. 3, etc.

[4] Cf. Hom. Ν 176; α 432; λ 304, 484; ο 520; Hymn *ad Aphrod.* 214; Soph. *Phil.* 317; *O. R.* 1187; *El.* 1478; frg. (D) 311; Eur. *El.* 994; *Phoen.* 220; *Med.* 1351.

[5] Cf. Hdt. iv. 99. 16.

[6] Cf., further, ἔξοχα, Hom. Ξ 257; θ 847; λ 431; ο 70; Pind. *Ol.* i. 2; viii. 23; *Pyth.* v. 25; πρωιζά, Hom. Β 303; ἀκάματα, Soph. *El.* 164; ἄλεκτρα, ἀνυμέναια, Soph. *El.* 962; ἀπαρθένευτα, Eur. *Phoen.* 1470; ἄπορα, Soph. *O. C.* 1745; βαρυάλγητα, *Aj.* 199; ἔκηλα, *El.* 786; ὑπέροπτα, *O. R.* 883; ἐπίκοινα, Hdt. i. 216. 2; iv. 77. 7; ἐπίσκοπα, iii. 35. 15.

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a) Adjectives:

τὸ ἀδεές, iii. 37. 4; τὸ ἀδεέστερον, ii. 59. 14; τὸ αἰσχρόν, ii. 42. 23; v. 105. 13; 111. 14; vi. 11. 25; τὸ αἴσχιον, vi. 10. 9; τὸ αἰφνίδιον, ii. 61. 13; τὸ ἀκίνδυνον, iii. 40. 23; v. 16. 15; τὸ ἀκριβές, v. 90. 5; vi. 18. 36; 55. 16; 82. 15; τὸ ἀληθές,[1] iii. 24. 19; 61. 8; 64. 19, etc.; τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, v. 99. 5; τὸ ἀναίσθητον, i. 69. 14; τὸ ἄνανδρον, iii. 82. 26; τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, ii. 39. 8; 87. 14; iv. 126. 27, 37; τὸ ἀνέλπιστον, ii. 51. 13; iii. 83. 6; τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον, iii. 37. 4; τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, i. 22. 18; iv. 61. 19; v. 105. 5; τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ii. 45. 5; τὸ ἀνώμαλον, vii. 71. 8; τὸ ἀξύμβατον, iii. 46. 11; τὸ ἀξύμφορον, viii. 50. 10; τὸ ἀπειρόκακον, v. 105. 14; τὸ ἄπιστον, viii. 66. 22; τὸ ἄπορον, i. 136. 6; iii. 82. 45; iv. 127. 16; τὸ ἀπρεπές, v. 46. 7; vi. 11. 26; τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον, ii. 61. 13; τὸ ἀσθενές, ii. 61. 8; iii. 52. 15; τὸ ἄσπονδον, i. 37. 15; τὸ ἀστάθμητον, iv. 62. 18; τὸ ἀστέγαστον, vii. 87. 4; τὸ ἀσφαλές, iii. 82. 49; v. 7. 13; 97. 4; vi. 18. 26; 55. 17; viii. 24. 24; τὸ ἀφανές,[2] ii. 42. 20; i. 138. 16; iv. 63. 1; τὸ ἄφρον, v. 105. 15; τὸ ἀφύλακτον, iii. 30. 4; τὸ ἀχρεῖον, ii. 44. 20; τὸ βέβαιον, ii. 89. 23; iii. 83. 7; τὸ βραδύ, i. 84. 1; τὸ γενναῖον, iii. 83. 2; τὸ διαπρεπές, vi. 16. 7; τὸ διάφορον, ii. 27. 9; 37. 5; iii. 54. 2; iv. 79. 10; v. 18. 16; 45. 2; vii. 55. 9; 75. 39; 78. 13; τὸ ἐλεύθερον, ii. 43. 22; v. 99. 2; τὸ ἐλλιπές, iv. 63. 3; τὸ ἐμπειρότερον, ii. 87. 5; τὸ ἐνδεές, i. 77. 11; iii. 83. 9; τὸ ἐπιεικές,[3] i. 76. 20; iv. 19. 12; τὸ ἐπιμελές, v. 66. 18; τὸ ἐπιτήδειον, iv. 76. 28; τὸ ἐρῆμον, v. 7. 21; τὸ εὔδαιμον, ii. 43. 22; τὸ εὔηθες, iii. 83. 2; τὸ εὔκοσμον, i. 84. 11; τὸ εὔλογον, iv. 87. 12; τὸ εὔνουν, iv. 87. 13; v. 109. 2; τὸ εὔπορον, viii. 48. 15; τὸ εὐπρεπές, iii. 38. 12; 44. 13; vii. 57. 38; τὸ εὐτυχές, ii. 44. 13; τὸ εὔψυχον, ii. 39. 6; 43. 23; iv. 126. 38; v. 9. 2; τὸ ἔχυρον, v. 109. 11; τὸ ἠπιώτερον, ii. 59. 13; τὸ θαρσαλέον, ii. 51. 26; τὸ θεῖον,[4] v. 70. 4; 104. 4; 105. 5, 11; 112. 7; τὸ κοινόν, iii. 30. 13; τὸ λεπτύγεων, i. 2. 19; τὸ λυπηρόν, ii. 38. 4; τὸ μέσον, vi.

[1] Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 876; Eur. *Hec.* 346.
[2] Cf. Eur. *Alcest.* 785.
[3] Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1127; frg. 709 (D); Eur. *Aug.* (frg.) 1; Plato, *Legg.* 75.
[4] Cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 952; Soph. *Trach.* 1152; *O. C.* 1485.

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18. 36; τὸ *νόμιμον*,[1] iii. 9. 1; τὸ *ξυγγενές*,[2] i. 95. 5, etc.; τὸ *ξυμμαχικόν*, i. 107. 27; ii. 101. 15; iii. 3. 19; 91. 7; iv. 61. 15; v. 6. 6; vii. 20. 5; 33. 22; viii. 9. 10; τὸ *ξύμφορον*, iii. 47. 18; v. 98. 3; τὸ *ξυνετόν*, ii. 15. 9; iii. 82. 27; 83. 10; τὸ *ξύνηθες*, vi. 34. 17; τὸ *ξυνώμοτον*, ii. 74. 11; τὸ *οἰκεῖον*, i. 9. 2; vii. 44. 10; τὸ *ὅμαλον*, v. 65. 17, 30; vi. 101. 14; vii. 44. 43; τὸ *ὅμορον*, vi. 88. 4; τὸ *ὁπλιτικόν*, vi. 23. 3; τὸ *ὀρθόν*, iii. 56. 8; 66. 20; τὸ *ὅσιον*,[3] iii. 84. 14; τὸ *περιχαρές*, ii. 51. 28; vii. 73. 15; τὸ *πιστόν*,[4] i. 68. 1; ii. 40. 24; vi. 72. 22; viii. 9. 9; τὸ *πολέμιον*, iii. 56. 7; v. 11. 22; τὸ *πολιτικόν*, viii. 93. 18; τὸ *πολύτροπον*, iii. 83. 11; τὸ *σαφές*,[5] i. 22. 17; iii. 29. 8; vi. 60. 13; τὸ *σῶφρον*,[6] i. 37. 7; iii. 62. 10; 82. 26; τὸ *τερπνόν*, i. 120. 22; ii. 53. 7; τὸ *τολμηρόν*, i. 102. 10; ii. 87. 22; τὸ *τρυφερώτερον*,[7] i. 6. 7; τὸ *ὑπήκοον*, iv. 99. 6; vi. 69. 25; τὸ *ὕποπτον*, i. 90. 2; vi. 86. 4; 89. 1; τὸ *φανερόν*, i. 42. 14, etc.; τὸ *φαῦλον*, vi. 18. 35; τὸ *φιλόπολι*, vi. 92. 11; τὸ *φιλότιμον*,[8] ii. 44. 19; τὸ *φοβερόν*, iv. 61. 23; vii. 63. 16; τὸ *φοβερώτερον*, vi. 83. 13; τὸ *χρήσιμον*, iii. 44. 13; 56. 7; v. 98. 4; τὸ *ὠφέλιμον*, i. 76. 2; iii. 56. 28.

β) Participles:

Goodwin (MT. 829) says: "The neuter singular of the present participle with the article is sometimes used as an

[1] Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 538; *Hel.* 1270.

[2] Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 39, 285; Soph. *El.* 1461; *O. R.* 814; *O. C.* 745; Eur. *Or.* 795; *Heracl.* 241; *Androm.* 985; *Oen.* (frg.) 6.

[3] Cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1038.

[4] Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 632; *Trach.* 397; *O. C.* 1485; Eur. *Or.* 245.

[5] Cf. Eur. *Or.* 397; *Hel.* 576, 1149; *Bell.* (frg.) 20. 4.

[6] Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 432, 999; *Or.* 502; *Androm.* 346, 365; *Troad.* 1007; *Hel.* 938; *El.* 53; *Oed.* (frg.) 153.

[7] Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1455; *Eccl.* 901.

[8] Cf. Eur. *I. A.* 22, 342, 385.

Add τὸ *ἀναγκαῖον*, Aesch. *Agam.* 876; Eur. *Hec.* 346; τὸ *δυσγενές*, Eur. *Alex.* (frg.) 12; τὸ *δυσμαθές*, Eur. *I. T.* 479; τὸ *δυσμενές*, Eur. *Hec.* 733; *Or.* 261; *I. A.* 1376; *I. T.* 637; *Troad.* 668; τὸ *δυστυχές*, Eur. *Hipp.* 637; *Suppl.* 493; *I. A.* 1342; *Troad.* 641; *Heracl.* 303; *Hel.* 27, 236; τὸ *δύσφορον*, Aesch. *Agam.* 547; τὸ *δυσχερές*, Eur. *Phoen.* 401; *Med.* 731; τὸ *εὐσεβές*, Soph. *O. C.* 1127; Eur. *Troad.* 43; *Cyclops* 310; τὸ *εὐγενές*, Eur. *Hipp.* 1388; *Alcest.* 617; *Troad.* 616; *Alex.* (frg.) 12; *Erech.* (frg.) 2; τὸ *κακοῦργον*, *Hipp.* 642; τὸ *μαλακόν*, Ar. *Vesp.* 1455.

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abstract noun, where we should expect the infinitive with the article. This occurs chiefly in Thucydides and in the poets. This is really the same use of the neuter singular of an adjective for the corresponding abstract noun, which is common in ordinary adjectives." Krüger (on Thuc. i. 36. 3), too, says, "This usage is more characteristic of the Tragedians; of Attic prose writers common only in Thucydides. . . . Imitations first among the later authors: τὸ δεδιός, Dion. *Arch.* vi. 36; Dio C. xxxix. 45; τὸ θαρσοῦν, Dio C. xxxvii. 1; xlii. 1; xlvii. 29; lxxiii. 2; τὸ χαῖρον καὶ τεθαρρηκός, Plut. *Fab. Max.* 26; τὸ θυμούμενον, *ibid.* 20; τὸ βουλόμενον, *Dion. Arch.* vii. 24; x. 51; τὸ λογιζόμενον, Dio C. xlii. 1."

In Thucydides: (τὸ ἀθροισθέν, vii. 85. 12; τὸ ἀνειμένον, v. 9. 18; τὸ ἀποβάν, ii. 87. 10;) τὸ βουλόμενον,[1] i. 90. 9; vii. 49. 3; τὸ δεδιός, i. 36. 3; τὸ διαφέρον, v. 102. 2; (τὸ διακλαπέν, vii. 85. 14;) (τὸ διῃρημένον, ii. 76. 2;) τὸ δοκοῦν, i. 84. 8; iii. 38. 11; v. 85. 6; τὸ δρώμενον, v. 66. 18; 102. 4; vi. 16. 12; τὸ δυναστεῦον, vi. 89. 16; τὸ εἶκον, iv. 61. 20; τὸ εἰκός, ii. 59. 12; τὸ ἐλλεῖπον,[2] vi. 69. 9; τὸ ἐναντιούμενον, vi. 89. 16; τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν, vi. 24. 4; τὸ ἐπιόν, iv. 61. 21; τὸ ἐπιχειρούμενον, iv. 55. 15; (τὸ ἐρωτηθέν,[3] iii. 61. 2;) τὸ ἡσυχάζον, vii. 83. 15; τὸ θαρσοῦν, i. 36. 3; τὸ θεραπεῦον, iii. 39. 29; τὸ θυμούμενον,[4] vii. 68. 5; τὸ καθεστηκός, i. 98. 9; vi. 67. 10; τὸ κενούμενον, ii. 76. 9; τὸ λυποῦν,[5] ii. 61. 9; τὸ λυσιτελοῦν,[6] vi. 85. 12; τὸ μελετῶν, i. 42. 22; τὸ μέλλον, i. 84. 1; 90. 2; i. 42. 6; ii. 64. 28; iii. 44. 7, 11; 48. 6, etc.; (τὸ μεμαχημένον, vii. 43. 44;) τὸ μένον, v. 9. 18; (τὸ νικηθέν, ii. 87. 9;) τὸ ξυγκείμενον, iv. 68. 21; τὸ ξυμφέρον, i. 42. 4; ii. 40. 23; iii. 56. 9, 25, etc.;

[1] Cf. Eur. *I. A.* 1270; Antiph. v. 73.

[2] Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 5. 39.

[3] Cf. τὸ ἐρωτώμενον, Xen. *Mem.* iv. 2. 23, etc.

[4] Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 299; Antiph. 118, 16.

[5] Cf. τὸ λυπούμενον, Plato, *Phileb.* 32 e.

[6] Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 336 d; Dem. xxvi. 16.

Add τὸ δυνάμενον, Antiph. v. 73; τὸ θέλον, Soph. *O. C.* 1220; (τὸ μεταμελησόμενον, Xen. *Mem.* ii. 6. 23;) τὸ κλέπτον, Ar. *Vesp.* 900; τὸ κρατοῦν, Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 43; τὸ μαινόμενον, Eur. *Hipp.* 248; (τὸ λελογισμένον, Eur. *I. A.* 386); τὸ πεάζον, Soph. *Trach.* 144; τὸ νοσοῦν, Soph. *Phil.* 675; Plat. *Symp.* 186 b; (τὸ παρειμένον, Eur. *Or.* 210;) τὸ ποθοῦν, Soph. *Trach.* 196; τὸ τρυφῶν, Ar. *Vesp.* 1455; τὸ χαῖρον, Plato, *Phileb.* 32 e.

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(*τὸ ξυνενεγκόν*, ii. 51. 8;) *τὸ ὀργιζόμενον*, ii. 59. 12; *τὸ ὀρθούμενον*, iv. 18. 16; *τὸ παρατυγχάνον*, i. 122. 6; *τὸ παρεῖκον*, iv. 36. 7; *τὸ παρόν*, i. 25. 2; 32. 11; iii. 44. 8, etc.; *τὸ περιόν*, ii. 79. 30; vi. 55. 17; *τὸ τιμώμενον*, ii. 63. 1; *τὸ ὑπάρχον*, vii. 67. 1; *τὸ ὑπεῖκον*, iii. 39. 30; *τὸ ὑπερβάλλον*, ii. 35. 16.

IV. *Substantives used Adjectively in Thucydides.*

Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 21, says, "A class by itself consists of forms used adjectively, which in Attic were only substantival, as Ἑλλάς for Ἑλληνική, Ἰλιάς for Ἰλιακή, *ἱππότης* for *ἱππικός*, and Περσίς for Περσική." He cites numerous instances of such older usage from Herodotus and the Tragic poets; but he overlooks the fact that this Ionic and Tragic usage survives in no small measure in Thucydides, not only Ἑλλάς,[1] Ἕλλην,[2] and Περσίς[3] being used adjectively in Thucydides, but also Ἰάς,[4] Τρῳάς,[5] Δωρίς.[6]

For Thucydides's use, on the other hand, of *πεζός* as a substantive, see Diener, *De Sermone Thucydidis* etc., p. 43, who cites examples also from Herodotus and Xenophon. This usage also is Tragic. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 721, 728.

V. *Some Isolated Poetical Constructions.*

I mention in conclusion some isolated poetical constructions in Thucydides, which at present I cannot group otherwise than under this general head.

[1] Thuc. vi. 62. 9; cf. Hdt. ii. 56. 10; iv. 12. 6; 78. 7; v. 93. 11; vi. 98. 16; vii. 22. 15; ix. 16. 13; Aesch. *Suppl.* 243; *Agam.* 109; *Pers.* 186, 271, 809; Soph. *Phil.* 223; Eur. *I. T.* 17, etc.

[2] (Ἕλλην πόλεμος, ξύμμαχος, ἱππεύς) Thuc. ii. 36. 13; iii. 103. 2; v. 6. 21; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 355, 362; *Agam.* 429 (Ἕλλην αἶα).

[3] Thuc. i. 138. 4; cf. Hdt. vii. 29. 3; Aesch. *Pers.* 59, 250, 406, 646, 1068, 1073. Diener says, however, that Περσίς is used adjectively also in Isocr. v. 66; Xen. *Cyrop.* ii. 1. 1; viii. 5. 25.

[4] Thuc. iv. 61. 10. Diener cites also Plato, *Soph.* 242 d, where Plato, referring to Empedocles and Heraclitus Ephesius, seems to have addressed these poets in poetical language. Diener cites, further [Aeschin.] *Epist.* x. 3; but, as he remarks, the author of that epistle being guilty of other transgressions of Attic usage, we need not trouble ourselves about this passage.

[5] Thuc. i. 131. 6; cf. Hdt. v. 26. 4; Soph. *Aj.* 819, 984.

[6] Thuc. iii. 112. 14; vi. 5. 6; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 486, 817; Soph. *O. C.* 695; Eur. *El.* 814; *Hec.* 934; Pind. *Nem.* iii. 5.

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a) The periphrastic construction, as found Thuc. i. **38**. 15 ἑλόντες βίᾳ ἔχουσι, *they have taken by force and still hold.* Morris (on i. **38**. 15) says: "From this use of ἔχειν it comes to be employed with the participle aorist or perfect as a periphrasis for those tenses, but expressing strongly the maintenance of the result attained; in Thucydides [elsewhere] only in vi. **39**. 10; **76**. 11; frequent in the Tragic poets, particularly Sophocles; as *Aj.* 22; *O. T.* 577, 699; *Antig.* 1058, 1068. GMT. 47."

b) Thucydides has a single example of ὡς = ὥστε with the infinitive, vii. **34**. 23 ὡς αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρους ἀξιοῦν νικᾶν, and Plato has one, *Rep.* 365 d. Goodwin (MT. 608) says: "ὡς occurs chiefly in Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, and Xenophon, where it is used in the same constructions and in the same sense as ὥστε." Euripides has, Goodwin says, one example of ὡς with inf., *Cycl.* 647.

c) ὥς = οὕτως. This occurs once in Thucydides (iii. **37**. 26). Krüger (*Dial.* 69, 77, 1) says: "In the poets, especially Homer, very common for οὕτως; also as correlative for ὡς. . . . In Attic poets rare." In Herodotus the simple ὥς occurs in ix. **18**. 11 (but ὡς δὲ καί is frequent in Herodotus; cf. Plato, *Prot.* 326 d), in Aesch. *Agam.* 930 (emended by Weil, ὡς), Soph. *O. C.* 1242, *El.* 65, 1074 (both emended in Teubner), Eur. *Hec.* 441, 888, *Bacchae* 1068. In other Attic prose writers apparently only in Plato, *Prot.* 333 a; *Rep.* 530 d.

καὶ ὥς, which is frequent in the Iliad, occurs seven times in Thucydides (i. **44**. 11; iii. **33**. 9; vii. **74**. 2; **81**. 30; viii. **51**. 10; **56**. 10; **87**. 18); οὐδ' ὥς (μηδ' ὥς) six times (i. **74**. 13; **132**. 24; v. **55**. 11; **115**. 6; vii. **28**. 14; **75**. 36). Cf. Hdt. vi. **76**. 10; Soph. *Ant.* 1042; Ar. *Lys.* 804.

d) ὥστε = ὥσπερ. In Thuc. vii. **24**. 7 the Mss. read ὥστε γὰρ ταμιείῳ χρωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς τείχεσι κτέ. Classen, Stahl, and Hude emend to ὥσπερ, which seems to be supported by the imitation of Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9 ἐχρῶντο ὥσπερ ταμιείῳ ταῖσδε ταῖς πόλεσιν. Bekker and Krüger write ἅτε following Codex B, as in v. **72**. 1. Goodwin (MT. 863) retains ὥστε and takes it in the sense of ἅτε, *inasmuch*

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as, comparing Hdt. i. 8. 3 *ὥστε ταῦτα νομίζων*, vi. 136. 7 *ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ*. Now, since we have in Thucydides a single example of *ὡς* = *ὥστε* with infinitive, which is an Ionic and poetical construction; a single example of *ὥς* = *οὕτως*, which seems to occur elsewhere in Attic prose only in Plato; a single example of *ὡς ἄν* with the subjunctive (vi. 91. 18), which is common in Homer, not infrequent in Tragedy, and occurs in Herodotus, — I am inclined to agree with Goodwin, that *ὥστε* is to be retained in vii. 24. 7, taking it, either as Goodwin does, or as = *ὥσπερ*; though of course this latter construction, while common enough in the poets, is not found elsewhere in Attic prose. The more I study Thucydides, both in point of vocabulary and construction, the less inclined I am to emend a Ms. reading, even though it be a *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον*, simply because the usage is poetical elsewhere.

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IV. — *English Words which hav Gaind or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction.*

THIRD PAPER.

By CHARLES P. G. SCOTT.

ATTRACTION, we ar told, is that quality in a body whereby it tends to draw all other bodies to itself. That which is true of attraction in the physical world appears to be true of Attraction in the world of English words; for the subject, which I hav set forth at some length, tho for each section with great brevity, in two papers publisht in the TRANSACTIONS for 1892 (vol. xxiii. p. 179–305), and for 1893 (vol. xxiv. p. 89–155) is not yet exhausted. This is cald my third, and any one who chooses may call it my concluding paper thereon; tho it is really only the third part of a single paper, and for the conclusion, why should one conclude his paper before he concludes the subject? At the end of this part, however, if I do not conclude, I wil pause; but first let me go on.

I hav treated so far of six sections, including 29 classes of words, the number of main words in a class ranging from 1 to 161, with a large number in some classes treated excursivly. I resume with section VII.

§ VII. Initial CH gaind.

The next class of words showing the effect of Attraction contains two pronouns ending in *-ch*, namely, *ich*, a Middle English and modern dialectal form of *I*, and *everich*, a Middle English and modern dialectal form of *every*.

XXX. **Ich** (*i*tsh), a dialectal and ME. form of *I*: AS. *ic*, Goth. *ik*, etc. In ME. *ich* was often joind with the following

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verb as if one word; namely, *ich am* as *icham*, *ich have* as *ichave*, *ich hadde* as *ichadde*, *ich will* as *ichill*, *ich wot* as *ichot*, etc. Then *icham*, *ichave*, *ichadde*, *ichill*, etc., wer often written *i cham*, *i chave*, *i chad*, *i chill*, etc., and these forms in turn became reduced to *cham*, *chave*, *chad*, *chill*, etc., subject to alternation with *i cham*, etc., and even *ich cham*, etc., with the *ch* reduplicated. These reduced forms stil exist in some dialects.

1. **Ich am** (*a*) becomes (*b*) *icham*, (c^1) *i cham*, (c^2) *ich cham*, (*d*) *cham*.

(*a*) Freo wummon *ich am* ant tah godes þeowe.
c 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 4.
Fan *ich aam* in this miseree.
1867 *Casteale Cudde's Lamentation*, in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 104.
(*b*) *Icham*. *c* 1350 *Will. of Palerne* (E.E.T.S.), l. 594, 1733, 3951.
Icham sori for my sunnes.
c 1362 [LANGLAND], *Piers Plowman* (A), v. 226.
Ac, certes, *icham* a pouer man.
c 1440 *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 755. (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* ii. 400.)
(c^1) Beleue hym not, sur, bide at home,
For sure *I cham* twull raine.
1577 KENDALL, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1874), p. 264.
(c^2) *Iche cham* a Cornyshe man al che can brew.
1547 BORDE, *Introd. to Knowledge* (in *Spec. Cornish Prov. Dialect*, 1846), p. 84.
(*d*) By gys, master, *cham* not sick, but yet chave a disease.
1575 STILL, *Gammer Gurton*. (Wr. p. 511.)
Pro (s) substituunt (z), ut (zɪq) pro (*s*ɪq) cano; et (*i*tsh) pro (ei) ego: (tsham) pro (əi am) sum: (tsh*i*l) pro (əi wil) volo: (tsh*i* voor j*i*) pro (əi war'ant jou) certum do.
1621 GILL, *Logonomia Anglica* (quoted by Ellis, *E.E.P.*, p. 315, with paleotype substitutions).
Vor *cham* assured he'll but bring her to the spoil.
1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 507.)
But step [read *stap* = stop]! *Cham* avore ma Story.
1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 80.
[*Cham*, *Chave*, *chad*, *chell*, *chud*, etc., abound in the Exmoor specimens.]
Chant [ich am not] zo bad's thee.
1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 50.
Cham afear'd ich mosth cross a Shanaan.
1867 *Gloss. of Forth and Bargy*, p. 104.

2. **Ich habbe** or *ich have* (*a*) becomes (*b*) *ichabbe* or *ichave*, (c^1) *i chabbe* or *i chave*, (c^2) *ich chabbe* or *ich chave*, (*d*) *chabbe* or *chave* or *cha*.

(*a*) *Ich habbe*. *c* 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 4.
Ich abbe [later text *habbe*] i min castlen seoue þusend kempen.
c 1200 LAYAMON, *Brut*, I. 20.
Ich have. *c* 1300 *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 21. (H. p. 672.)

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A portion ich gae her, was (it's now *ich have* ee-tolth [i-told])
Dhree brailès o' beanès, an a keow at was yole.
1867 *The Bride's Portion*, in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 102.

(*b*) Nai, quoð he, nulle ich no, for *ichabbe* iherd. . . .
c 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 22.

Ichave. *c* 1320 *Beves of Hamtoun*, p. 20. (H. p. 805.)
Whan *ichave* thin hed of-take.
c 1400 *Rom. of Rembrun*, p. 474. (H. p. 632.)

(*c*[1]) Ry3t as *y chave* in trewe story full oft y-redde.
c 1420 *Chron. Vilodun.* p. 89. (H. p. 549.)

(*c*[2]) Bot *ic chabbe* the help of the.
c 1300 *Hymn to the Virgin* (ms. Egerton 613, *Reliq. Antiq.* i. 102–3). (H. p. 957.)
Wel efte *ich chabbe* the fur-saken.
c 1300 *Id.* (H. p. 957; Ellis, *E.E.P.*, p. 445.)

(*d*) By gys, master, cham not sick, but yet *chave* a disease.
1575 STILL, *Gammer Gurton.* (Wr. p. 510.)
And *chave* an over Arrant to tha, mun.
1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 86.
Well, *cha* 'a [read *cha*] bin zarved many a sluttish trick.
1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 504.)
Amang wefty jhames, '*cha* jeist ee-rid apan a laafe. . . .
1867 *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 100.

3. Ich hadde, *ich had* (*a*), becomes (*b*) *ichad*, (*c*) *i chad*, and finally (*d*) *chad.*

(*a*) Eee crappès o' a shearde *ich had* a cousaane.
1867 *Gloss. of Forth and Bargy*, p. 106.

(*c*) To han y-sye hurre body, quad he, *y chad* gret luste.
c 1420 *Vita S. Etheldredae Eliensis*, l. 1137. (Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, 1881, p. 305.)

(*d*) *Chad* a foule turne now of late, chill tell it you, by gigs.
1575 STILL, *Gammer Gurton.* (Wr. p. 508.)
Whereas the inhabitants about London would say, I would eat more cheese if I had it. A northern man would speak it thus, Ay sud eat mare cheese gyn ay had et. And a western man thus, Chud eat more cheese an *chad* it. 1658 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 4.
Chad a Crick in ma Back, and in ma Niddick.
1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 102.
Bread and cheese 'c' have a had,
That '*c*' *had* 'c' have a eat,
More 'ch wou'd '*c*' *had* it.
1825 JENNINGS, *Dial. of West of Eng.*, p. 188.

4. Ich will (*a*), ME. *ich wille* or *wulle*, becomes (*b*) *ichulle, ichul, ichil*, (*c*[1]) *i chulle, y chull, i chil* or (*c*[2]) *ich chyl, ich chulle, ic chulle*, and finally (*d*) *chill, chull, chell.*

(*a*) *Ich will* put on my best white sloppe. 1611 *Melismata.* (H. p. 759.)

(*b*) *Ichulle* beteachen mi bodi to eueruch bitternesse.
c 1200 *St. Marherete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 5.
Sire, *ichul* sker me I ne 3ef ham dint no pilt.
a 1300 *Song of the Times* (*Polit. Songs*, Camden Soc. 1839, p. 200; quoted by Ellis, *E.E.P.*, p. 448).

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Of thine harm, be seyn Jon, *Ichil* the warn ful fain.
c 1440 *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 785. (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* ii. 402.)

(c^1) Never eft y nil no woman se, Into wildernes *I chil* te.
c 1300 *Sir Orpheo*, ed. Laing, 174. (H. p. 854.)

I chulle. *c* 1306 *Execution of Sir Simon Fraser* (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 278).
Bot evene the very trewthe *y chull* 3ou say
Ry3t as y chave in trewe story full oft y-redde.
c 1420 *Chron. Vilodun*, p. 89. (H. p. 549.)

(c^2) *Ich chulle* send þe nu. *c* 1200 *St. Juliana* (E.E.T.S.), p. 15.
A pine *ic chulle* kenne.
c 1258 *Meidan Maregrete*, l. 233. (E.E.T.S. p. 41.)
D[r]ynke to me, or els *iche chyl* begyn.
1547 BORDE, *Introd. to Knowledge* (quoted in *Spec. Cornish Prov. Dial.*, 1846, p. 84).

(*d*) *Chil* tell you what chall do: *chil* go spy up and down the town.
1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 507.)
(Tshɨl) pro (əi wɨl). 1621 GILL, *Logonomia Anglica* (quoted by Ellis, *E.E.T.S.*, p. 315, with paleotype substitutions).
Chill not let go, Zir, without vurther 'casion.
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*, iv. 6. (F^1 p. 304.)
Chell make thy kep hoppee. 1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 48.
Ch'ull no part wi' Wathere.
1788 *A Yola Song*, in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy* (1867), p. 90.

5. Ich won't (*a*), 'I wil not,' becomes (*c*) **i chwont*, and finally (*d*) *chont, chawnt.*

(*d*) Bet *chawnt* drow et out. 1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 52.
Mey be chell and mey be *chont.*
1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 106.

6. Ich would (*wolde, wold, woud, wood*) (*a*) becomes (*c*) *i cholde, i chood, i chud,* (*d*) *chood, chud.*

(*a*) *Iche wolde* fayne taale ons myd the cup.
1547 BORDE, *Introd. to Knowledge* (in *Spec. Cornish Dial.*, 1846, p. 84).
Ich woode be pitcht ee kurkeen, ar zippeen, to a coolaan.
1867 *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 106.

(*c*) For an heyre *y cholde* fayne haue.
c 1420 *Vita S. Etheldredae Eliensis*, l. 193. (Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, 1881, p. 287.)

(*d*) As pretty a Dowsabel as an *chould* chance to see in a summer's day.
1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 507.)
Chud eat more cheese an chad it. 1668 WILKINS, *Real Character*, p. 4.
More *'ch wou'd* 'c'had it. 1825 JENNINGS, *Dial. of West of Eng.*, p. 188.
'Choo'd drieve aam aul awye.
1823 in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy* (1867), p. 110.

7. Ich was (*a*) becomes (*c*) **i chwas*, **i chas*, (*d*) *chas.*

(*a*) Such a lerripoop as thick *ych was* ne'er yzarved.
1605 *London Prodigal*, iv. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, ii. 504.)

(*c*) *'Chas* for *Ich waas*, I was. 1867 *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 16.

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8. Ich war or *Ich were* (*a*), a variant of *Ich was*, becomes (*c*) **i chwar*, (*d*) **chwar, chawr, chur.*

(*d*) *Chaw'r* in wey en [with him] to daunce.
1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 84.
Chawr a told that . . . 1746 *Id.*, p. 102.
Thoa *chur* a lamps'd in wone o' ma Yearms. 1746 *Id.*, p. 102.

9. Ich wot (*a*), ME. *ich wot*, AS. *ic wāt*, becomes (*b*) *ichot*, (*c*) *i chot*, (*d*) **chot, chote.*

(*c*) The bisshop of Glascou *y chot* he wes ylaht . . .
Yef hee mowen him hente, *i chot* he bith forlore.
c 1306 *Execution of Sir Simon Frazer.* (Child, *Ballads*, vi. 276.)
(*d*) *Chote* well aar aim. 1788 *A Yola Song*, in *Gloss. Forth and Bargy*, p. 84.

For the adhesion of *i* or *ich* to *habbe, hadde, wille, wot*, etc., compare the adhesion of *i* or *y* to the negativ forms of these verbs (*nabbe, nadde, nille, not*, etc.), and to pronouns.

Ynabbe [*i ne habbe*] (l. 107) . . . *Ynot* [*i ne wot*] (l. 158, 166) . . .
Yneleoue [*i ne leoue*] (l. 169) . . . ynemai [*i ne mai*] (l. 168).
c 1300 *Seinte Margarete* (E.E.T.S.), p. 27, etc.
Yif *ichim* [*ich him*] speke er he wende.
c 1440 *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 2002 (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* ii. 452.)

This attracted *ch-*, or the original *ich*, the playwrights of Shakespeare's time, he among them, often represented in the form *che;* but there was never an independent form *che*. There is an expanded form *ichë*, pronounced *utchy* in South Somerset (1825 Jennings, p. 78).

Che have an hundred pound more.
1605 *London Prodigal*, v. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 514.)
Well, *che* vore ye, he is chang'd . . . You shall not want for vorty more, *che* vore thee. 1605 *Id.* v. (ii. 525.)
Keepe out *che* vor'ye, or ice try whither your Costard or my Ballow be the harder. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*, iv. 6. (F^1 p. 304.)

So from *ise*, speld *ice* in the last quotation, a dialectal reduction of *I sall* for *I shall*, the playwrights made a brand-new pronoun, *ise, ice*, for *I*. The form is correctly used in the last quotation, and in these two following:

Davy. Ice live and tye in good quarrel.
1600 *Sir John Oldcastle* i. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 272.)
I'faith, neam Club, *Ise* wot ne'er what to do, *Ise* be so flouted and shouted at; but by the mess *Ise* cry. 1600 *Id.* v. 8. (ii. 356.)

In the following passage and in many like it, the spurious *ise, ice* for *I* appears.

[*Hibernicus*, var. *scaenicus*, loq.:] Be me tro, mester, *Ise* poor Irisman. *Ise* want ludging. *Ise* have no mony, *Ise* starve and cold: good mester, give hur some meat; *Ise* famise and tye.
1600 *Sir John Oldcastle*, v. 3. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 348.)

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There is a saving fatality about dialect writing. Few venture upon that dismal sea without shipwreck. Even Sir Walter sometimes favors his vernacular Scotchmen with language that never crost the Tweed, or never strayd from the strict tether of print.

XXXI. **Everich** (ev'eritsh), now commonly *every*. The ME. *everich one*, now *every one*, was often written as one word, *everichone*, *everichon*, *everilkan*, etc. It came to be separated erroneously, as *every chone*, but *chone* never appears alone. The form *everich*, ME. *everich*, *everych*, *everuch*, *everech*, etc., was formd from *ever*, as a generalizing prefix, + *ech*, *eche*, modern *each*.

(*a*) And *euerychone* he knew hem wele.
c 1303 MANNING, *Handlyng Synne*, l. 5880.
Lordes, quod she, ye knowen *euerichon* . . .
c 1386 CHAUCER, *Man of Law's Tale*, l. 197.
Except she turne and change her minde,
And eake her conditions *euerichone*.
a 1550 *Wife Lapped in Morel's Skin*, l. 767. (*Early Pop. Poetry*, 1817, ii. 206.)

(*b*) Avaunt, ye skowtys, I defye you *euery-chone*.
c 1485 *Herod's Killing of the Children*, l. 311 (*Digby Myst.*, N.S.S. 1882, p. 13).
We schall be schent *eury chone*.
a 1500 *Lytell Thanke* (Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 80).
Every chone. *a* 1529 SKELTON, p. 192. (*Gent. Mag.* July, 1777, p. 322.)

The form *everich* is not wholly extinct. It exists to-day in the familiar colloquial phrase *every which way*, for *everich way*, in which *-ich* has taken on the plausible but unparsable aspect of the pronoun *which*. I find also the expected mediate form *every ech*.

The brydgroome welcommed them *euery ech one*.
a 1550 *The Wife Lapped in Morel's Skin*, l. 369. (*Early Pop. Poetry*, 1817, ii. 189.)
The fence was badly shattered and the ground ploughed up for several yards round the place where the guns formerly lay, — formerly lay, for now they were scattered *every which* way.
1869 T. B. ALDRICH, *Story of a Bad Boy* (1892), p. 207.

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§ VIII. Initial SH lost.

XXXIX. I find one case in which initial *sh* after a final *sh* in composition, has given way.

Flesh-shambles, ME. **flesh-shamels*, *flesshamels*, appears also as *fleshamels*.

(*a*) The slaughter of bestes & scaldinge of swyne had & doone in the bocherie of Seynt Nycholas *flesshamels*.
1489 *Stat. Henry VII.* (Caxton) (facs. 1869), p. [46].

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(*b*) Seint Nicholas *Fleshamels.* *c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. 77.
Nicholas in *Fleshhamels*, diocis London, patrons the Kyng and ȳ abbot of Westm̄. *c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. 253.

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§ IX. Initial TH lost.

XXXIII. Case involving *north, south*, etc.

Th initial or final does not suffer Attraction except when there is the added force of Absorption or Conformation. In one case these causes combined hav effectually disguised a word which once bore its credentials on its face. I refer to the word *thriding*, 'a third part.'

Thriding, also *thirding*, ME. **thriding* (represented by *treding* in Domesday Book, *triding* in Spelman, ML. *trithinga, tridinga*), from Icel. *þriðjungr*, also *þridungr*, Norw. *tridjung*, the third part of a thing, the third part of a district (Icel. *þing*) or shire.

In the frequent use of the terms *North Thriding, South Thriding*, the final and initial *th* would run together as one, and that one would be associated with the familiar words *North* and *South* rather than with the technical word *thriding*. In like manner, the *th* of *thriding*, sometimes *triding*, would be merged in the final *t* of *east* and *west*. *Thriding* therefore lost its hed, and appeard as *riding*.

Quotations showing the various forms of *North Thriding, South Thriding*, etc., ar to be sought chiefly in legal documents, Anglo-Latin and Anglo-French. As there is no dout of the explanation here given, I omit what quotations I hav.

Some thought and think that *riding* is the original form, and that it means a journey or circuit on horseback; as if ridings were judicial circuits, and the judges wer circuit-riders. There wer judges in eyre, and we hav circuit judges. In the following smooth explanation the horse is of an other color:

> In Yorkshire, a third part of the county is of vast extent, and shires, hundreds, and wapentakes being formerly set out *per ambulationem*, by processions on foot, this was performed by processions made on horseback; and hence the name of *Ryding*.
> 1841 HAMPSON, *Medii Ævi Kalendaria*, p. 228.

Professor Skeat quotes this, and ads: "This is not Hampson's own; it was invented by Dr. Kuerden, 'a learned antiquary of the seventeenth century.'" (*N. and Q.*, 8th ser. vi. Sept. 15, 1894, p. 204.)

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Another possible case of the loss of initial *th* after a final *th* appears in the following:

> Thy fault our law calls death; but the kind Prince,
> Taking thy part, *hath rusht* aside the law.
> 1599 SHAKESPEARE, *K. and J.* iii. 3 (Q^2. repr. 1875, p. 56; F^1 p. 67).

Here *hath thrust* has been suggested; see *Notes and Queries*, June 24, 1893, p. 495.

X. Initial L gaind.

I find but one case in which initial *l* has been gaind on English ground; and the English ground is in Scotland.

XXXIV. **Ogie.** This is a Scottish word, used chiefly in the compound *kill-ogie*, in Shetland *kiln-hogie*, *kiln-huggie*, the fire-place of a kill or kiln, literally 'kill-eye,' 'kiln-eye,' from *kill*, *kiln* (AS. *cyln*) (compare *mill*, *miln*, AS. *myln*) + *ogie*, 'eye' from Icel. *auga*, Sw. *öga*, Dan. *öje* = AS. *ēaga*, Eng. *eye* (see EYE, TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 226). Icel. *auga* is also used of the hole in the milstone, the hole of an ax in which the handle is fastend, the hole or eye of a needle, and a pit of water; and it is the second element of *vind-auga*, the source of the Eng. *window*, in which *-ow* is thus = *ogie*. That this is the correct explanation is shown by the synonymous *kill-ee*, which is wholly English, *ee* being a Scotch form of *eye*.

> (*a*) *Ogie*, s. A vacuity before the fire-place in a kiln, the same as *Logie*, *Killogie*. *Ogie* is often used in the higher parts of Lanarks. without the term *kill* being prefixed. — From Su. G. *oega*. Isl. *auga*, oculus. *Kill-ee* (i.e. *eye*) is synon. with *Killogie*. S. A.
> 1866 JAMIESON [not in ed. 1808].

It occurs chiefly in the compound *kill-ogie*, Shetland *kiln-hogie*, *kiln-huggie*. There is a parallel form *kill-ee* (see above).

> And she but any requisition
> Came down to the *killogie*,
> Where she thought to have lodg'd all night.
> 1706 *Watson's Coll.* i. 45 (Jam. 1808).
>
> "Do you perceive a strong smell of smoke, or is it my fancy?" "Fancy?" answered Dinmont, "there's a reek like a *kill-ogie*."
> 1815 SCOTT, *Guy Mannering*, xviii.
>
> *Kiln-hogie*, s. Shetl. the same with S. *Killogie*. 1866 JAMIESON.
>
> *Kiln-huggie*, the fire-place of a kiln; same as Scotch *killogie*, S.; Belg. *log*, a hole. 1866 EDMONSTON, *Shetland and Orkney Gloss.*

Killogie, properly analyzed *kill-ogie*, came to be analyzed *kil-logie*, and so *logie* came to be used alone.

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(*b*) *Killogie.* See *Logie.* 1808 JAMIESON.
Logie, Killogie, s. A vacuity before the fire-place in a kiln, for keeping the person dry, who feeds the fire, or supplies fuel, and for drawing air. Both terms are used, S. 1808 JAMIESON.

Jamieson, with the usual liberality of etymologists of the old school, givs three gesses at the origin:

I have sometimes been inclined to deduce this from Su. G. *loga*, Icl. *log*, flame. But perhaps it is from Belg. *log*, a hole; or merely the same with the preceding word [*loge*, a ME. form of *lodge*], as denoting a *lodge* for him who feeds the fire. 1808 JAMIESON.

Longmuir (1866) selects the second gess, "Belg. *log*, a hole" (p. 333).

Other words in which initial *l* has been gaind, as *lamber, lingot, lurch*, hav made such gain outside of English (namely in French, from the article *la* or *le, l'*), and ar not therefore treated here.

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§ XII. Initial W gaind.

The true long u, written û or uu, in the conventional spelling *oo* or *o*, often becomes labialized, and closes with a *w*, thus, uw. The *w* in this position, before a word beginning with a vowel or silent h, may spred over to that word.

1. **Home,** dialectal *ome, um*. *Go home*, dial. *goo um* (guw ŭm), appears as *goo wum* (gu wŭm).

Yo *goo wum* and toy oop oogly ['you go home and tie up Ugly' . . . namely, that surly dog, your bad temper].
a 1890 *Dialect work* (ref. wanting).

2. **Whom,** dial. or cockney *'om*. *To whom*, dial. *to 'om* (tuw ûm) may appear as *to wom* (tu wûm).

Wom, pron. . . . Whom. A late Reverend Precentor of Chester Cathedral, a Cheshire-man born, always so emphasised this word in the closing sentence of the General Thankgiving, — "*To wom* wi Thee," &c.
1877 LEIGH, *Cheshire Gloss.* p. 338.
Two-eyed (tuw-aid) . . . *too wide* (tû waid).
a 1880 *A pun* (author escaped).

This 'gain' of *w* is fleeting, and is of a different nature from the labialization which has produced *wone*, usually written *one* (wōn, wŭn) for *one* (ōn), *whole* (hwōl, now hōl) for *hole* (hōl), *wheal* (hwîl) for *weal* (wîl), *whoop* (hwûp, now usually hûp) for *hoop* (hûp), etc., dialectal *wor* or *woor* (wûr) for *our* (aur), dial. *oor* (ûr), etc.

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§ XIII. Initial Y gaind.

Cases in which final y, as the termination or "vanish" of the vowel î, or i (speld *i*, or *y*, now more commonly *ee* or *e*), in its usual pronunciation as a half diphthong, ii, iy, goes over to the next word. Thus, in ME. or dialectal speech *thy Edward* (dhî Edward or dhiy Edward) becomes *thy Yedward* (dhi Yedward), and so *Yedward* in other positions. Compare the development of *myn Ed* into *my Ned* (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 298).

Some of the examples of this extraneous initial *y* ar due to association with words having an original *y*, ME. *ȝ*, AS. *g*, which provincially alternate with forms without *y*; as in provincial *gelt*, *ȝelt*, *yilt*, *ilt*, a pig. Compare *yield*, *ield*, *ild* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 137).

A clear case of this transfer of *y* occurs in *Holyoake*, *Holyoke* originally *Holy oke*, 'holy oak.' Here hōli ōk, hōliy ōk has become hōl'yōk.

In phrases like *the earth*, *the earl*, etc., the "vanish" of the vowel in *the* (dhi, dhiy, before a vowel) would easily lead to *the yearth*, *the yearl*, etc. But as above intimated, other causes may operate to produce the initial *y*. There is a long series of such words having in dialectal use a *y* to which their etymology does not entitle them. I mention *yable*, *yacker* (acre), *yakeron* (acorn), *yak* (oak), *yal* (ale), *yan* (one), *yat* (hot), *yearth*, *yearl*, *yerb*, *yeven*, etc.

> "'Starch,'" echoed Ochiltree: "na, na, Mr. Dusterdeevil, ye are mair of a conjurer than a clerk. It's *search*, man, *search*—See there's *the Ye* clear and distinct." 1816 SCOTT, *Antiquary*, xxiv.
>
> Your leddiship maun ask Monkbarns, for he has gotten *the yepistolary* correspondensh. 1816 SCOTT, *Antiquary*, xliii.
>
> Upon which he caught a sight of your *yepissle* and read it as a thing that was just wonderful. 1821 GALT, *Ayrshire Legatees* (1844), p. 279.

XIV. Initial P or B gaind.

XVII. Cases involving the Welsh patronymic *ap* or *ab*; namely, English surnames of Welsh origin in which the final consonant of *ap* or *ab* has been attracted to the name following.

Before explaining the manner of this change and enumerating the cases with the evidence, it wil be wel to state the etymology and the relations of the word *ap* or *ab*.

The Welsh *ap* or *ab* is an alterd form of *mab*, earlier *map*, Middle Welsh *map*, Old Welsh *map*, in the earliest form *maqvi*, which is properly a genitiv form, cognate with Old Irish *maqvi*, *maqqvi*,

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moqvi, latter *maccui*, *maccu*, Middle Irish *macc*, *mac*, modern Irish *mac*, Gaelic *mac*, Manx *mac*, Bret. *map*, Old Gaulish *map-* in *Mapilus;* all from an original Celtic **maqvus*, **maqvas*, **mac-was*, cognate with Old Teutonic **magwus* in Goth. *magus*, boy, servant, Old Saxon *magu*, Anglo-Saxon (in poetry) *magu*, *mago*, son, boy, young man, servant, Icel. *mögr*, son; a word of wide kindred, from which by feminine formativs we hav the words *may*, *maid*, and *maiden*, all meaning 'girl.'

The Welsh *map*, modern *mab*, a boy, son, appears in various English surnames, *Map*, *Mapp*, *Mappe*, *Mape*, *Mapes*, *Mapps*, *Mappes*, *Mabb*, *Mabbe*, *Mabs*, *Mabbs*.

Walter *Map*. *c* 1140–*c* 1210.
Walter *Map* [in Anglo-French]. *c* 1185 HUE OF ROTELAND, *Ipomedon*.
Walter *Mapes* [a later, Latinized form of the above].
John *Mape*. 1542 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 11.
Mrs. *Mapp* the famous bone-setter. 1736 *Grub Street Journal* Sept. 2. (*Hist. of Sign-boards*, 1864, p. 113.)

The corresponding Irish and Gaelic *mac* also appears in various surnames now accounted English, as *Mack*, *Macks*, *Magg*, *Maggs*, and in the unnumberd surnames beginning with *Mac-*, variously written *Mac-*, *Mack-* (before a name beginning with *C-* sometimes *Ma-*) and, in conventional script abbreviations, *Mc-*, *Mᶜ-*, *M'-*, *M'-*; as *MacLean*, *Maclean*, *Macklean*, *McLean*, *MᶜLean*, *M'Lean*, *M'Lean*.

As the word meaning 'son' the Welsh *map*, *mab* naturally appears in genealogical expressions. In pedigrees it is the regular term. In such use *map* or *mab* came to be reduced to *ap* or *ab*. If the *m* was not wholly lost, it was liable to the usual positional mutation, *map* becoming *fap*, pronounced *vap;* accordingly in ME. records it sometimes appears as *vap* (see under *Rice*, below).

The loss of initial *m* in Welsh is exceptional, and is to be explaind in this case by the extremely frequent use of the term as a kind of prefix before the distinctiv name.

Between *ap* and the later *ab* there is now no fixt choice. The report of the Society for Utilising the Welsh Language, under the title "Welsh Orthography" (Carnarvon 1894) expresses a preference for *Dafydd ap Gwilym* in sted of *Dafydd ab Gwilym*, but does not enforce the rule. See London *Academy*, Aug. 18, 1894, p. 115.

The use of *ap* in Welsh names was early recognized in English records.

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The names of the gentylmen that were slayne of Walsche party in the same batelle . . . Yvan *ap* Jhon of Merwyke; Davy *ap* Jankyn of Lymmerike; Harry Done *ap* Pikton; John Done of Kydwelle; Ryse *ap* Morgon *ap* Ulston; Jankyn Perot *ap* Scottesburght.
1473 WARKWORTH, *Chronicle* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 6.

John *ap* Guylliam . . . [cald soon after:] John Gwylliam.
1561 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 107.

John *ap* Morgan Squier, Carver.
1532 DEWES, *Introductorie* (1852), p. 1036.

Jehan *ap* Morgan on le nommoit. 1532 *Id.* p. 1034.

Rees *ap* Thomas. 1549 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 41.

What a difference between this last homely record and the same words as glorified by the magic touch of the great master:

Rice *ap* Thomas. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III*, iv. 5. 12. (F¹ p. 200.)

Admirers of the greatest literary genius of all times wil not fail to see in this apparently simple line evidence of the poet's consummate art in suggesting, by three words, his absolute mastery over the rhythmical difficulties of a foreign tongue, his profound sympathy with a brave and high-spirited people, and his exquisit grace of allusion shown in the delicate compliment which this seemingly casual mention of a Welsh gentleman conveyd to the sovereign of whose court the poet was the brightest ornament. But this is "literary criticism"; let us resume history.

The patronymic *ap* was repeated at every step in a pedigree. A Welsh-man thus bore for his name a catalog of his ancestors, and "dragd at each remove a lengthening chain."

The church of Llangollen in Wales is said to be dedicated to St. Collen-*ap*-Gwynnawg-*ap*-Clyndawg-*ap*-Cowrda-*ap*-Caradoc-Freichfas-*ap*-Llyn-Merim-*ap*-Einion-Yrth-*ap*-Cunedda-Wledig, a name which casts that of the Dutchman, *Inkvervankodsdorspanckinkadrachdern*, into the shade.
1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 7.

It would tire a Welshman to reckon up how many *Aps* 'tis removed from an Annal. 1647 CLEVELAND, *Char. Lond. Diurn.* (1677), 108. (N.E.D.).

The ludicrous side of this long-linked nomenclature was in time perceivd by the English.

2 Judge. What bail? What sureties?

Davy. Hur cozen *ap* Rice, *ap* Evan, *ap* Morice, *ap* Morgan, *ap* Lluellyn, *ap* Madoc, *ap* Meredith, *ap* Griffin, *ap* Davy, *ap* Owen, *ap* Skinken [Shinken], *ap* Shones.

2 Judge. Two of the most sufficient are enow.

Sheriff. An it please your lordship, these are all but one.
1600 *Sir John Oldcastle*, i. 1. (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 272.)

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Thomas *ab* Richard *ab* Hywel first took the name of Mostyn on this occasion. Rowland Lee, Bishop of Litchfield and President of the Marches, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, sat on a Welsh cause, and, wearied with the quantity of *Aps* on the jury, directed that the panel should assume their last name, or that of their residence; and that Thomas *ab* Richard *ab* Hywel *ab* Jeuan Fychan should be reduced in future to the poor disyllable Mostyn. 1778 PENNANT, quoted in Yorke, *Royal Tribes of Wales* (1799), p. 12, note.

The following anecdote was related to me by a native of Wales: "An Englishman, riding one dark night among the mountains, heard a cry of distress, proceeding apparently from a man who had fallen into a ravine near the highway, and, on listening more attentively, heard the words, 'Help, master, help!' in a voice truly Cambrian. 'Help! what, who are you?' enquired the traveller. 'Jenkin-*ap*-Griffith-*ap*-Robin-*ap*-William-*ap*-Rees-*ap*-Evan,' was the response. 'Lazy fellow that ye be,' rejoined the Englishman, setting spurs to his horse, 'to lie rolling in that hole, half a dozen of ye; why in the name of common sense don't ye help one another out?'"
1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 8.

To burlesque this ridiculous species of nomenclature, some wag described cheese as being

"Adam's own cousin-german by its birth,
Ap-Curds-*ap*-Milk-*ap*-Cow-*ap*-Grass-*ap*-Earth!"
1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 7.

The term *ap* or *ab* became in time a mere prefix, and has emerged as an integral part of some surnames, namely *Apjohn*, *Apreece*, *Aprichard*. In such use it has also sufferd change to *up-*: I find *Uphowel*, *Upholl*, *Upjohn*, and *Uprichard*.

The *ap* or *ab* sometimes became reduced in Welsh to *a*, the *b*, affecting the following consonant if *m*, making it *mh*. Thus *Ap Meredydd*, *Ab Meredydd*, became *Amheredydd*, whence in English spelling *Ameredith*.

Ab sometimes becomes amalgamated with the following word, when that word begins with *m*; as, *Amheredydd*, *Amheirig*, = *ab Meredydd*, *ab Meirig*. 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.*

John Dee Jrnydw, alias John *ap Meredith*.
1536 in Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 3rd ser. (1846), iii. 14.

Ameredith. 1860 LOWER, *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 7.

The *ap* or *ab* also appears sometimes as *a* in English:

Little Shon *a* Morgan, Shentleman of Wales.
1849 HALLIWELL, *Pop. Rhymes and Nursery Tales*.

The fact that *ap* or *ab* could thus become reduced to *a* was not, however, I think, the cause of the change now to be set forth. Attraction alone is sufficient to explain it. Before names beginning with a vowel or *h*, or with a consonant that could combine with *b* or *p*, the final consonant of *ab* or *ap* was attracted to the following name. The *a* thus left standing alone was probably taken as the English *a* for *at*, or *a* for *of*, in the purely English names *John a Nokes* or *John a Styles* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 282).

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Typical cases ar *Ab Owen*, becoming *Bowen*, *ap Rice* becoming *Price*, *ab Rice* becoming *Brice*.

Each name with *ap* or *ab* may appear in eight forms: (1) the original or normal form *Ap Owen;* (2) the changed form *Ab Owen;* the united forms of these, (3) **Apowen* and (4) *Abowen;* the misdivided forms with Attraction, (5) **A Powen*, and (6) *A Bowen;* the reduced forms of these, with *a* dropt, (7) **Powen* and (8) *Bowen*. In a given instance only two or three forms may appear in the accessible records. I hav found none in all the eight forms.

The instances wil be enumerated in the alphabetic order of the simple original name. To save space, no examples of the simple name, for which proof is always at hand, ar given, unless for special reasons; and examples of the reduced forms, if not redily lighted upon in early records, ar taken from recent directories and other recent books. Of examples later than 1600 any one is as good as any other. To ascertain the earliest dates, and to giv references to original Welsh records, ar beyond my present purpose, even if time permitted the search and space permitted the record.

The examples of the full form of the patronymic name, 1 and 2 above, ar markt *a*, of the united forms (3 and 4) *b*, of the attracted forms retaining the separated *a* (5 and 6) *c*, and of the reduced forms (7 and 8) *d*. Thus, (*a*) *Ap Owen* or *Ab Owen*, (*b*) **Apowen* or *Abowen*, (*c*) **A Powen* or *A Bowen*, (*d*) **Powen* or *Bowen*. At least one quotation for the full form is given, if accessible. If one is lacking, the form is enterd without a date or reference annext, thus leaving a blank for the formal proof when it shal be discoverd. If no quotations for the intermediate forms (*b*) and (*c*) ar at hand, no space is left. It is assumed that proof can be found. Improbable cases, and some probable cases for which adequate evidence is not at hand, ar omitted. Of the abbreviated references, "Bardsley" means Bardsley's *English Surnames*, 3d ed. 1875; "Lower, *P. B.*" Lower's *Patronymica Britannica*, 1860.

1. **Abbot**, *Abbott*, **Abbet*, *Abbett*, a common surname, from *abbot*, W. *abad*. *Ab Abbot*, *Abbott*, etc., has given rise to **Babbot*, *Babbott*, **Babbet*, *Babbett*, *Babbit*, *Babbitt*.

(*a*) **Ab Abbot.*
(*d*) *Babbott.* 1891 *New York Directory.*
Babbett. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 424.
Babbit. 1875 *New York Directory.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Babbitt. 1857 *New York Directory.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 424.

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2. **Adam,** formerly also *Addam*. *Ab Adam, Addam,* appears to be the source of the surname *Baddam*, speld also **Badam, Badum,* also, simulating names in AS. *-ham, Badham.*

(*a*) *Ab Adam.* (See next.)
(*b*) *Abadam.* A recent resumption of the old baronial name of *Ap-* or *Ab-Adam.* 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*
(*d*) *Baddam.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 193.
Badham. 1861 *Id.* p. 32. 1857 and 1875 *New York Directory.*
Badum. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

With the patronymic genitiv *Adams* goes *Badhams.*

As *ab, ap,* and their remnant *B-, P-,* ar in origin *Mab, Map,* and these the same in origin as *Mac, Mac-, Mᶜ-, Mc-, M'-, M'-, Badham* is etymologically identical with *Macadam, McAdam,* and *Badhams* with *Macadams, McAdams.*

3. **Eddowes,** a Welsh surname. *Ab Eddowes* has given rise to *Beddowes, Beddows, Beddoes.* I find *Beddow, Beddoe* in present use, and in numerous forms in the 16th century.

(*a*) **Ab Eddowes.*
(*d*) *Beddoes.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 316.
Beddows. 1875 *New York Directory.*

4. **Einion,** written also *Eynion, Eineon, Enion, Ennion,* formerly *Eygnenn, Eneand,* etc., and as an English surname *Enion;* Welsh *Einion,* a common personal name.

John *Eneand* of Penbrokeschire.
1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 7.
Eygnenn ap Yevan.
a 1550? *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum.* (Bardsley, p. 525.)
Maria *Enion.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

Ap Einion has given rise to *Pinion, Pinyon,* while *Ab Einion* or *Enion* has become *Benion, Benyon, Binion, Binyon, Beynon, Bynon.*

(*a*) Dafydd ap Jeuan *ap Einion.*
1448 in Halliwell, note to Warkworth, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 34.
Edwyn *ap Eineon* ap Owen ap Howel Dha.
1786 WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales*, p. 208.
(*d*) *Pinyon.* 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*, p. 248.
Miss *Pinion* in 1648, as appears by our Colony Records, escaped from the meshes of the law. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 54.

Whatever her faults, Miss Pinion was not wholly without Attraction.

(*a*) David ab Gronow ab *Eynion* spoliatus fuit 30 s.
a 1500 *Articuli quæstionum*, etc., in Warrington, *Hist. of Wales*, 1786, p. 617.
(*d*) One John *Benion.*
1569 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 141.

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John *Benyons* grave. 1569 *Id.*, p. 135.
Benyon. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Binion. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Binyon. 1894 . . .
John *Beynon.* 1646 in *Cymru Fu*, Oct. 13, 1888.
David John *Beynon*, Jenkins *Beynon.* 1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' names.
Beynon, . . . ab Einion. 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.*, p. 1.
Beynon. 1893 *Sign* at Grand Crossing, Chicago, July 16.
Bynon. 1881 *Yonkers Directory.*

The name *Enion*, apparently by an early association with *onion*, which was formerly written and is stil often pronounced *inion* (see my first paper, TRANSACTIONS xxiii. 246), appears also as *Onion.*

Onion. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*

The existence of this form gives plausibility to Lower's assertion that the surname *Bunyan* is another form of *Binion*, *Binyon*, etc., from *Ab Enion.* But *Bunyan*, which appears also in the forms *Bunyon*, *Bunion*, *Bonyon*, etc. ("the name is found spelt in no fewer than thirty-four different ways," 1886 *Dict. Nat. Biog.* viii. 275) appears to be of French origin; early forms ar *Buignon*, *Buniun*, *Boynon*; "The family of *Buignon*, *Buniun*, *Bonyon*, or *Binyan* . . . had been settled in the county of Bedford from very early times." (1886 *D. N. B.* l. c.) It is very likely that this name *Bunyon*, *Bunyan*, etc., of French origin, became confused with *Benyon*, *Binyon*, etc., of Welsh origin. The English language is dredfully homonymous, in proper names as wel as in other words. To the popular mind words that look somewhat alike or sound somewhat alike, ar all one. This simplifies learning.

5. Ellis, formerly also *Ellice.* *Ab Ellis* became *Bellis*, *Belis.*

(*a*) Mr Ellice *ap Ellice*, gent. 1571 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 148.
Sir John *ab Ellis*, the parson of Kekidog. *a* 1700 in Yorke, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, 1799, p. 125.
(*d*) When the Welsh adopted the use of surnames, *Ab* hath been, in many instances, confounded with the name it precedes; hence come Bowen, *Belis*, Powel, and several others. 1793 OWEN, *Welsh and Eng. Dict.* s. v. *Ab.*
Bellis. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*; 1891 *New York Directory.*

The following names ar probably of different origin:

Bellize. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Bellas. 1891 *New York Directory.*

Bellas probably belongs with *Bellows*, which is ME. *belhus*, 'bell-house.'

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6. Evan, also *Ivan*, ME. *Yvan, Yvon;* in 16th century also *Yevan, Jevan, Jevon, Jevun;* from Welsh *Ievan, Iefan,* 'John,' from LL. *Ioannes*, whence E. *John.*

Yvon de Galles [OF., tr. 'Evan of Wales'].
1372 *French poem* (*Antiq. Repertory*, 1807, i. 5).
Yvan ap Jhon. 1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 7.
Ivan the carpender and his man.
1563 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 114.
Yevan the carpenter. 1564 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 118.
David *Evan* Henllan am Goed.
1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' names.

Ap Evan, ab Evan appears as *Bevan, Beavan, Bevin.*

(*a*) Howel *ap Evan.* *a* 1550? *Writs of Parliament.* (Bardsley, p. 525.)
Eygnenn *ap Yevan.* *a* 1550? *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum.* (Bardsley, p. 525.)
Hughe *ap Jevun.* 1571 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 146.
Hughe *ap Jevan.* 1573 *Id.*, p. 155.
"What news from Garde Doloureuse, Jorworth *ap Jevan?*" "I bear them in my bosom," said the *son of Jevan.* 1825 SCOTT, *The Betrothed*, ii.
(*d*) Thomas *Beavan*, smith. 1598 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 169.
Bevan. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1857 *New York Directory.*
Bevin. 1891 *New York Directory.*

The Gaelic forms of *Evan* are *Eoin* and *Eoghann*, whence the now English surnames *Ewan, Ewen;* and *Bevan* is thus originally identical with *McEwan, McEwen, M'Euen.*

The patronymic genitiv of *Evan* is *Evans*, also *Ivans, Ivens, Ivins*, in 16th century also *Evance, Yevans, Jevance*, whence modern *Jevons.* As *Ab Evan* produced *Bevan*, so with *Evans* go *Bevans, Bevins, Bivens, Bivins.*

(*d*) *Bevans.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1857 *New York Directory.*
Bevins. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Bivens. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 478.
Bivins. 1861 *Id.* p. 425. 1857 *New York Directory.*

7. Harry, formerly also *Harrie*, and *Herry, Herrie;* an assimilated form of *Henry* (see below). This name has undergon many transformations.

(1) *Ap Harry* has become *Parry.*

(*a*) Morres *ap Harry.* 1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 57.
Thomas *ap-Harry.* *a* 1600 *Cal. Rotulorum Chartarum.* (B. p. 582.)
Hugh *ap-Harrye.* *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 582.)
(*b*) Morres *Apparry.* 1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 47.
Aparry. *a* 1563 FOXE, *Acts and Mon.* (Oliphant, *N. E.* i. 540.)
Watkin *ap-Parry.* *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 582.)

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(*c*) Sir Davy Owen . . . Sir William *a Parre.*
1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 31.
Mrs Blaunche *a Parre.*
1578 *Will of Lady Mary Grey*, in *N. and Q.*, Oct. 20, 1894, p. 302.
(*d*) Sir W. *Parre.* 1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 45.
Dame Elizabeth *Paree* . . . Dame Elizabeth *Parre.*
1483 *Wardrobe Account of Richard III.*, in *Antiq. Repertory* 1807, i. 56–59.
F. *Parry*, Llanabar. 1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' names.
Parri . . . ab Harri. 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.* p. 1.

(2) *Ap Herry* becomes *Perry.*

(*a*) **Ap Herry.* (See *Ap Harry* above.)
(*c*) *Perry.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*

(3) *Ab Harry* becomes *Barry, Barrie.*

(*a*) Parri . . . *ab Harri.* 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.* p. 1.
(*d*) *Barry.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Barrie. 1857 *New York Directory.*

(4) *Ab Herry* becomes *Berry, Berrie.*

(*c*) Richarde *Berys* pewe. 1547 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 32.
Berry. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*

Berry, Berrie ar in part of local origin, from *bury*, a city, *Bury*, a particular city so cald.

8. Henry. This is the original form of both *Harry* and *Herry*, above mentiond. *Ap Henry* has become *Penry*, which is thus identical in its origin with *Parry* and *Perry*, *Barry* and *Berry*, and, because *Ap* was once *Mac*, all these ar identical with *MacHenry*, *M^c^Henry*, *M'Henry.*

(*a*) (*d*) John *Penry*, or *Ap Henry*, that is, the son of Henry, better known by the name of Martin Marprelate, or Marpriest.
1691 *Athenæ Oxon.* (1813), i. 591. (B. p. 51.)
Penry. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*

9. Hopkin. This stands for *Hobkin*, 'little Hob.' The origin of *Hob* I hav shown before (TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 116). *Ap Hopkin* produced *Popkin.*

(*a*) **Ap Hopkin.* *a* 1603? (See following.)
Tudur *ab Hob* y dili. 1799 YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 99, note.
(*d*) Hopkyn *ap Popkin.* *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 586.)
John *Popkin.* John *Popkin*, jun. Treheirn.
1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.*, Subscribers' Names.
Popkin. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
Popkins. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*

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10. **Howel,** also *Howell,* ME. *Howel, Hoel;* Welsh *Howel, Hywel. Ap Howel* has become *Powel, Powell; ap Hywell* has become *Pywell, Pyell.*

(1) *Ap Howel* has become *Powel, Powell.*

(*a*) Richard *ap Howell.* *a* 1550? in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters, 3d ser.* (1846), iii. 13.
Slayne, Dicken *ap ho*^{n} dio Bagh [cald on preceding page *Richard ap Howell*]. *a* 1550? *Id.* iii. 14.
Rees *ap Howell.* *a* 1550? *Writs of Parliament.* (B. p. 589.)
Elizabeth *Ap-Howell.*
c 1550? *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem.* (B. p. 586.)
James David *ap Hoelle.* 1562 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 112.

The form *ap Howel* early appears as *Uphowel.*

(*b*) In this mene tyme sent the qween into Wales Herri erl of Lancastir, and William lord Souch, and Maister Keson *Uphowel* into Wales.
c 1460 CAPGRAVE, *Chron.* (1858), p. 196.
Apowell. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*
(*c*) Richard *a Pouelle.* 1540 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 3.

In this case, as in some others, the *ap* reduced to *a* by attraction of *p* to the following name is sometimes restored to its full form, while the attracted *p* remains in its usurpt place — *ap Howell, a Powell,* then *ap Powell,* united *Appowell.*

Hughe *ap Powelle.* 1560 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 99.
John *Appowell.* *a* 1600 *Valor Ecclesiasticus.* (B. p. 586.)
(*d*) Doctor *Powel.* 1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 34.
Thomas *Powelle,* carpenter. 1568 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 132.
Powel. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Powell. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1857 *New York Directory.*

Ap Hywel is represented by *Pyell, Pywell, Pyewell, Piewell.* Lower makes *Pywell* "local, 'the spring resorted to by magpies?'"

(*a*) **Ap Hywel.*
(*d*) John *Pyell* . . . the xliiii. yere [of Edw. III].
c 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxviii.
Pyewell. 1860 *New York Directory.*
Pywell. 1889 and 1894 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Piewell. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 365.

11. **Hugh,** formerly also *Hughe, Heugh, Hew, Hewe;* Welsh *Huw. Ap Hugh* (*Ap Hew,* etc.) has produced the forms *Pugh, Pughe, Pue, Pew.*

(*a*) *Ap Hugh.*
(*b*) Morice *Apew.* *c* 1550? *Rolls of Parliament.* (B. p. 588.)
(*d*) *Pugh* Aldighle, aliàs Audley, justice of North Wales.
1587 HOLINSHED, *Chron.* (in *Antiq. Repertory* 1807), i. 188.

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Lewis *Pughe*, Esq., Dolyzcau.
1793 OWEN, *Welsh and Eng. Dict.*, Subscribers' names.
Pew. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1860 *New York Directory.*
Pugh. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Pue. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

In like manner *Ab Hugh* (*Ab Hew*) has produced the surname *Bew;* tho this may in some cases represent the late Old French *beau*, a form of *bel*, and so be equivalent to the surname *Bell.* Compare *Bewley, Bewly*, from *Beaulieu*, ME. *Bewfort* for *Beaufort.*

(*a*) **Ab Hugh.* [See *Ap Hugh*, above.]
(*d*) *Bew.* 1740 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames* (1861), p. 37; 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*

Perhaps the surname *Pye, Pie, Py*, is in some cases of the same origin.

Pye, which might be supposed to be derived from the bird so called, is a corruption of the Welsh, *Ap-Hugh* — *u* in that language having sometimes the sound of *y*. This name is exceedingly common in some districts of England and Wales. 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 104.
Mr. *Pye.* 1538 in *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc. 1843), p. 195.
Pie, Pye, Pies, . . . Py. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 365.

Pugh, Pue, Pew, Bew, for *Ap Hugh*, ar etymologically identical with the Irish *MacHugh, M'cHugh.*

As from *Hugh, Hew*, we hav the patronymic genitiv *Hughes*, formerly also *Hewes*, so from *Pugh, Pew* we hav *Pewes, Pews.* But *Powes, Powis, Powys* ar due to the local name *Powis, Powys.*

12. **Humphrey**, *Humphry*, properly speld with *f*, as formerly, *Humfrey, Humfry, Umphrey, Umfrey, Umfry*, etc.

Ap Humphrey or *Umfrey* has produced *Pumphrey, Pumfrey, Pomfrey.*

(*a*) **Ap Humphrey.*
(*d*) *Pumphrey.* 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*
Pomfrey. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

13. **Ithel**, *Ithell, Ithall. Ab Ithel* has become *Bithell, Bethel, Bethell.*

Ann *Ithell.* *a* 1827 CLUTTERBUCK, *Hist. of Hertfordshire.* (B. p. 13.)
Ithall. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
(*a*) Einion *ab Ithell* [squire to John of Gaunt].
a 1400 in YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 14, note.
Evan *ap Ithell* . . . Jevan *ap Ithell.*
a 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 525.)
John Williams *ab Ithel.* 1852 (Ed. Aneurin's *Gododin*).
(*d*) *Bithell.* 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 7.
Bethel. 1857 *New York Directory.*
Bethell. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*

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14. Owen, ME. *Owen, Howen,* also by conformation *Ewen,* from Welsh *Owain,* a common personal name. *Ap Owen,* in the form of *Ab Owen,* has produced the surname *Bowen,* also *Bowan,* and *Bowens.*

(*a*) Dafydd *ab Owain* Gwynedd. *a* 1169 in YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales* (1799), p. 1.
Mr. Gryffith *ap Owen.* 1537 *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries* (Camden Soc. 1843), p. 188.
Cynan *ab Owain.* 1793 OWEN, *Welsh and Eng. Dict.* s.v. *Ab.*
(*b*) Thomas *Abowen.* 1534 *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc. 1843), p. 10.
(*c*) Thomas *a Bowen,* gentyllman. 1534 *Id.* p. 8.
(*d*) As ffor *Bowen* I shall ffele hym, and sholde have doon. 1476 *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), iii. 154.
Bowen. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
Bowen . . . ab Owain. 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.* p. 1.
Bowan. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Bowens. 1881 *Philadelphia Directory.*

The form *Bowen* has its Irish counterpart in *MacOwen, Mc Owen, MacOwan* (Lower, *P. B.*).

15. Reen, a name not wel known. **Ap Reen* appears to be the source of *a Preen* and *Preen,* and **ab Reen* of *Breen.* But *Breen* is in part, at least, of other origin. Lower refers it to the Irish *Braon* O'Neill (1607).

(1) *Reen* [Boston surname]. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 448.
Reen. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Reens. 1891 *New York Directory.*
(*a*) **Ap Reen?*
(*b*) Here lyeth Richard *a Preene,* One thousand five hundred eighty nine. 1637 *Epitaph* in Camden, *Remaines,* p. 405.
(*d*) *Preen.* 1891 *New York Directory.*
Breen. 1860, LOWER, *P. B.;* 1857 *New York Directory.*

16. Rice, also *Rees, Reese, Rhees,* Welsh *Rhŷs.*

(1) *Ap Rice, Rees,* etc., became *Price, Pryce, Pryse, Preece, Preese.*

(*a*) Master Jo. *ap Rece.* 1535 *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Soc. 1843), p. 53.
Johan *ap Rice.* 1538–9 *Id.* p. 238.
Holle *ap Rees.* 1545 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 20.
Howelle *ap Rees.* 1551 *Id.* p. 48.
Hopkin *ap Rees.* *a* 1600? *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium in Turri Londenensi.* (B. p. 589.)
(*b*) Elice *Apprice.* *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 545.)
Mrs. *Apreece.* 1812 [married Sir Humphry Davy, *Dict. Nat. Biog.; Encyc. Brit.* 1878, vi. 846, *Appreece*].
Apreece. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*
Aprees. 1860 *Id.*
(*d*) Elis *Price.* *a* 1550? in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters,* 3d ser. 1846, iii. 195.
Pryse. 1740 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 373.

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Preece. 1857 *New York Directory.*
Preese. 1891 *Id.*
Preez. 1875 *Id.*

(2) *Ab Rice, Rees,* etc., became *Brice, Bryce, Breece, Brees, Breese, Breeze.*

(*a*) Gruffudd *ab Rhŷs* ab Tewdwr [died 1137].
1137 in YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales,* p. 36.
Meredydd *ab Rhys* [a Welsh poet].
a 1470 in London *Athenæum,* Aug. 25, 1894, p. 259.
Hywel Davydd ab Jevan *ab Rhys.*
c 1470 LEWIS GLYN COTHI, *Poem,* quoted by Halliwell, Warkworth's *Chron.* 1839, p. 33, note.
Prys . . . *ab Rhys.* 1866 SPURRELL, *Dict. Welsh Lang.* p. 1.
(*d*) John Bromer, Herry *Bryce,* sherefs; the vi. yere . . . Hugh *Brice,* Robert Colwich, sherefs; the xv. yere [sc. of Edward IV].
c 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), xxxv., xxxvii.
Brice. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
Bryce. 1857 *New York Directory.*
Breece. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Brees. 1860 *New York Directory.*
Breese. 1860 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
Breeze. 1860 and 1861 *Id.*

17. **Richard,** Welsh *Ricert, Ritsiart. Ap Richard* is the source of the surnames *Prichard, Pritchard,* and of *Pricher, Prichett, Pritchett,* corruptions of *Prichard.*

(*a*) Rhys Goch *ab Rhicert* [Welsh poet]. *a* 1400.
David *ap Richard.* 1548 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 36.
Ivo *Ap-Richard.* *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 587.)
From Rice *ap Richard,* sprung from Dick a Cow,
Be cod, was right gud gentleman, look ye now.
1613 PARROT, *Laquei Ridiculosi, or Springes for Woodcocks,* Epigr. 76. (Child, *Ballads,* vi. 68.)
(*b*) John *Aprichard.* *a* 1603? *Valor Ecclesiasticus.* (B. p. 587.)
Aprichard. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
(*d*) Edw. *Prichard.* 1647 in *Cymru Fu,* July 21, 1888, p. 232.
Rev. Mr. *Prichard,* Trelech.
1771 EVANS, *Eng.-Welsh Dict.,* Subscribers' names.
Prichard. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Pritchard. 1857 *New York Directory.*
Pritcher. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Prichett. 1821 and 1889 *Id.*
Pritchett. 1889 *Id.*

19. **Robert,** Welsh *Robert,* formerly *Rotpert. Ap Robert* became *Probert;* and *Probert* appears also as *Propert.* The change is lawful Welsh: "Kill the *poyes* and the luggage?" (1623 Shakespeare, *Henry V.* iv. 1; F[1] p. 88).

(*a*) Meredydh *ap Rotpert.* 1213 in WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales,* p. 363.
Thomas *ap Robert.* 1585 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 167.
Lloyd *ap Robert.* *a* 1603 *Cal. to Pleadings* (Eliz.). (B. p. 587.)
Ellice *Ap-Robert.* *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.) (*Id.*)

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(*d*) *Probert.* 1857 *New York Directory;* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Propert. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 462.

The surnames *Proper* and *Propper* are probably corruptions of *Propert*, as *Pritcher* is of *Pritchard.*

Proper. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 120; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1860 and 1891 *New York Directory.*
Propper. 1891 *New York Directory.*

20. Robin. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 116. *Ap Robin, ap Robyn* became *Probyn.*

(*a*) William *ap Robyn.* *c* 1500? *Rolls of Parliament.* (B. p. 587.)
William *Ap-robyn.* *c* 1500? *Materials for Hist. of Henry VII.* (B. p. 587.)
(*d*) *Probyn.* 1857 *New York Directory.*

21. Roby, *Robie,* is probably equivalent to *Robby, Robbie,* variant of *Robin.*

Roby. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 410.
Robie. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 410.

I suppose **Ap Roby* is the source of the Boston surname *Proby.*

(*a*) **Ap Roby?* (Compare *Ap Hoby*, from *Hoby, Hobby.*)
(*d*) *Proby.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 447.

22. Roderick, *Roderic,* Welsh *Roderic, Roderig, Rodri. Ab Roderick* appears to be the source of *Broderick, Brodrick.* Lower, however, says that the ancestors of the family *Broderick* "came from Normandy temp. William Rufus." It seems that a great many ancestors went from Normandy to England in order to found noble families. Later the noble families found the ancestors.

(*a*) Cariadog ap Tho' *ap Rodric* ap Owen Gwynedh.
1204 in WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales*, 1786, p. 357.
Maredudd . . . *ab Rodri*, Lord of Anglesey.
1799 YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 15, note.
(*d*) *Broderick.* 1857 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 265.
Brodrick. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 426; 1891 *New York Directory.*

23. Roger, *Rodger. Ap Roger* (*Rodger*) has produced *Proger, Prodger,* whence *Progers, Prodgers.*

(*a*) **Ap Roger.* *a* 1603. (See next.)
(*b*) Roger *Aproger.* *a* 1603 *Cal. to Pleadings* (Eliz.). (B. p. 587.)
(*d*) *Prodger.* "A *Tom Prodger's* job"; a clumsy piece of work is so called: doubtless in remembrance of some individual of that name, whose local celebrity as an awkward, inefficient workman has been traditionally extended to the present day. 1854 BAKER, *Northampt. Gloss.* ii. 137.
Progers. 1857 *New York Directory.*

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24. Ross, formerly *Rosse, Ros. Ap Ross* is the source of *Pross.*

(*a*) **Ap Ross.*
(*d*) *Pross.* 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory;* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

25. Rosser, a Welsh name.

Rosser Morris. *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 591.)
William *Rosser.* 1646 in *Cymru Fu,* Nov. 17, 1888.
Rosser. 1891 *New York Directory.*

Ap Rosser became *Prosser.*

(*a*) Marwnad Thomas *ab Rhosser* arglwydd Herast.
c 1470 LEWIS GLYN COTHI (Halliwell, note to Warkworth's *Chron.* 1839), p. 44.
Robert *ap Rosser.* *a* 1600? *Rolls of Parliament.* (B. p. 587.)
David *ap-Rosser.* *a* 1600? *Valor Ecclesiasticus.* (B. p. 587.)
(*b*) Thomas *Aprossehere* Vaghan, Squyere.
1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 6.
John *Approsser.* *a* 1603 *Cal. Proc. in Chancery.* (B. p. 587.)
(*d*) *Prosser.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*

Perhaps *Proser* is a variant of *Prosser.*

Proser. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*

26. Rothero, *Rotheroe, Rothera, Rothery, Rudderow, Rhydero,* Welsh *Rhydero.*

Rotheroe. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Rothera. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Rothery. 1857 and 1860 *New York Directory;* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Richard *Rhydero.* 1771 EVANS, *Eng. Welsh Dict.,* title-page.
Rudderow. 1857 *New York Directory;* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

Ap Rothero has resulted in *Prothero, Protheroe.*

(*a*) **Ap Rothero.*
(*d*) *Protheroe.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 76.
Protheroe. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory.*
Prothero. 1891 *New York Directory.*

27. Rytherch, Welsh *Rydderch. Ap Rhydderch* became *Prytherch.*

(*a*) Ieuan *ab Rhydderch* ab Ieuan Llwyd. *fl.* 1410–1440.
Welsh names . . . the following are unmistakably of Welsh origin: — *Prytherch* from *ap Rhydderch,* Bowen, from *ap Owen* . . .
1889 *Cymru Fu,* Apr. 6, p. 385.
(*d*) Justice *Prytherch* in Anglesey.
1655 Bp. GOODMAN, *Will,* in Yorke, *Royal Tribes of Wales,* 1799, p. 168.

28. Ulston. *Ap Ulston* appears to be the source of the surname *Puleston.*

(*a*) Ryse ap Morgon *ap Ulston.*
1473 WARKWORTH, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. 1839), p. 7.
(*d*) Sir John *Puleston.* 1888 *Cymru Fu,* Feb. 4, p. 78.

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But if the following form is correct, *Puleston* is in part at least of local origin.

Roger de *Puleston.* 1290 in WARRINGTON, *Hist. of Wales*, 1786.

29. William. This name became common in Welsh nomenclature, and in the patronymic form *Williams* vies with *Jones* for frequency. The earlier Welsh form is *Gwilym*, in English spelling *Guillim*. Equivalent to *Williams*, which stands for *William's son*, is *Ap William*, which has become reduced to *Pulliam*, a name that suggests Attraction by its very form.

(*a*) **Ap William.*
(*d*) *Pulliam.* 1857 and 1860 *New York Directory.*

I hav noted about twenty other instances of surnames having an initial *P-* or *B-* apparently derived by Attraction from *ap;* but in the absence of positiv evidence I withhold them from print. The absence of such evidence is in some cases a mere accident. No one else seems to hav collected any evidence, and I hav not collected enough to enable me to come into court with the indifference of certainty.

Here ends for the present the long array of the classes of words which hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by Attraction. From the phenomena I hav set forth and the facts I hav establisht, many conclusions and morals may be drawn. But first let me ad certain new proofs or new illustrations of cases cited in my previous papers, and some new cases here set forth for the first time. The numbers refer to the original articles in TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 181–305, and xxiv. 89–155.

§ I. Initial N gaind or lost. (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 180–305.)

I. A. Initial N gaind from the article *an.*

26. Ape (xxiii. 189). For further remarks on *jackanapes*, which I mentiond under *Ape* to deny its alleged connection with *ape*, see the present paper, p. 112.

40. Ash-cloth (xxiii. 197). I find *ash-cloth* in an other sense, a cloth for straining water through ashes.

(*a*) *Ash-cloth.* Before the use of soda was understood, the washerwomen used to soften the water by straining it through a coarse cloth, which was fastened over the top of the wash tub, and first covered with marsh mallow leaves and then with a layer of wood ashes.
1875 PARISH, *Sussex Gloss.*, Addenda, p. 133.

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57. Ay, an egg. This word I hav fully illustrated (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 203–211), but I find some modern relics of it in two or three surnames which help to prove the assertion that it is containd reliquially in *cockney*.

The common surname *Birdseye*, tho generally taken as 'bird's eye,' *avis oculus*, is probably 'bird's egg,' *avis ovum*. Compare the German surname *Vogelei*, *Vogeley*, Eng. as if **fowl-ay*, 'bird-egg.' I hav not lighted upon a name **Vogelauge*, 'bird-eye.'

Birdseye. 1857 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 212, 474.
Vogelei. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Vogeley. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory.*

That eggs may enter into surnames appears not only from the clear German instance *Vogelei*, *Vogeley*, already cited, but from the plain surnames *Egg* and *Eggs*, both authenticated. See also p. 122.

Egg. 1857 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 204.
Eggs. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 204.

To my explanation of *cockney* as *cock* + *nay* for *an ay*, parallel to *cockaneg* for **cocknegg*, from *cock* + *negg* for *an egg*, I ad the statement that there may be present in the ME. *cokney*, 'cock-egg,' a remembrance of the fable which derived the cockatrice from an egg laid by a cock when past seven years old. See a quotation in Larwood and Hotten, *Hist. of Signboards*, 1861, p. 161.

58. Ayword (xxiii. 212). I find one more instance of *nayword*, but it is in the buffooning of Cotton, and is not of the nature of original evidence.

> And, with a gibing kind of *nayword*,
> Quoth he, blind harpers have among ye.
> 1664–67 COTTON, *Virgil Travestie.* (Toone.)

70. Eddy (xxiii. 216). *An eddy* became *a neddy*, of which I gave many instances, one of date about 1450. I ad one of almost contemporary date.

> We haue here nowe the moste foolysshe fole, and the verayst *nedy* that euer I sawe, for he taketh the dogges mete from them, and eteth it himself, ther by a man may perfytely knowe that he is a natural fole.
> *c* 1480? *Robert the Devyll* (Thoms, *Early Prose Rom.* 1828, i. 34).

74. Egg (xxiii. 219). *An egg*, as I hav shown, became *a negg*, and *negg* existed in the sixteenth century in the compound *cockaneg*. I can now giv a seventeenth century example of *a negg*, which, taken with *cockaneg*, helps to confirm my explanation of *cockney* (xxiii. 206).

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It is the custom for boys and girls in country schools . . . to goe in a gang from house to house with little clacks of wood, and when they come to any door they fall a beating their clacks and singing (the following) song, and expect from every house some *eggs*, or a piece of bacon. . . .

'Harings, Harings, white and red, Ten a penny, Lent's dead,
Rise, dame, and give *a Negg*, Or else a piece of Bacon.'

1686–7 AUBREY, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme.* (Northall, *Eng. Folk-Rhymes*, p. 196.)

87. Eye[1] (xxiii. 226). I giv a much later instance of the form *a nye*, for *an eye*, in the plural *nyes*.

So, take dis hand: winck now prea artely with your two *nyes*.
1600 DEKKER, *Old Fortunatus.*

Of the compounds or unions *birdsnye*, *pigsnye*, *pinknye*[1], *pinknye*[2], I giv some additional examples.

(2) *Pigsnye*, *pigsny*, a humorous term of endearment.

Above all other prayse must I
And love my pretty *pygsnye*.
a 1600? *Song*, in Ritson's *Anc. Songs*, p. 114.

Thou art my sweet rogue, my lamb, my *pigsny*, my playfellow.
1607 *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage.* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, ix. 547.)

(3) *Pink-nye*[1], also *pinkany*, etc., a small or narrow eye. This term was also used, like *pigsnye*, as an expression of endearment.

She [Hero] was a pretty *pinkany*, and Venus priest.
a 1599 NASH. (*Amer. N. & Q.* viii. 133.)

No, sweet *pinkany*. 1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington.* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 324.)

This *pink-nye* stil exists in the surname *Pinkney*, also written *Pinckney*, ME. *Pinkeney*, *Pinkenie*. I find *Pinkenie* even in the so-cald "Roll of Battel Abbey." The persons who bear this name must hav had among their ancestors some one who had narrow or winking eyes. In proof of this explanation I find the surname *Pinkey* without the attracted *n*. This is just 'pink-eye.'

(4) *Pink-nye*[2], also *pinkney*, *pinkeney*, and, I now ad, in the plural *pinkie nine*. I find it used of eyes inflamed by wine. "Who hath rednesse of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seeke mixt wine." (1611 Bible, *Proverbs* xxiii. 29, 30.)

Oh most surpassing wine . . .
Thou makest some to stumble . . .
And me haue *pinkie nine*.
1594 LODGE, *Wounds of Civil War.* (Hunterian Club, p. 54.)

(6) *Wall-nyed*. I find an earlier instance, ME. *wolde-neighed*, misprinted by Weber *wolden-eighed*, which would mean, if it ment anything, 'governd-eyed.'

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In this tyme, nougth fer thenne,
Woned a kyng of selkouth menne;
Hy ben y-cleped Albanyen,
Alle hy ben wigth men;
Her visages ben blue so Ynde,
Swiche other men ne may me non fynde,
Alle *wolden-eighed* [read *wolde-neighed*] hy beeth;
By nigth als a cat hy seeth.
c 1340? *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 5268–5275. (Weber, *Metr. Rom.* i. 218.)

(7) *Blear-nyed* for *blear-eyed* occurs in the same century:

For smoke and smolder smyteth in his eyen,
Til he be *blere-nyed* [*bler-eyed* C] or blynde, and hors in the throte.
c 1377 LANGLAND, *Piers Plowman* (B.), xvii. 323.
The *blernyed* boynard. 1399 *Richard the Redeless*, ii. 164.

(8) *Biddies-nye*, that is, 'Biddy's eye,' 'chicken's eye,' is also found as a term of endearment.

Jella, why frown'st thou? Say, sweet *biddies-nie*,
Has hurt thy foote with treading late awry?
1611 DAVIES, *Scourge of Folly*. (Wr. p. 207.)

The same term in the normal form *biddy's-eyes* is applied to the pansy.

Biddy's eyes. The pansy. *Somerset.* 1857 WRIGHT.

This *nye* is latent in some proper names beside *Pinkney*.

(9) *Blackney* is 'black-eye,' a black-eyed person; so is *Blakeney*, in some instances; in others it appears to hav been local, from *Blakeney* in Norfolk; which is probably 'Blake's island' or else 'Black island.'

Blackney. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory.*
Blakeney. 1857 and 1891 *Id.*

The regular form *Blackeye*, as a surname, is now scarcely to be found in that form, a fact not surprising when one discerns the name in five other forms, *Blackee*, *Blackie*, *Blakey*, *Blakie*, *Blaikie*.

Robertus *Niger-Oculus* ['Black-Eye'] . . . pro felonia suspensus.
a 1600? *Calendarium Genealogicum.* (B. p. 434.)
Blackee. 1857 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 297.
Blackie. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory.*
Blakey. 1857 *New York Directory.*
Blakie. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Blaikie. 1860 *New York Directory.*

(10) *Bulney*, 'bull-eye.' I find this surname.

Rauf *Bulney.* *a* 1522 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 103.

I find a surname *Bulley* (1824 in Bowditch 1860; 1857 *New York Directory*), but I suppose the bull's eye is not concernd in it.

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92. Heel-to (xxiii. 230). Of *neal-too* I note two other forms, *neale-too*, and *neal'd-to*, which latter may look to the supposed original *heald*.

Neale-too [1678 *Neal-too*], in Navigation, is when it is deep water close to the shore. 1671 PHILLIPS, *New World of Words*.
Neal'd-to, (Sea-Term) when it is deep Water, close to the Shore.
1706 PHILLIPS, *New World of Words;* same in 1715 KERSEY.

103. Hoddy (xxiii. 233). For *noddy* I giv two quotations earlier than the first one given before (1573):

Wyll you reedes be still bendyng bowing bodies?
Wyll you okes be still stoute stiffe necked *nodies?*
1562 J. HEYWOOD, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (Spenser Soc. 1867), p. 195.
A Noddy, morio. 1570 LEVINS, *Manip. Voc.* 97, l. 5.

104. Hoddy-peak (xxiii. 235). I find an other spelling *hodie-peake*.

(*a*) Who hereth nought, Nor nought can speake,
Maie soone be thought A *hodie peake*.
1562 J. HEYWOOD, *Proverbs and Epigrams* (Spenser Soc. 1867), p. 96.
(*b*) Bauc. A sot, asse, doult, dull-pated *noddipeake*. 1611 COTGRAVE.

112. Hour (xxiii. 237). This is an earlier quotation for *a nour*.

And þe space of *a noure* hit stykkyd þer ry3t so.
c 1420 *Vita S. Etheldredae Eliensis*, I. 1013. (Horstmann, *Altengl. Legend.* 1881, p. 305.)

120. Idiot (xxiii. 240). Here is an other instance of the assibilated form, *idget*, here speld *ijut*.

There were two or three men on Scott's River, and one Chinaman, that we used to think smart, but they were doddering *ijuts* to *him*.
1893 BRET HARTE, *The Heir of the McHulishes* (*Cent. Mag.* Oct. p. 925.)

I giv an example of *nidiot*, fifty years older than the earliest given before:

Than sayd Johan of Florence "we may all well be called fooles & *nydeates* that trust our wyfes in this maner as we do."
c 1510? *Frederyke of Jennen* (Douce Fragments No. 79), cited by Furnivall, *Laneham's Letter* (N. S. S. 1890), p. xxvii.

To the 161 cases of Attraction of this sort which I hav enumerated, and the ten or more which I omitted in printing as being trivial or for other reasons, as stated in TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 253, I ad a few more, which I think worthy of notice.

162. Aker, or to use the accepted error of spelling, *acher*, 'that which causes pain.' I suspect that *an aker*, miswritten *a nakir*, is the explanation of the mysterious word *nakir*, defined as "a wandering pain passing from one limb to another."

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(*a*) **An aker.* a 1800?
And this same tooth pursued their track,
By adding *achers* unto *achers*.
a 1845 HOOD, *True Story*, iii. (1871) 317. (N. E. D.)

(*b*) *Nakir.* A wandering pain passing from one limb to another. *Wright.*
1860 WORCESTER. (Not in 1846 Worcester.)

The word *nakir* here ascribed to "Wright," is not in Wright's *Provincial Glossary*, 1857, in its alphabetic place.

163. Ark, ME. *ark, arke.* ME. *an ark* appears as *a nark.*

(*a*) (*b*) Þan of *a nark* [var. *an ark, an arke, oon arke*] to þam he spak,
In Godd wirscip for to mak.
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 6659.

164. Ebber, ME. *ebber, obber, eber, æbære,* AS. *ǣber, ǣbær* (= O. Fries. *āber, auber,* Bav. *aber*), manifest, open, from *ā-* + *beran,* bear. The fiend when he had deceived Adam and Eve boasted; but —

He leied, þat *eber* file [var. *fals file, fals þeof*], for-qui
Þat yett of man had God merci.
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 813.

Þar lighes now, *eber* [var. *foule*; 2 mss. diff.] pantener.
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 5143.

ME. *an eber fole,* 'a manifest crazy person,' appears as *a neber fole.*

(*a*) Hym that we halde wyse, 3e halde *an ebbere* fule.
a 1400 *Ms. Linc.* A. i. 17, f. 37. (H. p. 328.)

(*b*) Sco [var. *scho, she, ho,* sc. Herodias] cried and mad ful mikel dole,
Als sco þat was *a neber* [var. *an ebber, ane obber, a grete*] fole.
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.) l. 13040.

165. Edge-tool. *An edge-tool,* with its proverbial uncertainty of action, makes a slip and appears in ME. as *a nege tole.*

Hys fader hard noys, and rode toward hem, and hys men ronne befor hym thyderward; and in the goyng downe of hys hors, on, he wotte not ho, behynd hym smot hym on the hede with *a nege tole,* men know not with us with what wepone, that he fell downe; and hys son fell downe be fore hym as good as dede. 1448 *Paston Letters,* ed. Gairdner (1872), i. 74.

166. Halfpenny, commonly pronounced *hapeny,* or with the prevalent British lack of aspiration, *apeny.*

(*a*) Colloquially, we all say *'apeny*; but in public most of us say *halfpenny.*
1894 W. C. B. in *N. and Q.*, 8th ser. vi. 96.

This candid confession one Englishman denies with all the just indignation of a man conscious of others' guilt.

"O illegimate construction! I scorn it with my heels!" "All," indeed! I never said *apeny* in my life; and would as soon say *'eels.*
1894 HENRY H. GIBBS, in *N. and Q.*, 8th ser. vi. 290.

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I find *an 'apeny* as *a napeny*, in a society magazine. You can find things even in a society magazine.

(*b*) And the fare was ten bob if 'twas *a napeny*.
1862 *London Society*, Sept., p. 209.

167. Ill. *An ill name* goes from bad to worse, and falls into *a nyll name*.

(*b*) Have ye bakbytyd ore slaunderd any man or woman & browght them in *a nyll* name?
a 1600 *Sloane MS.* 1584. (*Laneham's Letter*, N. S. S. 1890, p. cxxx.)

168. Inn. I find in ME. *an in* written *a nin*.

(*a*) *An in.* *c* 1300 *Cursor Mundi* [see below].

Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,
Whate'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at *an inn*. *a* 1763 SHENSTONE.

(*b*) Yee ga wit him, he sall yow bring
Until *a nin* [var. *an in, ane in*] ful sket [so 2 mss.; var. *squete, mete*].
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 15191.

I. B. Initial N lost by Attraction to the article *a*.

The following additional case, tho noted before in an other connection, is to be recorded here.

32. Naples, or *Napes*, ME. *Naples, Napels, Napuls*, also with loss of *l*, *Napes*, also without *s*, *Napele*, from OF. *Naples* = It. *Napoli*, from L. *Neapolis*, Gr. Νεάπολις, 'Newtown,' a city in Italy. Naples was once wel known to Englishmen as the name of a port from which, as I hav shown, came many "commodities and nycetees," "nifles, trifles," and "thyngs of complacence" (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 193). These things wer known as 'of Naples,' or in the vernacular, *a Napes;* as we hear of *articles de Paris*, and as they used to speak of *Birmingham ware*, in the vulgar tung *Brummagem ware*, briefly *Brummagem*. But *a Napes* came to be misunderstood, and was turnd into *an apes* and *an ape;* in the manner following, that is to say:

(1) *Fustian a Napes*, also found in the precise form *fustian of Naples* (1598), *fustian of Napuls* (1463) came to be written *fustian an apes* (1575), *fustian an apes* (1611), *fustian an Apes* (1611), and even *fustian and apes* (*a* 1627); "with a desperate desire and a resolute endeavor," like the fire in Mr. Poe's jingle of "The Bells," to get out of its proper sphere. The fire, if we may believ Mr. Poe,

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desired "now, now to sit or never, by the side of the pale-faced moon." An other perversion appears in *fuschan in appules* (1519). The forms and quotations ar set forth in my first paper under *Ape*, TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 192, 193). I ad a mention of the F. *gros de Naples*, a kind of silk.

I hav lighted upon the English text of the original petition of the Commons, which by the royal assent became the statute 3 Edward IV., cited in the N. E. D. in the French version.

> That noo man but such as hath possessions of the yerely value of XL s. use nor were in Aray for his body . . . eny Fustian, Bustian, nor *Fustian* [printed *Fastian*] *of Napuls*, Scarlet Cloth engrayned . . .
> 1463 *Petition against the inordinate use of Apparell and Aray* (in *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1808, iii. 420).

(2) *Jack a Napes*, 'Jack of Naples,' was, as I hav explaind, a popular humorous term for a performing ape or monkey, imported from Naples, and usually exhibited by Italians. The name came to be written *Jack an Apes*, *Jack-an-apes*, *Jacke-Napes*, *Jack Napes*, *Jac Napes*, etc., settling down to *Jackanapes;* and then, seeming to be a plural form, it was made singular by lopping off the *s*, and people spoke of *a jackanape*, *two jackanapes*, etc.; tho the original form stil remains as a singular.

The history of the word is wel shown in the 38 quotations which I gave (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 190–193); but because the first instance of the use of the word remains to be discoverd, and because the explanation I hav given is not generally known, I giv the forms so far discoverd in their chronologic order, according to the earliest date I know for each, and ad some more quotations: *Jac Napes* (*a* 1450), *Jac Nape* (*a* 1450), *Jack Napis* (*a* 1450), *Jack Napes* (*a* 1529), *Jack-an-apes* (*a* 1536), *jackanapes* (*a* 1536), *Jacke-a-napes* (1543), *Jacke-Napes* (1592), *iakeanapes* (1611), *jacanapes* (1616), *Iack an Apes* (1623), *Iacke-an-Apes* (1623), *Iack-an-ape* (1623), *Iack 'Nape* (1623), *Jack an Ape* (1637), *jackanape* (1822), *jackanips* (1823).

The forms to be discoverd ar **Jak a Napes*, and the original **Jak of Naples*, before the year 1450 and probably about 1400. In the first quotation below *Jack Napis* is used satirically, as in the previous quotations of the same date referring to the same person.

> Wherefore Beamownt, that gentille rache,
> Hath brought *Jack Napis* in an eville cache.
> *a* 1450 *On the arrest of the duke of Suffolk* (*Pol. Poems and Songs*, 1861, ii. 225).

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A *Jackanapes* hath wit. 1590 *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London.* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, v. 385.)
The Grenning *Jackanapes* [a sign] over against the Vnicorne in the Iewrie. 1593 ELIOT, *Fruits for the French*, or *Parlement of Pratlers.* (*Hist. of Signboards*, 1866, p. 440.)
Queen. My dear son Jack!
John. Your dear son *Jack-an-apes!*
Your monkey, your baboon, your ass, your gull. 1600 *Look About You* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 429).
Jack-an-Apes. 1678 LITTLETON (*Gent. Mag.*, 1777).
An Ape, or *Jackanapes.* Simia, f., Simius, m. 1693 *Linguæ Romanæ Dictionarium luculentum novum.*
To Mr. John Wright, at the "*Jackanapes* on Horseback." 1700 *Advertisement* quoted in *Hist. of Signboards*, 1866, p. 440.

The false singular *jackanape* is foreshadowd in the early form "*Jac Nape* soule" beside "*Jac Napes* soule" (*c* 1450; TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 191), and in Dr. Caius's broken English *Iack-an-ape*, *Iack 'Nape* (1623; TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 191). The following is a later quotation.

Can *Jack an Ape* be merry when his clog is at his heele? 1637 *Proverb*, in Camden, *Remaines*, p. 294.

29. Navel. I find *avel* for *navel* in the printed text of *Palladius on Husbondrie* (E.E.T.S., 1872, p. 213), but the facts that *a navel* has never been a current phrase (*the navel* is the common form), and that the printed text mentiond is il edited and not to be trusted at critical points, incline me to regard *avel* as a mere blunder.

II. Cases involving the old dativ form *then* of the article *the.*

A. Cases in which the final *n* of Middle English *then* has become attacht to the following word; as in *at then ashe*, *atten ashe*, *atte nashe*, and so *Nash.* See TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 279–287.

8. Ash (xxiii. 282).

Here lyes the Collyer, John *of Nashes*,
By whom Death nothing gain'd, he swore:
For living he was dust and ashes,
And being dead he is no more.
a 1637 *Epitaph* in Camden, *Remaines*, p. 416.

4. Oven (xxiii. 281). I mentiond *Thomas atte Novene.* As *oven* became in dialectal speech *oon*, so *Novene* has become *Noon*, *Noone*, a common surname. Lower gave up the etymology of *Noone* "in

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despair," but when he waxt really desperate he usually gave an explanation, if not two. The etymologist who hesitates is lost. If he does not hesitate, he is in great danger.

(*b*) A third group of surnames of similar appearance, Day, Weekes, Mattin and Dawn, Evening and Vesper, *Noone* and Morrow, may here be noticed. . . . *Noone* I give up in despair.
1860 LOWER, *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 347.
Noon. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Noone. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Francis *None.* 1548 in ELLIS, *Orig. letters*, 3d ser. 1846, iii. 302.

The 15 instances of surnames in *N-*, derived from locativ phrases originally beginning with *at then . . ., atten . . ., atte N-*, by no means exhaust the list. Reserving some doutful cases, I ad 6 more.

16. Ey, ME. *ey*, AS. *ēg, īg*, an island. Some one living *atten eye, atten ye*, 'at the island,' may be the ancestor of the wel known William *Nye*, and probably also of those named *Ney* (when not French), *Nay*, and *Naye*.

(*a*) *Nash* is, in like manner a corruption of *Atten-Ash*, and *Nye* of *Atten-Eye*, at the island. 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 40.
(*b*) *Nye.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Ney. 1889 *Id.*
Nay. 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
Naye. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

17. Hill. Various persons wer, and some stil ar, located 'at the hill,' ME. *atten hylle;* and this locativ phrase becoming a surname, emerged sometimes as *Nill* and sometimes as *Till* (see p. 123); in most cases it has been reduced to the simple *Hill.*

(*a*) *Atten hylle.* (See *Atte hylle*, p. 123.)
(*b*) *Nill.* 1857 *New York Directory;* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

18. How, a hill; ME. *how, howe.* William or John *atten howe* may be the ancestor of persons now cald *Now;* as he is of those cald *How* and *Howe* and *Hough*, where the attracted *n* does not appear.

(*a*) Atten *howe.* *a* 1500? (See *Atte howe*, Bardsley, p. 563.)
(*b*) Naturally enough, we have [in Boston] but one *Now*, while we have a long series of *Morrows.* We are truly a go-ahead people; and accordingly no *Yesterdays.* I find indeed, a Mr. *Yesterday* at Philadelphia.
1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 281.

There was no *Yesterday* in Philadelphia in 1821 or 1889, nor is there any to-day. There was one *Now* in Philadelphia in 1889, but he was untimely, and is Now no more.

Now [1 entry]. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
(*c*) *How.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Howe. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

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19. Iland, commonly misspeld *island.* One living *atten iland,* 'at the iland,' has given rise to the surname *Niland,* also speld *Nyland,* and found also as *Nilan.* I hav not found the surname **Island* as yet.

(*a*) **Atten iland.* *a* 1500?
(*b*) *Niland.* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Nyland. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory.*
Nilan. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

20. Ile, commonly misspeld *isle.* One living *at then ile, atten ile,* may be the father of those cald *Nile.*

(*a*) **Atten ile.* *a* 1500?
(*b*) *Nile* (1860) . . . Mr. *Nile* lives at Ottawa, C. W.
1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 174.
(*c*) In England are families of Gravel, *Isle,* Ore, Rill and River.
1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 247.

The surname *De Lisle, Delisle,* formerly *De Lyle, del Yle,* and the simple *Lisle, Lyle,* hav a similar origin in the French.

Sir Gerard *de Lyle* . . . Sir Robert *del Yle* . . . Sir Bawdwyn *de Lyle.*
a 1400 *Names and Arms of the Ancient Nobility* (in *Antiquarian Repertory,* 1807, i. 114).

21. Iles, commonly misspeld *isles,* also enters into surnames. Some one living *atten iles* must hav been the supernominal ancestor of the families cald *Niles,* if this name is not a patronymic genitiv of *Nile,* above. I find also the surnames *Isles* and *Islet* without the attracted *n.*

(*b*) *Niles.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 446.
(*c*) *Iles.* 1857 *New York Directory;* 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 242, 448; 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Mr. *Islet* lives at Montreal; Mr. *Isles* at Philadelphia.
1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 249.
Isles. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

III. Cases involving *mine* or *thine.*

A. Cases in which the final *n* has become attacht to the following noun. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 289–301.

2. Ancestor (xxiii. 289). This is the full text of the quotation for the attracted form:

(*b*) A pore pryery, a fundacion off *my nawynsetres.*
1535 *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries,* Camden Soc. (1843), p. 51.

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6. Eye (xxiii. 290). I giv a very early example of the attracted form of *thine eye.*

(*a*) Why holdes *thine eie* that lamentable rhewme,
Like a proud riuer peering ore his bounds?
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *King John* ii. (F¹ p. 8.)

(*b*) And i þe sai þou sal þer dei,
Ioseph þi sun sal luke *þi nei* [var. *þin eye, þine eye, þin eȝe*].
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 5223.

9. Ore, grace (xxiii. 291). This is an other very early example.

Vndo, vndo, leuedi, *þi nare* [var. *þin are, þin ore, thyne ore*]
To this caitif casten in care!
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 10099.

11. Own (xxiii. 291). The following additional quotations wil show how very common was the use of *my nown, thy nown,* for *myn own, thine own.*

(1) *Mine own, my nown.*

(*b*) For I aman [a man] in graf di3t,
In a toumb þat was *my nawen* [var. *mine auen, myn owen*].
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.), (E.E.T.S.), l. 17312.

Wrytyn with *my noune* chaunsery hand, yn hast.
1448 *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), i. 76.

For the excuse of *my nown* comyng.
1458? EARL OF SALISBURY in *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), i. 421.

But my wyves [coseyn] and j. coseyn of *myn noune* that were yomen of the Croune, they went to the Kyng, and got grase and j. charty of pardon.
1456 *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), i. 135.

My nown dere sone.
c 1488–1503 in *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, 1872), iii. 398.

My *nanne* [nawne?] good Lord.
1515 "MARY *Quene of France,*" Letter in Ellis, *Orig. Letters,* 3d ser. 1846, i. 120.

But for *my none* parte . . . I have and doe wish a good and a sure peace . . .
1586 EARL OF LEYCESTER in *Leycester Correspondence* (Camden Soc. 1844), p. 246.

(2) *Thine own, thy nown.*

(*b*) Qui sekes þou me þat es *þi naun* [var. *þin aun, þine awen, þin owen*]?
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 7742.

(3) *His nown.*

(*b*) That's *his nown* sweet boy.
1596 NASH, *Summers' Last Will and Testament.*

12. Aunt (xxiii. 293). This is an earlier example for *thy naunt:*

For-qui his moder was *þi naunt* [var. *þin aunt, tin ant*].
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 24675.

18. Ell (xxiii. 298). This abbreviation of *Ellen,* from which, in *mine Ell,* has come *my Nell,* I hav cald unrecorded. I can now

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record it on personal information, as in present use. Tho hitherto unnoticed, it must of course be old. In an old broadside I find an other *El* bravely used for *Elizabeth:*

(*a*) So thus my leaue I take: O souldier, now farewell:
No more to do now will I make, But God preserue Queene *El.*
c 1580 in *Anc. Ballads and Broadsides* (1870), p. 120.

(*b*) Then we will have little *Nell* . . .
And Jane with the black lace;
We will have bouncing Bess also.
c 1520 *The Four Elements* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, i. 26).

I would faine haue arm'd to day, but *my Nell* [Helen] would not haue it so. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Tr. and Cr.* iii. 1. (F1 p. [90].)

26. Ike, a contraction of *Isaac, Izaak.* I hav shown how *myne Ikey* gave rise to *Nikey* (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 301). I note an other diminutiv form *Niken,* speld *Nykin,* represented as a wife's baby-talk name for her husband *Isaac* (1687 Congreve, *Old Bachelor,* iv. 4).

I record some additional cases under this hed.

27. Hick. *Mine Hick* has probably given rise to *my Nick* and so to *Nick* in other positions. But *Nick* is also in part, in greater part, an abbreviation of *Nicol,* once a very common name, ME. *Nicol,* OF. *Nicole,* ML. *Nicolas,* LL. *Nicolaus,* Gr. Νικόλαος.

(*a*) *Mine Hick?*
(*b*) William fil. *Nyck.* *a* 1600 *Writs of Parliament.* (B. p. 579.)

Here lyeth Thom. *Nicks* body,
Who lived a foole and dyed a nody.
a 1637 *Epitaph* in Camden, *Remaines,* p. 403.

Nan, Noll, Kate, Moll, Brave lasses have lads to attend 'em,
Hodge, *Nick,* Tom, Dick, Brave country dancers, who can amend 'em?
a 1700 *Joan to the Maypole.* (B. p. 95.)

28. Hickon, *Hicken, Hickin.* See much about this form in other parts of this paper (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 231, 232; xxiv. 128).

Mine Hicken or *Hicken* would result in **my Nicken* or *Nickin,* which I find as a surname **Nicken, Nickens, Nickins.*

Hannah *Nickins,* widow [colored]. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Nickens. 1889 *Id.*

29. Hob. *Mine Hob* would result in **my Nob,* whence the surname *Nobb, Nobbs. My Hob* also occurs.

(*a*) Thoo's a good lad, *my Hobb.* 1685 *Yorkshire Dialogue.* (See xxiv. 117.)
(*b*) *Nobbs.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*

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IV. Cases in which the final *n* of *none* has become attacht to the following noun (xxiii. 302). The following ar additional cases.

3. **End.** ME. *nan end, non end,* appears as *na nend.*

þai wat þair pine sal ha *na nend* [var. *nan ende, noon ende, no end*].
c 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 23263.

4. **Ending.** ME. *nan ending, noon ending* appears as *na nending.* The three kings ar led on by the star to Bethlehem:

þir kinges rides forth thair rade,
þe stern, alwais þam forwit [var. *by fore hem*] glade,
þai said, "far we nu to yond king
þat sal on erth haf *na nending* [var. *nan euening, non evenyng, noon euenynge*]." *c* 1300 *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton ms.) (E.E.T.S.), l. 11427.

The various readings indicate, however, that *ending* in the Cotton ms. is a substitute for *evening,* meaning 'equal,' literally 'comparison.'

I hav to record an other class of attraction of N.

VI a. Words which hav attracted *n* from a preceding conjunction *an* or *'n* for *and.*

Blood and wounds, a relic of a once common oath, reduced in the vernacular to *blood an' ouns,* written also *blood an(d) oons,* became in easy speech *blood 'n' ouns, blood'nouns,* and then simply *nouns.*

(*a*) The bluff dragoons swore *blood and 'oons,*
They'd make the rebels run, man.
1745 ADAM SKIRVING, *The Battle of Tranent-Muir, or of Preston-Pans.* (Child, *Ballads,* vii. 169.)

The cutting shaver, that sweares *wounds and blood.*
1600 *The Newe Metamorphosis.* (Wr. p. 845.)

A curious survival of this phrase appears in the name *blood-nouns,* sometimes *bloody-nouns,* applied by boys in the city of Washington some years ago, and I dare say now, to bull-frogs. The boys do not, or did not when I was one of them, know the origin of *blood-nouns;* perhaps, as the form *bloody-nouns* suggests, they thought of something dark and dredful, like the parts of speech. I suppose, now, that *blood-nouns* is an old term, transferd from the oath, or from some blood-curdling tale of giants. Giants whom I heard about then frequently said "Fe-fo-fi-*fum,* I smel the blood of an English*mun,*" and said it in a deep bass voice. The frogs had also a deep bass voice. It was no stuttering Greek squawk —

Βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ. 405 B.C. ARISTOPHANES, *The Frogs,* 209.

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but a deep Roman hoarseness:

> Loud thunder to its bottom shook the bog,
> And the hoarse nation croak'd, "God save King Log!"
> 1729 POPE, *Dunciad*, I. 329.

The frogs wer therefore cald *blood-nouns*. But we did not then think of it so curiously: and so far as I know, the name is now recorded for the first time. I hav been informd that the term is or was known in Virginia, Ohio and Iowa.

The last reduction of the phrase left it a more or less innocuous monosyllable, *nouns:*

> "*Nouns*, man, the White hall gateways were planned by the great Holbein," answered Mr. George. 1822 SCOTT, *Fortunes of Nigel*, ii.

The original form of the oath in question, omitting the adjurativ *by*, was *God's blood and wounds;* one of the innumerable ways in which the "realism" of medieval piety lent itself, as all "realism" in all ages must, to base uses. "Realism" is that which is regarded as true, because it is vile. After the oath was reduced to *blood an' ouns*, *blood 'n' ouns*, and *nouns*, the possessiv *God's* was sometimes restored, in a perverted form, *gogs nouns*, *odds nouns;* the word *blood* of the original phrase being wholly lost.

> He stampt and stard,
> And swore *gogs nownes*,
> Ile beat the villen downe.
> 1577 KENDALL, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1874), p. 176.
>
> Diácene, god forbid, gods forbod, an interiection, *gogs nouns*.
> 1598 FLORIO.
>
> And for prompt service — *odds nouns!* it should be prompt to be useful.
> 1822 SCOTT, *Fortunes of Nigel*, xiii.

For a treatment of the other form *zounds* for *God's wounds*, and of similar cases of Attraction, I must refer to a reservd paper, or to the military history of Flanders.

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§ II. Initial T gaind.

IX. Cases involving the preposition *at*. TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 96–98.

The following additional cases of this kind of Attraction ar noted. Additional cases under this and other classes ar numberd in sequence after the last case previously noted.

12. Abbey. One living *atte abbey* was the ancestor of those who ar cald *Tabbey* or *Tebby;* who hav no feline relations. With the omission of the preposition and article, the surname became *Abbey*.

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It will be observd that surnames like *Ash, Abbey, Hill, How*, etc., ar not identical with the nouns *ash, abbey, hill*, etc., but ar reductions of the full locativ phrases *atte ash, atte abbey, atte hill*, etc. They thus come third in mention — (*c*) after (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) (*b*) Diuers also had names from trees neare their habitations, as *Oke, Ashe, Box, Alder, Elder, Beach*. . . . And here is to bee noted that diuers of this sort have been strangely contracted, as At Ashe into Tash, At Oke into Toke, *At Abbey* into *Tabbey*, At the End into Thend.
1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 122.
(*b*) *Tabbey*. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.
Tabby. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*
(*c*) *Abbey*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory*.

15. Ax. Some one living at the sign of the Ax, **John atte Axe*, may be the ancestor of persons named *Tax, Tacks;* as an other person, or the same, *John atten Axe*, is the ancestor of those cald *Nax* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 284).

(*a*) Mary *at Ax*, diocis London. *c* 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. 251.
Printed for William Gay, and to be sold at his shop in Hosier Lane, *at* the signe of *the Axe*, July 29, 1642.
1642 *A Petition*, etc. (*Hist. of Signboards*, p. 346.)
(*b*) *Tax*. 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 87.

I find the parish of St. Mary *Axe* given a distinctly scriptural position by changing the *Axe* into the *Acts* — of the apostles!

(*c*) Hen. Ramsey, a joyner, in *St. Mary Acts*, at the signe of the Sugar Loafe.
1675 *Letter*, in *Antiq. Repertory* (1809), iv. 637.

The frequency of the custom of designating a person as living 'at the sign of' so-and-so, appears from a story of a seventeenth-century Ghost. This Ghost told a man where to find certain hidden money and papers, which wer to be "delivered according to his orders, to some of his relations living in such a house in Southwarke, who were off such a name, *at such a sygne*, and were ye forth generation from him." (1675 Fr. Morgan, *Letter*, in *Antiq. Repertory*, 1809, iv. 636).

15. Eagle. I hav shown (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 284) how *atten egle* became *Neagle, Naigle, Nagle*. With the article all lost, *atte egle* became *Teagle;* a surname found in several places. With preposition and article both lost, the name becomes *Eagle* or *Egle*.

(*b*) *Teagle*. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1891 *New York Directory*.
(*c*) *Eagle*. 1857 *New York Directory*.
Egle. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

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17. Edder, also *eder, ether,* a hedge, an inclosure; ME. **eder,* AS. *edor, eder, eodor* = OS. *edor,* etc. William **atte edder,* may hav been the ancestor of William *Tedder,* and perhaps of Mr. *Teather.*

(*b*) Wylliam *Tedder.* 1588 *Book* in H. Sotheran & Co.'s *Catalog No. 526,* p. 23.
Teather. 1857 *New York Directory* · 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 321.

18. Egg. A man living 'at the sign of the egg,' and there wer such signs, would sometimes be cald William or John *atte egge;* and he may be regarded as the ancestor of the present bearers of the surnames *Tegg* and *Tagg.* Eggs ar in some quarters *aggs.* Without the preposition the surname appears as *Egg, Egge.*

(*a*) In Norwich there was (and we believe is still) a curious combination, the Whip and *Egg,* which existed in that locality as early as the year 1750, and which is enumerated in London, under the name of the Whip and *Eggshell,* amongst the taverns in the black letter ballad of "London's Ordinarie, or Everie Man in his Humour," whilst a still earlier mention occurs in Mother Bunch's Merriment, (1604,) when the transformation of pigs into fowls, whereby one of the gulls was so "sweetly deceyved," is laid at the whip and *Eggshell.* It has been explained as a corruption of the Whip and Nag, but the combination of these two would be so obvious that a corruption would scarcely be possible.
1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards,* p. 357.
The Whip and *Eggshell,* and the Broom by name.
1685 *Great Britain's Wonder.* (*Hist. of Signboards,* 1866, p. 357.)
(*b*) *Tegg.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
(*c*) *Egg.* 1857 *New York Directory.*
Egge. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Eggs. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*

20. Harp. A man located at the sign of the harp, *atte harpe,* may be regarded as the ancestor of the families cald *Tarp,* as wel as of those cald *Harp.*

The *Harp,* in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the sign of a bird-fancier, "over against Somerset House in the Strand" [*London Gazette,* 1700], and is still used as the sign of many public-houses, generally denoting an Irish origin.
1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards,* p. 340.
[The sign of the] *Harpe,* for Irland.
a 1700 *Harl. Mss.* 5910 vol. 11. fol. 167 (quoted in *Hist. of Signboards,* p. 134.)
(*b*) *Tarp.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 452.
Tarpp. 1889 *Philadelphia City Directory.*
(*c*) In New York I find families of . . . *Harp.* Mr. *Harp* lives at Quebec.
1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 291.

21. Hay, a hedge. William *atte haye,* 'at the hedge,' may be the ancestor of William *Tay.* Of course *Hay* and *Haye, Hays, Hayse,* and *Hayes* are surnames of the same locativ origin.

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(*a*) William *atte Haye.*
a 1600 *Placitorum in Dem. Cap. Westminster.* (B. p. 559.)
(*b*) William *Tay.* 1891 *New York Directory.*
(*c*) William *Hay.* 1891 *Id.*
Haye . . . Hayes . . . Hays . . . Hayse. 1891 *Id.*

22. Hen. One living at the sign of the hen, *atte henne*, may hav been the progenitor of those few who answer to the name of *Ten;* who can not all say, "Nos *numerus* sumus," tho, like the many, "fruges consumere nati."

I'm amazed at the signs As I pass through the Town,
To see the odd mixture: . . . The Razor and *Hen.*
1710 *British Apollo*, iii. 34. (*Hist. of Signboards*, p. 18.)

(*b*) The families of Six, *Ten*, and *Eighteen*, seem to have remained in the mother-country. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 284.

23. Hill. John *atte hille, atte hil*, is the nominal ancestor of those named without change *Athill*, and with loss of the preposition, *Hill*, and with the attracted *t, Till*, in the patronymic form *Tills, Tylls*. See also *Nill*, p. 115.

(*a*) Bate *Ate-hil.* *a* 1600? *Hundred Rolls.* (B. p. 521.)
John *at Hil.* *a* 1600? *Writs of Parliament.* (B. p. 561.)
Alexander *atte Helle.* *a* 1600? *Rolls of Parliament.* (B. p. 560.)

This seems to giv Alexander a dismal address: but there is no infernal meaning in his surname.

Gregory *Attehil.* *a* 1600? in BROMEFIELD, *Hist. of Norfolk.* (B. p. 521.)
Athill. 1875 BARDSLEY, p. 110.
Robinet *of the Hill.* *Proc. and Ordinances, Privy Council.* (B. p. 590.)
(*b*) Alexander fil. *Tylle.* *Documents illustrative of Eng. History.* (B. p. 603.)
Till. See *William.* Sometimes perhaps a contraction of *At-Hill.* 1860 LOWER, *P. B.*
Till. 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory;* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Tylls. 1639 in 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 338.

Perhaps the surname *Tull* is a variant of *Till*, as *Hull* is a variant of *Hill* (ME. *hylle, hulle*, AS. *hyll*), when not local, from *Hull* in Yorkshire.

(*c*) Thomas *Hylle* . . the xiii yere [of Edw. IV.].
c 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxxvi.
Richard *Hill*, walker. 1569 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 141.

24. Hillock. The local addition **atte hilloke* is sufficient to explain the surname *Tillock* (if this be not a variant of *Tullock, Tulloch*).

(*b*) Names extinct in Boston . . . *Tillock.*
1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 463.

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25. Hook, ME. *hoke.* According to Lower, "*Atte hooke* became '*Tooke*"; but I find no original instance of *Atte hooke.* The sense might be 'at the point of land.' The form *Hook* also appears as *Hooke, Houk, Hucke,* in sixteenth century *Hooke, Hoock, Houke, Howke,* and *Tooke* as *Toke.*

(*a*) *Atte hooke?* *a* 1500? (Lower, *P. B.*, p. 162.)
(*b*) *Hooke, Howke. Atte Hooke* became '*Tooke.*
1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 48.

26. Hope. Some one living *atte hope,* 'at the vale,' or 'at the hill,' gave rise to the name *Tope,* as wel as *Hope. Toop* and *Toup* may also belong here.

(*a*) David *atte Hope.* *a* 1600? *Issues of the Exchequer.* (B. p. 562.)
(*b*) *Tope.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
Toop. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Toup. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

27. How, a hill; ME. *howe.* Some one *atte howe,* 'at the hill,' became the ancestor of those cald *Tow* or *Towe,* as wel as of those cald *Now* (see p. 115).

(*a*) Letitia *atte Howe.* *a* 1600? *Writs of Parliament.* (B. p. 563.)
Robert *ad le Ho* [Eng. + Lat. + Fr. + Eng.!]
a 1500? *Chronicon Petroburgense* (Camden Soc.) (B. p. 563.)
(*b*) *Tow.* 1891 *New York Directory.*
Towe. 1891 *Id.*
How. 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
Howe. 1889 *Id.*

28. Oak. As one living *atten oke* 'at the oak' became the ancestor of *Noke, Nokes, Noakes* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. p. 282), so he may hav been, as living also *atte oke, at oke,* the ancestor of *Toke,* and perhaps of some cald *Tooke,* tho the latter form is supposed to be of different origin, *Atte hooke* (see *Hook,* before). Some earlier man living *atte ake,* may be the ancestor of persons now cald *Tack;* tho this surname is also in part of German origin.

(*a*) Richard *atte oke.*
a 1600? *Calendarium Inquisitionum post morten.* (B. p. 579.)
Richard *atte Ok.* *a* 1600? (B. p. 128.)
(*b*) Diuers of this sort haue beene strangely contracted as, At Ashe into Tash, *At Oke* into *Toke.* 1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 122.
Tack. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 364.

29. Owl. Some one living at the sign of the Owl, *atte owle,* may be the father of such as call themselvs *Towle,* and perhaps *Towell* and *Tool, Toole;* tho these surnames may be derived in some cases from *St. Olave* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 106).

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(*a*) I have not met with *Owl* as a surname, but '*Towle* looks like an abbreviation of *At the Owle*, the meaning of which will be discovered a few pages forward. 1842 LOWER, *Eng. Surnames*, p. 103, note.
The landlord of an alehouse at Calverley, near Leeds, has put his premises under the protection of Minerva's bird, the *Owl*. At St. Helens, Lancashire, there is a still more curious sign, viz. the Owl's Nest, or the Owl in the Ivy Bush.
1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards*, p. 223.

(*b*) *Towl.* 1891 *New York Directory.*
Towle. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames;* 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory.*
Towell. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*

30. Ox. It is supposed that some one living *atten oxe* gave rise by a shift of the *n* to Mr. *Nox* (see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 284). By a drop of the *n*, he gave rise also to Mr. *Tox*, a name not mentiond by Bowditch or Lower. Miss *Tox* in "Dombey and Son" is a fiction (even Hamlet and Jove are fictions), and can not be cald in evidence.

31. Oxford. Some one living *at Oxford* or at some *ox-ford* may be the ancestor of Mr. *Taxford*, a name easily changed from **Toxford*.

(*b*) The London "News" of July 1859 mentions Messrs. *Taxford* and *Oxenford.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 244.

32. Ridge, a locality so cald, dial. *rigg*. There ar several. Hence the surnames *Attridge*, *Trigg*, *Trigge*, and *Rigg*.

(*a*) The medieval form is *Atte Rigge*, whence *Trigg*. In the XVI. cent. it was commonly written *A'Ridge*. 1860 LOWER, *Patronymic Britannica.*
Attridge. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

(*b*) *Trigg.* 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*
Trigge. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames;* 1891 *New York Directory.*
Rigg. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames;* 1891 *New York Directory.*
Riggs. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames;* 1891 *New York Directory.*

33. Rill. The locativ supernomination *atte rille*, 'at the rill,' has given us the names *Rill* and probably *Trill*.

(*a*) **Atte rille?*
(*b*) Messrs. *Trill*, Houle and Mew live in London (1858).
1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 290.
Trill. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

(*c*) *Rill.* 1857 and 1891 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames.*

34. Yew. Some William or John **atte ewe*, 'at the yew,' may hav been the ancestor of Mr. *Tew*.

(*b*) *Tew.* 1857 *New York Directory;* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 36, 283, 463.

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XI. Cases involving *saint;* the *t* attracted to the following name. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 99–108. The following additional instances ar worth recording.

6. Saint Ann (xxiv. 101). To the examples given ad the surnames *Tann* and *Tanns*, from *Saint Anne's* (church or well), and *Tanswell*, also corruptly *Tasewell, Tazewell, Tarswell, Tarzwell*, from *Saint Anne's Well.*

(*a*) *Sent Annes* church at Aldersgate.
c 1548 *Chron. of Grey Friars of London* (Camden Soc. 1851), p. 57.
(*b*) *Tann.* 1860 LOWER, *P. B.* p. 339.
Mary *Tanns.* 1857 *New York Directory.*
(*a*) *St. Anne's Well.* St. Anne was a great patroness of wells, and there are many in different parts of England which bear her name.
1860 LOWER, *P. B.* p. 339.
(*b*) At Fersfield, Co. Norfolk, there is a St. Anne's Well, which is vulgarly known as *Tann's Well.* 1860 *Id.* 13.
Tanswell. The family can trace only to 1588, in the county of Dorset. From a James *Tanswell* born at Buckland-Newton in that shire, descend the *Tanswells*, the *Taswells*, and the *Tazewells* of England and of Virginia, U. S. Other orthographies of the name are *Tarswell, Tarswell, Tasewell*, etc. 1860 LOWER, *P. B.* p. 339.

12. Saint Etha (xxiv. 105). I note a recent example of *Saint Teath.*

There was St. Petroc in the chair, with St. Guron by his side, an' St. Neot, St. Udy, *St. Teath*, St. Keverne, St. Wen.
1894 Q(UILLER-COUCH), *The Delectable Duchy*, p. 95.

I cite two new cases in which the attraction from *saint* has taken place.

22. Saint Aubin, whose name is more elegantly speld with the ununderstood and therefore aristocratic *y, St. Aubyn*, appears to be the tutelar saint of those that call themselvs *Tobin* and sometimes spel themselvs *Tobyn.*

(*a*) (*b*) *Tobyn.* The Irish family are believed to be descended from the A. Norm. St. *Aubyn* — the name having formerly been spelt *St. Tobin*, and then *Tobyn.* The name is of record in Ireland from the time of Edward the Third. It was especially established in the county of Tipperary. D'Alton, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1860, speaking of the desire manifested by some of the English settlers in Ireland to be thoroughly hibernicized, mentions that the Fitz-Urses became Mac-Mahons, and the St. Aubyns *Dobbin*, or *Tobin.*
1860 LOWER, *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 348.

23. Saint Edmund. *Saint Edmund's bury*, or *Bury Saint Edmund's* in Suffolk, is the source of the surname *Tednambury.*

(*b*) *Tednambury.* 1700 CHAUNCEY, *Hertfordshire*, p. 353 (ref. in Lower, *P. B.* p. 340).

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§ IV. B. Initial R lost. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 110–122.

XV. Cases involving the possessivs *our, your,* etc.

My proposition as stated in my second paper (TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 110, 111) is, that from the frequent household phrases *our Richard, our Robert, your Richard, your Robert,* etc., arise, by absorption of the initial *R-*, and subsequent aspiration, the forms *Hich-, Hick, Hob,* etc. This explanation being novel, and the contemporary evidence therefor, for reasons given in the previous paper, being meager, additional evidence wil not be amiss. What is here adduced goes to confirm the proposed explanation. I hav not found any facts which throw any dout on the explanation.

I hav suggested that the common use of *Sir* before the names *Richard, Robert,* etc., helpt the change in question. Perhaps the *-r* in *Master* helpt it also. *Master Richard, Master Robert, Master Rauf,* etc., ar very common in Middle English.

1. **Richard** (xxiv. 112).

Richard. 1258 *Proclamation of Henry III.* (Ellis, *E.E.P.* p. 503.)
Richard Rich, Willm Combis, sherefs; the XX yere [sc. of Henry VI].
c 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxxiii.

2. **Rich** (xxiv. 113).

The learned and industrious M. *Rich.* Hackluit.
1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines,* p. 353.

3. **Rickard** (xxiv. 113). The AS. *Ricard* is common in late acquittances. See Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Aevi Saxonici,* 1865, p. 648, etc.

Rauf Jostlyn, *Ricard* Nedam, sherefs; the XXXVII yere [of Hen. VI].
c 1502 *Arnold's Chron.* (1811), p. xxxiv.

4. **Rick** (xxiv. 113). Of the form *'Ick, 'Icke* I cited no record. I find the genitiv form *Ickes* as a surname, the same as *Hickes, Hicks, Hix.* Of course *'Ick, 'Icks,* as spoken forms, flourish wherever British aspirations fail.

Ickes. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

Hick must be the source of the Cornish *Hecca.*

Hecca, s.m. Richard, Dick. A man's name. Pryce (1790).
1865 WILLIAMS, *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum,* p. 212.

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The forms *Hick* and *Hickes, Hicks* sufferd change to *Higg* and *Higgs*, which with *Higson*, formerly *Higges son*, exist as surnames. Compare *Higgin, Higgins*, etc., *Diggon, Digginson*, etc., with their original **Hickon, Hicken, Hickin*.

Thomas *Higges.* 1566 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), pp. 121, 122.
George *Higges.* *a* 1600? *Valor Ecclesiasticus.* (B. p. 561.)
Higgs. 1797 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, 1861, p. 77.
Higges sonnes. 1574 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 160.
Peter *Higson.* *a* 1603 *Calendar of Proc. in Chancery* (Eliz.). (B. p. 561.)

5. Robert (xxiv. 114). I find the supposed form *Obert* (arising from *our 'Obert* for *our Robert*) in actual use as a surname.

(*b*) *Obert.* 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 446.

6. Rob (xxiv. 116). The form *Obbe*, which I markt with a star as not found, I now find recorded. And of course *'Obb, 'Obbs, 'Obbins, 'Obbinson*, etc., flourish in cockney speech, tho they ar written with H — *Hobb, Hobbs, Hobbins, Hobbinson*. I find, however, *Obbinson* in print.

Obbe Dudeman. *a* 1600? *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londonensi.* (B. p. 561.)
Names extinct in Boston . . . *Obbinson.* 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 461.

8. Robbie, *Robby* (xxiv. 118). I giv an earlier example for *Hobbie* as a surname.

Sr. Phillipe *Hobbye*, Knighte. 1553 in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters*, 3d ser. 1846, iii. 311.
Richard *Hobbie.* 1556 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 123.

10. Rodge (xxiv. 119). The prevalence of this abbreviated form, ME. *Roge*, was probably aided by the constant use of the written abbreviation *Rog.* or *Rog'*, as *Rick* in part grew out of the written abbreviation *Ric.* or *Ric'*.

Rog' le Bigod [Eng. version *Rog'* Bigod] . . . *Rog'* de Ouency, *Rog'* de Mortemer [Eng. version: *Rog'* of Mortemer]. 1258 *Proclamation of Henry III.* (Ellis, *E.E.P.*, pp. 504, 505.)

Of *Hodge* it may be worth while to giv further illustration from early records.

Hodge Feke told me thatt Sym Schepherd is styl with Wylly. 1448 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner (1872), i. 69.
John the sone of *Hogge* Ratkleff [237] . . . [margin] Memorandum that Jon. sone of *Roger* Ratkliff [241] . . . 1452 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner (1872), i. 237, 241.

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Tis *our Hodge*, and I think he lies asleep.
1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington.* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 308.)

11. **Rod**, short for *Rodger* or *Rodge* (xxiv. 120). I find the decapitate aspirate form *Hod* as a surname, *Hodde*.

Hodde. 1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 320.

Of *Hudde*, the Middle English variant, if variant, I find some more examples.

Hudde de Knaresborough.
a 1600? *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londonensi.* (B. p. 563.)
Hudde Garcio de Stabulo ('Hod the stable-boy').
a 1600? *Documents illustrativ of Eng. Hist.* (B. p. 563.)

For the change from *Hodde* to *Hudde*, compare *rubbed* for *robbed*, and *rubbery* for *robbery*, in the Scotch of Andrew Fairservice (1818 Scott, *Rob Roy*, xiv.).

12. **Roddy** (xxiv. 121). Of the derived *Hoddy* and the variant *Huddy* I ad some examples:

Alisaunder *Hody.* 1447–48 *Shillingford Letters* (Camden Soc. 1871), p. 3.
Symon *Huddy.* 1570 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 143.
Huddy. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

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§ V. Initial D gaind. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 123–137.

XVII. **Good** (xxiv. 123). The following ar additional illustrations of *good den*, *godden*, for *good even*.

Mnadies. Barbarously for *Bona dies. God-denne* to you. 1611 COTGRAVE.
Good den, good den, Ont Nell.
1746 *Exmoor Courtship* (E.D.S. 1879), p. 100.

Farewels ar apt to be lingering; and the words of parting ar oft repeated. *God be with you* is a long phrase to repeat; it is no wonder it was cut down to *good-by*, as has been shown. Repetition like the following would not long continue:

Civ. Well, *God be with you* all. Come, Franke.
Fran. God be with you, father; *God be with you.* Sir Arthur, master Oliver, and master Weathercock, sister, *God be with you* all: *God be with you*, father: *God be with you* every one.
1605 *London Prodigal* iv. 1 (Suppl. *Shak. Plays*, 1780, ii. 505).

XVIII. **Old**, as used before personal names. The *d* was attracted to the following name, if that began with a vowel. (TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 125–136.)

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1. **Hick** (xxiv. 128). *Old Hick*, as I hav said, became *Ol(d) Dick*. Of *Dick* there ar many sixteenth century examples, tho earlier examples ar scarce.

Thomas *Dik*. 1549 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 39.

Dick Coomes, methinks thou art very pleasant.
1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington*. (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, vii. 283.)

That's my good *Dick*, that's my sweet *Dick!*
1599 PORTER, *Two Angry Women of Abington*.

Of *Dickson, Dixon*, examples occur of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Dicson . . . Dicsone. 1375 BARBOUR, *Bruce* (1870), v. 279, . . . v. 346.
Mestresse *Dyxon*. 1474 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii. 174.
Dyxson. 1479 *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii. 258.

2. **Hickon** (xxiv. 128). *Old Hickon* became *Ol(d) Dickon*. I ad some more instances of *Dickon, Dicken*.

Dicken ap hoⁱˡ [cald Richard *ap Howell* on preceding page].
a 1550 in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters*, 3d ser. (1846), iii. 14.

Dickon. 1536 STILL, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*
So *Dickins*, that is little Dick. 1637 CAMDEN, *Remaines*, p. 132.

3. **Hob** (xxiv. 129). Here is an example of the very *old Hob* from which in its Middle English use *Dob* took its origin.

(*a*) A very pleasant entertainment between *Old Hob* and his wife and the comical humours of Mopsy and Collin.
1722 *Playbill*, quoted in *Hist. of Signboards* (1866), p. 268.

(*b*) *Dob*, Dobbin. A term for a foolish fellow; also the usual contraction for *Robert*. 1851 STERNBERG, *Northampton Gloss*. p. 30.

Dob must hav existed before the beginning of the modern period. I find *Dobbs*, in the form *Dobes*, in the sixteenth century.

The xiij day of May d[i]ed ser Rechard *Dobes* late mayer of London.
1556 MACHYN, *Diary* (Camden Soc. 1848), p. 105.

4. **Hobbin** (xxiv. 129). Of the derived *Dobbin* I giv further evidence.

(*b*) Henry *Dobyn*. 1447 *Shillingford Letters* (Camden Soc. 1871), p. 5.
When Goody *Dobbins* called me filthy bear.
1765 in DODSLEY, *Coll. of Poems*, v. 104.

5. **Hobby** (xxiv. 130). *Old Hobby*, as I hav intimated, gave rise to *Dobby*, of which I find a rather early example, expressly as a diminutiv or pet name of *Robert*.

James they call Immey; Walter, Watty; *Robert, Dobby*, &c.
1602 CAREW, *Survey of Cornwall* (in Sternberg, *Northampt. Gloss.* 1851, p. 30).

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6. **Hodge** (xxiv. 130). I giv early examples of the surname *Dodge*, which, as I hav suggested, may come from *Old Hodge*.

> Peter *Dodge* [of Stopworth, Cheshire]. 1308 in *Encycl. Brit.* 1880, xi. 703.
> John *Dodge*. 1555 PROCTOR, *Historie of Wyate's Rebellion* (*Antiq. Repertory*, 1808, iii. 80).

8. **Andrew** (xxiv. 131). Of *dandiprat*, originally, as I hav conjectured, a person's name, *Dandy Pratt*, that is, in formal speech, *Andrew Pratt*, I hav lighted on no instances earlier than those I hav alredy cited. But I am able to bring the name *Dandy* very near to the time of Henry VII, in whose reign the term *dandiprat* appears to have arisen. One "Dandy" in 1537 sold some timber to Lord Cromwell's steward, for use in the bilding of one of Cromwell's houses, when Cromwell was "serving" the hedsman king, the bloody father of "Bloody Mary," and getting his reward in the spoils of office. "Dandy" was then a man of some years, engaged in business, and was reported to be at the point of deth. We may suppose he was living, and receivd the name *Dandy*, in Henry VII's time.

> They have received vj^{c}. loode of tymber of *Dandy*, and he hath had of your Maistership paid by Webster and Christopher Roper j^{cli}. *Dandy* when I was there was in perell of dethe, and I suppose ded by this tyme . . . Sr Thomas Grene tellith me that *Dandy* is full paid for his tymbre after the rate iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. the lode.
> 1537 THOMAS THACKER, *To Lord Cromwell*, in *Ellis, Orig. Letters*, 3d ser. (1846), iii. 86, 87.

All the names enumerated in this class, *Hick*, *Hickon* (*Higgin*), *Hob*, *Hobbin*, *Hobbie*, *Hodge*, *Hod*, *Hoddy*, *Andrew*, etc., with their ordinary derivativs *Hicks*, *Hix*, *Hickie*, *Hickey*, etc., *Higgins*, etc., *Hobbs*, *Hobbins*, etc., *Hodges*, *Hodson*, *Andrews*, etc., and the attracted forms and their derivativs, *Dick*, *Dicks*, *Dix*, *Dickens*, etc., *Dickie*, *Dickey*, *Dobbs*, *Dobbin*, *Dobbins*, *Dobby*, *Dodge*, *Dod*, *Dodd*, *Doddy*, *Dandy*, etc., have past into use as surnames. We ar therefore prepared to believ that the following given names, which ar used also as surnames, ar probably the source of the surnames which differ from them in spelling and pronunciation only in the possession of an initial *d*. This *d* I take to be the attracted *d* of *old* as previously explaind. There ar many pairs of surnames of which one differs from the other only in having an initial *d*; but the explanation from *old* is not to be prest in the lack of positiv evidence.

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13. **Evan.** From *old Evan* we may hav *Devan, Deven, Devin, Diven,* and perhaps in part *Devon,* tho that name so speld properly notes a person from the county of *Devon.*

(*a*) The Kechyn . . . Marten *Aldewen* [*Old Ewen* or *Evan?*]
1520 *Rutland Papers* (Camden Soc. 1842), p. 58.
(*b*) Names extinct in Boston . . . *Deven.*
1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 458.
Devin. 1821 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1891 *New York Directory.*
Diven. 1891 *New York Directory.*

From *Evans, Evins, Ivins* may come **Devans, Devens, Devins, Divens.*

Devens. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Devins. 1891 *New York Directory.*
Divens. 1891 *New York Directory.*

14. **Hobson.** *Old Hobson* would giv *Dobson,* tho of course *Dobson* is equally wel explaind as directly *Dob's son.* So of all similar forms.

(*a*) The Pleasant conceits of *Old Hobson* the Londoner.
1607 *Hist. of Signboards* (1866), p. 285.
(*b*) *Dobson.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*

15. **Hodson.** *Old Hodson* would be responsible for *Dodson.* So *old Hudson* would giv *Dudson* (see below).

(*a*) Shall we meet at your Huncle '*Odson's?* the lady continued to Clive.
1855 THACKERAY, *Newcomes,* ii. ch. 2 (1868, p. 19).
Hodson. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
(*b*) *Dodson* and Fogg. 1837 DICKENS, *Pickwick Papers.*
Dodson. 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

16. **How** or *Howe,* an old form of *Hugh,* now existing only as a surname. *Old How* or *Howe* may be the source of *Dow* or *Dowe,* both surnames wel known. But these may be from the Dutch.

(*a*) **Old How?* [See *Old Hugh,* next article.]
(*b*) *Dow.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*

17. **Huddy.** *Old Huddy* (originally *Hoddy?* see TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 233) may be the source of *Duddy.*

(*a*) *Huddy.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory.*
(*b*) *Duddy.* 1821 and 1889 *Philadelphia Directory;* 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames,* p. 431.

18. **Hudson,** earlier *Huddeson,* probably a variant of *Hodson. Old Hudson* would giv *Dudson,* as *Old Hodson* would giv *Dodson.*

(*a*) Richard *Huddeson.* *a* 1550? *Rolls of Parliament.* (B. p. 563.)
M^r. *Hudsons.* 1569 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 143.
(*b*) Johan *Dudson.* 1562 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 109.

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19. Hugh, formerly also *Hew*, etc. (see the present paper, p. 100). *Old Hugh* (*Hew*) may be the original of *Dew*, also *Dewe*, a surname certainly not a precipitate of the vaporous air. *Dewes* is, however, in part at least, of French origin.

(*a*) And master Arthur and *old Hugh* your man.
1602 J. COOKE (?), *How a man may choose a good wife from a bad.* (Dodsley, ed. Hazlitt, ix. 65.)
(*b*) *Dew.* 1805 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames* (1861), p. 92.
Dewe. 1740 in BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames* (1861), p. 272.

20. Oliver. *Old Oliver* may be the source of the surname *Dolliver*.

(*a*) *Oliver.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
(*b*) *Dolliver.* 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 431.

Tolliver, *Tulliver*, is a different name.

21. Watt, ME. *Watte*, *Wat*, abbreviation of *Water*, *Watter*, *Wauter*, now *Walter*. *Old Watt* may be the source of the surname *Dwott*.

(*a*) *Watt.* 1821 *Philadelphia Directory.*
(*b*) *Dwott.* 1860 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*, p. 431.

I hav found two other instances in which the *d* of *old* has been attracted to a following word: instances which involv common adjectivs, and help to prove the asserted attraction from *old* as occurring before proper names.

22. Wizened. One who is wizened is old, or looks old; and in the brutal speech of the multitude, *old* is pretty sure to be exprest whenever there is the least occasion for it. We hear, usually, not of 'a white-haird man,' 'a decrepit woman,' 'an ugly hag,' 'a witch,' all terms which sufficiently connote *old*, but of 'a white-haird *old* man,' 'a decrepit *old* woman,' 'an ugly *old* hag,' 'an *old* witch.' So with *wizened*: the usual phrase has been 'an *old wizened*' (face, apple, etc.); and this phrase has in provincial use been reduced to *dwizened*, *dwizzened*, *dwizzen'd*, with phonetic variants, *dozzened*, *dozzen'd*, speld also *dozen'd*, *dozand*, to support a false etymology from *doze* or *daze*. See the quotations. So *wizen-faced*, the next entry. *Wizened*, *wizzened*, *wizzend*, *wizzent*, etc., runs through many provincial glossaries.

(*a*) O ill befa' your *wizzen'd* snout!
a 1828 *Gight's Lady.* (Buchan, *Ballads of the North of Scotland*, 1828, i. 133; Child, *Ballads*, viii. 290.)

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Wizzened, adj. Shrivelled, withered and corrugated; as an overkept apple. 1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 580.

(*b*) *Dwizzen'd*; adj. Withered, wrinkled, shrunk. See *Dozzen'd*. Essentially the same word as *Dozand* or *Dozzen'd*.
1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 160.

Dozzen'd, *dozen'd*, *dozand*, adj. Of persons; wrinkled or withered, shrunk, effete, feeble in mind and body, shewing the effects of age. Of things; (apples or other fruits, &c.) having lost all firmness and roundness, withered, wrinkled. See *Dwizzen'd*. No doubt identical, radically, with *dazed* or *dased* [etc.: a long etymological note in this wrong direction].
1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 153.

Dozzened, sodden. 1873 HARLAND, *Swaledale Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 12.

23. Wizen-faced, also *wizzen-faced*, *weazen-faced*. In like manner 'an *old wizen-faced person*' shrinks still further to *dwizen-faced*.

(*a*) A dingy *wizen-faced* portrait in an oval frame.
1842 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby Legends*, I. 50.

A little blear-eyed, *weazen-faced* ancient man came creeping out.
1844 DICKENS, *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

Wizzen-faced, adj. Having a thin and wrinkled countenance.
1868 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland Dial.* p. 580.

(*b*) *Dwizzen-faced*, adj. Thin-faced, with a shrunken countenance.
1868 *Id.* p. 160.

Dwizzen-faced, meagre-visaged.
1875 ROBINSON, *Whitby Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 58.

B. Initial D lost. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 137–138.

XXI. **Dish** (xxiv. 137). I hav not lighted upon any example of **stand-dish*, the supposed original of *standish*. I hav found, however, an earlier instance of *standish*. An Italian fencing-master in the reign of Edward VI had a fine standish, with gilt-edged paper, pens, ink, wax, "pin-dust" for wiping pens, and everything complete, as in a modern club-room:

> He had in his [fencing-] schoole a large square table with a greene carpet, done round with a verie brode rich fringe of gold, alwaies standing upon it a verie faire *standish* covered with crimson velvet, with inke, pens, pin-dust, and sealing-waxe, and quiers of very excellent fine paper gilded, ready for the noblemen and gentlemen (upon occasion) to write their letters. 1599 GEORGE SILVER, *Paradoxes of Defence*, in *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1807, i. 265.

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§ VI. Initial S gaind or lost. See TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 138.

A. Initial S gaind.

1. Courser (xxiv. 138). With *horse-scourser*, in which an initial *s* has been gaind from the preceding *horse*, compare the obsolete plant-name *horse-strong*, where *horse-* has gaind its final *s* from the follow-

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ing *-strong;* the antecedent form being *horestrong, horestrang,* in the quotation also *hore-strange,* the more correct form being *harstrang,* from D. *harstrang,* G. *harnstrenge,* strangury: a name applied to an umbelliferous plant, *Peucedanum officinale.*

(*b*) Peucedane, *Horse-strong, Hore-strange,* Sowfennell, Sulpherwort.
1611 COTGRAVE.

Other classes of words in which Attraction has taken place, and some divisions of classes already noticed, which hav some peculiarity or special importance, I must reserv unto an other day. What I hav given is not one third of what I hav noted down; and where I hav given most fully, much remains unpublisht or undiscoverd. But I must here make a pause in the enumeration of special facts, and state some of the general facts and conclusions to which they lead.

Nearly every English consonant has been subjected to Attraction. The consonants most attracted hav been *n* and *t,* and, at a long interval, *d* and *s.* I see nothing in their phonetic character that explains their yielding to Attraction. They hav been attracted because of their accidental frequency as final consonants. This frequency is not absolute, but is due to the fact that certain words which terminate with *n* or *t* are of very frequent recurrence — *an, in, mine, thine, at, that, it,* etc.

Besides the numerous cases of Attraction affecting the initial consonant, there ar many cases of Attraction affecting the final consonant, not only where a final consonant is carried over as an initial to the next word (which brings it within the category of the present title), but where a final consonant is gaind by Attraction from the initial of the following word.

In the paper of which this is the third part I hav treated of 37 classes of English words which hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by Attraction, enumerating about 440 words in the regular order, and treating incidentally with more or less fulness, about 240 words more; in all about 680 words. Of many of these the correct etymology is here stated for the first time; of many others etymologies previously in

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dout ar definitly establisht or definitly refuted. It was my intention not even to suggest any etymology of which positiv proof could not be presented, and except in a few cases this principle has been enforced. To enforce it absolutely I hav found a little chilling to the spirit of research. One must be permitted to believ and advocate a little more than he can prove; and I could not consent to separate myself, by a tedious uniformity of unassailable precision, from the general company of etymologists.

I intimated a purpose to set forth facts which show that Attraction similar in kind to some of the forms of Attraction in English, has operated in other languages. I hav found cases of Attraction in Dutch, Low German, German, Swedish, New Greek, Old Irish, and other tongues; but my limits forbid their presentation now. The Teutonic cases ar of like kind with the English; the other cases ar peculiar, but all rest on the same principle.

Attraction can prevail only in the presence of inaccurate knowledge and hasty judgment. It does not, however, imply absence of knowledge or judgment. So far as it goes, indeed, Attraction is, as I said in the beginning (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 180), a creditable kind of blunder. It is based on the reasoning faculty, and shows a desire to be consistent and uniform. This is a noble and scientific frame of mind. The error is in entering judgment before the case is fully heard. "Strike, but hear!"

As the phenomena of Attraction arise from imperfect knowledge and hasty judgment, they may be supposed to be rife in barbarous and unwritten languages, and indeed there is evidence enough from present observation that Interference of all kinds has been running riot in all barbarous tongues from the beginning. In view of this fact what ar we to say of the talk of primitiv "roots"?

My investigations in the field of Attraction, to say nothing of other fields which I purposely exclude from this discussion, justify, I think, the following etymological conclusions. They ar not all new, of course, but they hav, old and new, the merit of being supported by a foundation of new facts.

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1. An etymological fact known to be true of several words, may be found to be true of a great many words, if the law inferd from the few known instances be systematically applied to all words of apparently similar condition and age.

2. The application of the inferd law to a particular case ought not to be neglected because of superficial improbability in that case. In etymology, as in other fields of research, it is highly probable that improbable things wil occur.

3. The etymological probabilities as to the origin of a word or phonetic changes therein ar not exhausted by an examination of the word and its elements, however minute the examination may be. The words or phonetic elements which, either in present or in past use, regularly or frequently precede or follow it in set phrases or regular discourse, must be considerd, and the probable or possible effects of Attraction or other interference taken into account.

4. Interference, under which general term I include Attraction, Analogy, Assimilation, Conformation, and other influences external to the words affected, has played a greater part in English than has heretofore been recognized.

5. Household speech, and the humor of clipping or abbreviating constantly recurring words, such as the names of members of a family, has affected the English language from the beginning of the Middle English period.

6. This abbreviating humor did not exist in Anglo-Saxon, but arose out of the stir of mind produced by the Norman Conquest and its ramifying consequences. The Anglo-Saxon records contain no proof or hint of this habit of speech, and the serious and stolid temper of the people, the slow bovine movement of the early Teutonic mind, make it highly improbable that the humor existed, unless as an undevelopt germ.

7. Familiar words like *eye*, *egg*, *ash*, *oak*, etc., could be modified by addition or loss of a consonant, and written as so

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modified, as early as the year 1200. Precision in the artificial separation of a word from the stream of spoken sounds of which it formd an actually unseparated part, was not regarded much more than artificial uniformity in its spelling. At the same time there was a remarkable accuracy in the representation of sounds as heard. Words wer heard in the attracted form, and wer written accordingly.

8. Attraction and nearly all the other forms of Interference take place within the English pale, and ar due to English words. Of foreign influence there is almost none.

9. Hence, apparent changes not known to be due to foreign causes ar probably due to Interference within English, and most likely to Attraction or Conformation.

10. Accordingly, the explanation of the etymology of forms which can not be traced with certainty or great probability to a foreign source, ar to be sought within English.

11. The only sources of English words not from a foreign source ar Derivation, Composition, Imitation, Growth or "roots" (see my paper on the Recent Emergence of a Preterit Present in English, PROCEEDINGS for 1892), or Interference, including Attraction, Derivation, Composition, and, usually, Imitation, ar obvious. It follows that words which can not be explaind by one of the above named causes ar probably of spontaneous growth, or ar the result of Interference, including Attraction.

12. A principle or law even when proved to be widely prevalent, as the law of Attraction has been shown to be, is not to be pusht too far. There ar many apparent cases of Attraction which at the last prove to be delusiv. One may not only be misled by a will-o'-the-wisp, but even a trusty guide may at the bounds of his own beat be transformd into a mocker, and lead one away into the wilderness.

13. On the other hand, one may lose by hesitation. Experience may palsy zeal. The pride of dout is less noble

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than the zeal of belief. Discoveries ar not made by men who wil not move until they ar certain. He finds who seeks; and the gate wil open to him who knocks, tho he knock in the dark.

14. That method of etymology which consists of systematic enumeration and classification of words and forms treated, with dated proof-texts, is the one that produces the largest and the most trustworthy results. Citation of the opinions of other scholars, or dissent therefrom, without such enumeration and proof-texts, is practically valueless. It does not ad to knowledge or establish truth.

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V. — *Literary Frauds among the Romans.*

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In a paper recently published,[1] the present writer has endeavored to give a critical survey of the most interesting literary frauds among the Greeks, so far as they antedate our era. The succeeding pages deal with the same phenomenon in Roman literature to the exclusion, however, of the numerous Latin ψευδεπίγραφα which owe their existence to the enthusiasm of the scholars of the Renaissance. These forgeries deserve a separate treatment, which I propose to furnish in the near future, the bulk of the material being already in my hands.

Compared with the apocryphal literature of the Greeks, the Roman ψευδεπίγραφα sink into insignificance, both in point of number and of quality. The reasons for this difference are not far to seek. In the first place, the perpetration of literary frauds would seem to demand as a 'condition precedent' the existence of literary models of consummate excellence and a reading public educated up to the appreciation of literary art. But both these prerequisite elements, so abundantly supplied in Hellas, were lacking in Rome. For centuries, the conquerors of the Greeks preserved an indifferent, at times even a hostile, attitude toward literature as such, and even after writers of unquestionable talent had made their appearance among them, their works were produced to a large extent under the overshadowing influence of the masterpieces of Hellenic genius. It will thus be seen that no incentive or motive existed for the perpetration of

[1] Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, Macmillan, pp. 52–74.

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literary frauds, as the Latin models available were themselves but the reflex of a higher and a foreign literature. A successful forgery is dependent upon the skilful imitation of *originals*.

Again, we must remember that to the practical and matter-of-fact mind of the Roman, literary forgery *for its own sake* would have seemed a useless and profitless occupation. Such imitative skill or imaginative power, as he occasionally exhibited, was employed to better advantage (and unfortunately with telling effect) in embellishing the facts of history. Hence it does not surprise us, when we observe that most of the literary forgeries among the Romans were designed to serve some definite, practical turn, the direct outcome of political partisanship or personal malice, motives significantly rare, if not wholly absent, among the Greeks.[1]

The earliest instance of a literary fraud, and acknowledged as such even by Dyer, the zealous advocate of the credibility of ancient Roman history, pertains to the reputed books of Numa Pompilius.

The well-known story, related in detail by Livy,[2] on the authority of Piso, and by Pliny,[3] who follows the account of the ancient annalist Cassius Hemina, is substantially as follows:[4] In the consulship of P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Baebius Tamphilus (181 B.C.), one Cn. Terentius,[5] a 'scriba,' while digging on his farm on the Ianiculum, discovered two[6] stone chests (8′ x 4′). The one was the tomb of Numa Pompilius, as was evidenced by inscriptions in Greek and Latin, but on being opened was found to be completely empty. The other chest, however, contained the 'Opera omnia' of Numa, seven books dealing with pontifical enactments, in

[1] Cf. Class. Stud., pp. 66 ff.

[2] XL. 29.

[3] N. H. XIII. 13, 27, 84 f.

[4] Incidental allusions are found in Val. Max. I. 1, 12; Festus, p. 173; August. Civ. Dei, VII. 34; [Aurel. Vict.] de viris ill. III. 3; Lact. Inst. I. 22, and Plut. Num. 22, whose source was Valerius Antias.

[5] So also Festus, l.c., but Liv., l.c., says 'in agro L. Petilii scribae dum *cultores* agri altius moliuntur terram.'

[6] Pliny, l.c., mentions but one.

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Latin, while an equal number,[1] written in Greek, inculcated philosophical precepts which, according to Valerius Antias and Cassius Hemina, were Pythagorean.

The marvellous state of preservation of these aged papyri (chartae), for they had 'lain i' the earth' for over five hundred years, must have aroused suspicion, even in that uncritical age. At least Cassius Hemina took pains to silence it by arguments which Pliny seems to have regarded as of sufficient validity to merit direct citation.[2]

That these writings were a brazen imposture can be easily shown. For not to mention the half-mythical existence of Numa himself; not to lay stress upon the anachronism which made him a disciple of Pythagoras,[3] a century and a half before the philosopher was born; even admitting, finally, that papyrus was used as writing material at so early a period, the very manner of the discovery of these precious documents would suffice to stamp them as a forgery. For this particular device has always been in high favor with ancient no less than with modern impostors, from the days of Acusilaos to Simonides of recent memory, the apparently accidental character of such finds being well calculated to disarm suspicion, as has been pointed out in my previous paper.[4]

[1] So Piso. But Valerius Antias gave the numbers as twelve. See Plin. and Plut., ll.cc.

[2] l.c., 'lapidem fuisse quadratum circiter in media arca vinctum candelis quoquoversus in eo lapide insuper libros III. sepositos fuisse, propterea arbitrarier non conputuisse et libros citratos fuisse, propterea arbitrarier tineas non tetigisse.'

[3] This opinion was quite generally held until the days of Cicero (de rep. II. 15, 28 f.) and Livy (XL. 29, 8), although it had long before been refuted by Polybius.

[4] Cf. l.c., p. 60. Among the other instances not there mentioned, cp. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, discussed below, and the references in Plut. de fac. 26 Alex. 7; Lucian, Alex. Pseudom. 10; Anton. Diog. ap. Phot. col. 166; Suet. Caes. 81; Iul. Obseq. c. 50. The story of the discovery of the writings of Aristotle in the cellar of Skepsis (Strabo, XIII. 608; Plut. Sulla, 26) is perhaps authentic. In modern times, apart from Simonides already cited, the most noted instance is that of Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, who pretended to have discovered and copied the book of Mormon from golden tablets inscribed with mystical characters, the exact locality of the buried documents having been pointed out to him by an angel!

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The philosophical treatises of Numa were subsequently burned in the forum by a decree of the Roman Senate, but not, as we should suppose, because their spuriousness was generally recognized, for it was not; but simply, as Livy expressly says and Pliny intimates, because the Romans of that day believed the introduction of philosophical doctrines to be detrimental to the stability of the commonwealth and subversive of civic morality.

No such apprehension, of course, attached itself to the so-called *commentarii regum, leges regiae*, and the like, which purported to represent the religious and legal enactments of the kings, and abounded in wise precepts of political conduct. They are quoted without suspicion by Roman writers down to the latest times. Nevertheless, they too were unquestionably apocryphal, the really historical elements being also very few in number. For, quite apart from the fact that their reputed authors probably never had any real existence, we have it on the authority of Livy[1] himself, that but little authentic information concerning early Roman history was available, largely owing to the loss of most of the official documents in the Gallic conflagration (389 B.C.), which destroyed the entire city, with the exception of the Capitol.

In the same category of apocryphal documents, purporting to preserve very ancient and trustworthy traditions, must be placed the so-called *libri lintei*, which the historian Licinius Macer[2] frequently consulted, whenever, we may surmise, other sources of information were not at his disposal. This linen was presumably made of some non-ignitable, indestructible material, such as asbestos, for otherwise it were difficult to believe that these 'linen books' passed uninjured through the Gallic conflagration above mentioned!

But while historians seem to have done their utmost in

[1] VI. 1 quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam urbem eandem . . . exposui res cum vetustate nimia obscuras . . . tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiam in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere. Plut. de fortit. Rom. 13 alludes to this very passage.

[2] Cf. *e.g.* Liv. IV. 7, 12; 20, 8; 23, 2.

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patching up a continuous narrative with the more or less legendary and forged material accessible to them, a new and fruitful source of inaccurate information was furnished by the practice of the so-called *laudationes funebres*. The conventional code of ethics seems at all times and in all civilized countries to have condoned, if not actually sanctioned, embellishment and exaggeration in funeral addresses, on the sentimental ground of the 'de mortuis nil nisi bonum.' Now, so far as these post-mortem eulogies confined themselves to individuals not identified with great political, social, or intellectual movements, no harm was done, but when great statesmen and soldiers were made the object of indiscriminate panegyric, as was but too often the case in Rome, and when these eulogies were subsequently regarded as trustworthy biographical sources, a singular perversion of history was the inevitable result.[1]

These laudationes cannot of course, strictly speaking, be designated as literary frauds, but as they often deliberately falsified historical facts, and by reason of their publication came into the possession of a larger public than that for which they were originally composed, their incidental mention in the present discussion will not seem irrelevant.

The many speeches which ancient historians, Greek as well as Roman, put into the mouths of their dramatis personae, and upon which they lavish all the resources of their stylistic art, are also either wholly fictitious or at best but a reflex of what was, in the writer's knowledge or belief, actually said upon certain occasions. Under ordinary circumstances these supposititious orations would legitimately fall within the

[1] The evil effects of these laudationes are distinctly recognized by Cicero and Livy. Cp. Brut. 16, 62 ipsae enim familiae sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant et ad usum . . . et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam. *Quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis quae facta non sunt, falsi triumphi, plures consulatus*, genera etiam falsa et ad plebem transitiones . . . ut, si ego me a M'. Tullio esse dicerem, qui patricius cum Servio Sulpicio consul anno decimo post exactos reges fuit. Liv. VIII. 40, 4 vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familia ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque *fallenti mendacio* trahant.

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scope of the present inquiry, were it not for the well-known fact that the rhetorical exigencies of ancient historiography, no less than a time-honored tradition, made it practically imperative upon the ancient historian to insert such speeches into the body of his narrative, — a device which also enabled the author to preserve an apparently objective attitude, the individuals themselves revealing the psychological motives of their actions by which the writer himself, on more or less justifiable grounds, believed them to have been actuated. The historians, moreover, as a rule do not conceal[1] the fictitious nature of these speeches, although it must be said that Roman writers, such as Caesar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, do not deal as frankly with their readers as does Thucydides,[2] doubtless because the origin of these rhetorically finished orations was in their day an open secret, and hence not calculated to deceive any one.

But, barring the speeches found in historical writings, we meet with not a few which were genuine forgeries, if the oxymoron be permissible.

Thus, Cicero informs us that the elder Scipio had left no written monuments of his genius,[3] and yet Livy[4] quotes without suspicion a speech of his against Cn. Naevius.[5]

[1] *E.g.* Sall. Cat. 20 orationem huiusce modi habuit; 50 Caesar . . . huiusce modi verba locutus est; 52 huiusce modi orationem habuit. So 58. Iug. 9, 13 hoc modo locutum accepimus; Liv. I. 35 orationem dicitur habuisse (Tarquinius Priscus); III. 67 ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio (sc. Quinctium Capitolinum); VI. 40 Ap. Claudius Crassus . . . dicitur . . . locutus in hanc fere sententiam esse; Tac. Ag. 29 Calgacus . . . in hunc modum locutus fertur; Ann. I. 58 verba in hunc modum fuere, and so frequently. The same applies to *epistles* inserted by Sallust and Tacitus, as *e.g.* Sall. Cat. 33, Tac. Ann. III. 53. The only exception is Sall. Cat. 34, where the language itself implies *literal* reproduction (earum *exemplum* infra scriptum est). Cp. in general Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, Die Reden und Briefe bei Sallust, Leipz. 1880; F. Friedersdorff, De oratt. operi Liv. insertarum origine et natura, Tilsit, 1886; J. Seeback, De oratt. Tac. libris insertis, Celle, 1880.

[2] I. 22.

[3] De off. III. 1, 4 nulla enim eius [sc. Africani] ingeni monumenta mandata litteris, nullum opus otii, nullum solitudinis munus extat.

[4] XXXIX. 52, 3 adversus quem oratio inscripta P. Africani est.

[5] Gell., N. A. IV. 18, 6, cites the memorable answer of Scipio to his accuser, adding 'fertur etiam oratio quae videtur habita eo die a Scipione et qui dicunt eam non veram non eunt infitias quin haec quidem verba fuerint, quae dixi, Scipionis.'

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This speech was in all probability forged after Cicero's time; at least his words seem rather to imply that he knew of no such speech than that a conviction of its spuriousness had induced him to ignore its existence.

A supposititious speech of the elder Tib. Gracchus, in defence of his father-in-law on the identical occasion above referred to, was also extant in Livy's day.[1] Possibly both speeches were written by the same individual.

In the case of the apocryphal orations of Servius Sulpicius, Cicero not only gives the name of the reputed author, but adds that he had often heard from the living lips of none other than Sulpicius himself that he was not in the habit of consigning his thoughts to writing.[2]

Doubtless many similar forgeries, which served their purpose as political pamphlets, were circulated during the stirring times that led to the downfall of the Republic, but the merely ephemeral interest that attached to most documents of this kind prevented their preservation. The brevity of such productions, moreover, made no exorbitant demands upon the imagination or the rhetorical skill of the forger, and if the orator to whom these speeches were ascribed did not possess a strongly marked stylistic individuality, the fraud might well have escaped detection for some time. Among such oratorical ψευδεπίγραφα we may mention the alleged *replies* of Catiline and Antonius to Cicero's speech *in toga candida*, which were the production of some unknown enemy of Cicero.[3]

The difficulty of palming off spurious speeches or other writings upon the great orators of the Republic seems to have been the chief cause why we hear so little of supposititious works of Cicero, Caesar, and other famous speakers of the

[1] XXXVIII. 56, 2.

[2] Brut. 56, 205 Sulpicii orationes quae feruntur, eas post mortem eius scripsisse P. Canutius putatur, aequalis meus. . . . Ipsius Sulpici nulla oratio est saepeque ex eo audivi cum se scribere neque consuesse neque posse diceret; Orat. 38, 132 nihil Sulpici.

[3] Cf. Ascon. Pedian. in tog. cand. p. 95 Or.: feruntur quoque orationes *nomine illorum* (sc. Catilinae et Antonii) *editae*, non ab ipsis scriptae sed ab Ciceronis obtrectatoribus quas nescio an satius sit ignorare.

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day. And even in the case of the few works unjustly attributed to them, we can never be positive that they were written during the lifetime of their reputed authors, it being equally possible that they represent nothing more than ordinary exercises, such as were produced in great abundance in the rhetorical schools of the early Empire.

Among the speeches of Caesar, extant in the time of Suetonius, there were some which his biographer has no hesitation in condemning as apocryphal,[1] the *pro Metello* and the *oratio apud milites in Hispania* being cases in point.

The ancients also possessed a treatise *de astris*, which is frequently quoted as a work of Caesar.[2] The citation in Pliny has led to the supposition that it was written in Greek. But be this as it may, the fact that Suetonius does not mention this astronomical work in the list of the dictator's writings creates a strong presumption that it bore Caesar's name unjustly. Possibly, as has been conjectured, the book was compiled at Caesar's suggestion by some learned Greek (Sosigenes?), and was subsequently handed down under his name.

Among the works of Cicero, numerous as they are, there were naturally but few ψευδεπίγραφα for the reason given above. In the extant corpus there is, in fact, but one speech, entitled *Pridie quam in exilium iret*, which is certainly not genuine, though it has come down to us in excellent Mss.[3] Other spurious orations of Cicero are not known to me, for the hypercritical arguments by which F. A. Wolf, for instance, endeavored to condemn the *pro Marcello* and some of the Catilinarian speeches are now of value only as showing to what deplorable aberrations an over-subtle ingenuity may lead.

[1] Suet. Caes. 55 orationes quasdam reliquit inter quas temere quaedam feruntur.

[2] *E.g.* Plin. N. H. index to Bk. XVIII. ex Tarutio qui graece de astris scripsit, Caesare dictatore, qui item; Macrob. Sat. I. 16, 39; Schol. Luc. Phars. X. 185.

[3] The statement of Fenestella, refuted by Asconius, p. 85 Or., that Cicero on one occasion defended Catiline against Clodius may, of course, have been based upon a supposititious speech. But it was more likely a mere suasoria which brought the orator and his two famous enemies into close contact. Cicero's speech in Cass. Dio XLIV. 22–33 belongs to the same class of 'historical orations' discussed above, and is in all probability wholly fictitious.

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A work entitled *Chorographia*, cited as Ciceronian by Priscian,[1] was in my judgment also a forgery, although Cicero is known to have occupied himself with geographical studies about the year 59.[2]

The spuriousness of the correspondence between Cicero and Brutus has, beginning with Markland, been stoutly maintained by many scholars, but the genuineness of the fragmentary collection is now, I believe, almost unanimously conceded.[3] Even the lost letter which Plutarch[4] cites with the proviso εἴ περ ἄρα τῶν γνησίων[5] ἐστί has been shown by Mommsen to be free from objections. The letter of Brutus to Atticus (I. 17), on the other hand, is certainly a forgery, as is also the *epistola Ciceronis ad Octavianum*.

The paucity of supposititious *letters* in Latin literature is, in fact, surprising, when we remember that Greek literary frauds reach their culmination in the field of epistolography.[6] This may be accounted for on the ground that the Romans lacked the motive which prompted the Greek forgeries,[7] although it is quite probable that there were many more apocryphal letters in existence than we can now trace, they having perished at an early period, either because they possessed no intrinsic value or because their spuriousness was universally recognized.

Thus Suetonius tells us that he came upon some elegies and a prose letter which he believed were unjustly attributed to Horace; and tradition has, indeed, preserved no trace of them.[8]

[1] II. 267, 5.

[2] Cf. ad Att. II. 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, 22.

[3] The letter of Brutus to Cic. (I. 16), still suspected by Teuffel-Schwabe, § 188, 4, 3, seems to me to bear all the marks of genuineness.

[4] Brut. 53.

[5] This plural, in place of γνήσιον, seems, however, to imply that there were other letters of Brutus in circulation which were recognized as apocryphal in Plutarch's day.

[6] Class. Stud. pp. 64 ff. [7] Class. Stud. p. 65.

[8] Suet. Vita Horat., p. 47 Rf.: venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistola prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati sed utramque falsam puto. Nam elegi vulgares, epistola etiam obscura quo vitio minime tenebatur.

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Finally, I mention under this head the apocryphal correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul, comprising fourteen letters. They were forged at a comparatively early period, for they are quoted by Hieronymus[1] and Augustinus.[2] The idea of a possible friendly intercourse between the famous apostle and the pagan philosopher, whose ethical doctrines seemed to present so many points of contact with Christian teaching, appealed strongly to the early Church fathers. It was this that originally called forth the forgery and at the same time caused it to be handed down.

Passing by the literary fraud which some pupils of Quintilian practised upon their teacher by publishing under his name a treatise on Rhetoric which they compiled from lecture-notes,[3] we conclude our survey of actual forgeries by a brief discussion of the Disticha Catonis, Fulgentius, and the so-called Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis.

The *Disticha Catonis* were a collection of pithy ethical maxims, compiled about the fourth century, to which the name of Cato was attached. This sturdy Roman, himself the author of *Praecepta* and a *carmen de moribus*, had come to be regarded as the prototype of moral wisdom; his name was, therefore, well calculated to enhance the value of a collection of this kind. The *Disticha Catonis* enjoyed a marvellous popularity for centuries, being translated even into Greek prose, in the twelfth century, by Maximus Planudes.

Fabius Planciades Fulgentius (c. 480–c. 550), the mythologist and grammarian, enjoys the unenviable distinction of being the only Roman writer, so far as we know, who deliberately manufactured his evidence by inventing mythical authors and illustrating his treatises from works which never existed. Thus Latin literature was enriched by such legendary titles as Crispinus' *Heraclea*, Q. Fabius Lucullus

[1] De viris ill. c. 12. [2] Epist. 153.

[3] Quint. I. prooem. 7 duo iam sub nomine meo libri ferebantur artis rhetoricae neque editi a me neque in hoc comparati. namque alterum sermonem per biduum habitum pueri quibus id praestabatur, exceperant, alterum pluribus sane diebus, quantum notando consequi potuerant, interceptum boni iuvenes, sed nimium amantes mei *temerario editionis honore vulgaverant.*

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epico carmine, Callimorphus *in Pisaeis*, Antidamas *in moralibus libris*. A more familiar name meets us in Lucilius comicus (!) in a play *Immolaria;* to Fenestella is attributed a work entitled *Achaica*, and the austere Tacitus figures as the author of a collection of *Facetiae!* Fulgentius has many points of resemblance to the notorious forger Ptolomaeus Chennus, and Bentley not unjustly styled him 'homo Malelae germanissimus.'[1]

But by far the most noteworthy forgeries met with in Latin literature are the elaborate descriptions of the Trojan war by two alleged eye-witnesses, Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius. The abiding interest that attaches to these productions is not due to any stylistic skill or to an unusual power of feigning reality. On the contrary, their underlying conception is incredibly naïve. They have, however, a claim upon our interest, because well-nigh all the information which the Middle Ages possessed concerning the Trojan expedition was derived from these sources.[2] The Homeric epics were unknown to Western Europe till the days of Petrarch, to whom Nicolaos Sigeros sent a Greek Ms. of the immortal poems from Constantinople.[3]

The earlier of these fictitious narratives is that of Dictys. The work opens with a prologue in which the peculiar circumstances attending the discovery of these ancient documents are given with circumstantial minuteness.[4]

[1] On the very threshold of the Dark Ages three other writers followed similar methods, but their fabrications are so grotesquely absurd that a mere reference to them must suffice. I allude to Aethicus Ister, the anonymous Ravennas, and the grammarian, Virgilius Maro. The last mentioned, to cite a few instances, quotes as his authorities such names as Balapsidus, Fassica femina, Mitterius Spaniensis, and Falanges Lacedemonius! These impostors probably belong to the seventh century. Cp. Teuffel, Rom. Lit.[5] § 497.

[2] H. Dunger, Die Sage des trojan. Krieges in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre antiken Quellen, Dresden, 1869; G. Körting, Dictys und Dares, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Troja Sage, Halle, 1874.

[3] G. Voigt, Wiederbel. des class. Alterthums, I. 49 f.; P. Nolhac, Petrarque et l'humanisme, p. 323. Petrarch, as may be remarked, entertained no doubt as to genuineness of either Dares or Dictys. Cf. P. Nolhac, op. cit., p. 250.

[4] In a few Mss., the prologue is preceded by a letter addressed to Q. Aradius Rufinus (a contemporary of Theodosius I.) by one L. Septimius, wherein we

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One Dictys of Gnossos, in Crete, learned in the Phoenician tongue, who served under Idomeneus and Meriones, was ordered by his commanders to write the history of the war (ut annales belli Troiani conscriberet). Complying with this request, he composed in all nine (six) books on linden bark and in Phoenician characters. On his return to his native island, he provided that these memoirs be placed in a tin chest (stanna arcula) which was to be buried with him. This was done. Thus they lay concealed for over a thousand years, but in the 13th year of Nero's reign (66 A.D.), an earthquake uncovered Dictys' grave and exposed the chest to passers-by. Some shepherds, believing that it contained treasures of gold, carried it off, but on discovering that the box contained only linden bark, inscribed with mysterious signs, brought their find to their master, a certain Eupraxides, who in turn handed it over to the governor (consularis [1]) of the island, Rutilius Rufus. This official, suspecting that the documents might contain some important state secrets, took them, in company with Eupraxides, to Nero. The emperor, immediately recognizing the handwriting to be in Punic characters, summoned skilled interpreters to decipher them, and on learning that these were, indeed, the memoirs of one who had taken a personal part in the celebrated conflict, he ordered a Greek translation to be made of these 'ephemerides,' in order that the true story of the Trojan war be given as wide a circulation as possible.[2] A copy was placed in the Greek library. Euprax-

are told that the Latin history is but a translation from a Greek original in nine books, of which the last four, however, had been epitomized by the writer into one book. The letter repeats, barring a few details, the contents of the Prologue. The long-standing controversy, whether there ever existed a Greek Dictys, upon which the Septimius version was based, has now been definitively decided in the affirmative by the exhaustive examination of F. Noack, Philol. Suppl. vol. VI. (1893), pp. 401–501, where also the extensive bibliography on this subject is given (esp. p. 404).

[1] The use of *consularis* in this sense does not occur before the fourth century, as Joh. Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw. I. p. 549, has pointed out, and therefore constitutes a terminus post quem for the date of the translation.

[2] One should have supposed that this object would have been more easily attained if a Latin version had also been made, but in that case Septimius would have had no motive for translating these annales a *second* time!

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ides was honored by the bestowal of Roman citizenship and sent home loaded with presents.

The narrative of Dictys covers the whole period from the birth of Paris down to the death of Ulysses. Its treatment is strictly pragmatic, all supernatural agencies being rigidly excluded.[1] It departs in numerous details from the Homeric account and adds many particulars not met with in our extant sources. The whole work, in fact, gives evidence of considerable learning which would alone suffice to assign its composition to a period several centuries earlier than the Latin version. It is certainly not later than the time of Hadrian if not actually written in that of Nero, and Nero's philhellenic sympathies may well have welcomed a contemporary account of the Trojan war, his enthusiasm blinding him to the very transparent imposture.

But if the annales of Dictys, in spite of their impossible framework, must after all be regarded as a respectable specimen of Hellenistic erudition, the parallel forgeries of Dares Phrygius, entitled 'historia de excidio Troiae,'[2] stands without a rival in the ludicrous absurdity of its information and in the naïve credulity which its author presumes in his readers. The circumstantiality of the narrative, however, and the writer's repeated asseverations concerning the autoptic character of his information served to insure to it an even greater popularity than the matter-of-fact account of Dictys; and Dares was regarded throughout Byzantian and mediaeval times as a trustworthy and authoritative historian.

The unknown translator, blissfully oblivious of the anachronism, assumes the mask of none other than Cornelius Nepos, who, in a letter to his friend Sallustius Crispus, acquaints us,

[1] This was done, I suspect, to inspire confidence in the historical accuracy of the author, this matter-of-fact narrative contrasting strongly with the many miraculous features of the Homeric story, or else the Latin translator discarded all instances of divine intervention in the original, because of Christian sympathies. The former explanation seems to me on the whole the more likely.

[2] The original Greek title was probably *Φρυγία Ἰλιάς*. Cf. Aelian V. H. XI. 2. The name Dares occurs in the Iliad (E 9) as a priest of Hephaestos: *ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης ἀφνειὸς ἀμύνων, | ἱρεὺς Ἡφαιστοῖο.* This accounts for his partiality to the Trojans, while Dictys is more inclined to favor the Greeks.

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in the manner of Dictys, with the provenance of these precious documents. 'Cum multa ago Athenis curiose — so runs the short epistle — inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat quam de Graecis et Troianis memoriae mandavit quam ego summo amore complexus continuo transtuli. Cui nihil adiciendum vel diminuendum rei reformandae causa putavi, alioquin mea posset videri.[1] Optimum ergo duxi, ita ut fuit, vere et simpliciter perscripta, sic eam ad verbum in latinitatem transvertere, ut legentes cognoscere possent, quomodo res gestae essent; utrumne verum magis esse existiment quod Dares Phrygius memoriae commendavit qui per ipsum tempus vixit et militavit, cum Graeci Troianos oppugnarent, anne Homero credendum, qui post multos annos natus est quam bellum hoc gestum est.'

As a specimen of the kind of information which Dares imparts, we may mention that the war lasted exactly 10 years, 6 months, and 12 days; as many as 676,000 fought on the Trojan side, while the Greek army numbered 886,000 warriors! The twelfth chapter, perhaps the gem of the history, contains the description of the various heroes and heroines, of which only a short extract can be given here: 'Helenam similem illis formosam, animi simplicis, blandam, cruribus optimis, notam ('beauty-spot') inter duo supercilia habentem, ore pusillo. . . . Priamum, Troianorum regem vultu pulchro, magnum, voci suavi, aquilino corpore. Hectorem blaesum, candidum, crispum, strabum, pernicibus membris, vultu venerabili, barbatum, decentem, bellicosum, animo magno, in civibus clementem, dignum, amore aptum!'

[1] This recalls some similar phrases in Lucian's Vera Historia, *e.g.* c. 13 *τούτους ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐθεασάμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκοντο. Διόπερ οὐ δὲ γράψαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησα.* 18 *τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέγραψα, μή τῳ καὶ ἄπιστον δόξῃ.* 26 *ὅστις δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πιστεύει οὕτως ἔχειν, ἂν ποτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκηται, εἴσεται ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω.* Cf. also Dares, c. 12 Dares Phrygius qui hanc historiam scripsit, ait se militasse usque dum Troia capta est, hos se vidisse, partim proelio interfuisse, a Dardanio autem audisse qua facie et natura fuissent Castor et Pollux. 44 sicut acta diurna indicant quae Dares descripsit. I cannot but help feeling that this 'Phrygian Iliad' must have been unknown to Lucian, for he would scarcely have resisted the temptation of holding it up to derision.

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The style of this history proves it to be later than the corresponding translation of Septimius. That it is probably not much later than the sixth century may be inferred from the fact that it is quoted by Isidorus, who, of course, has no doubts as to its genuineness.[1] As for the date of the Greek original, we have a terminus ante quem in the citations of Ptolomaeus Chennus (c. 100 A.D.) and Aelian, V. H. XI. 2 (c. 150).

Of the two Greek narratives, everything points to the Dictys as the earlier; in fact, the Dares seems to me to have been an attempt to out-Dictys Dictys. If so, this will be still another argument in favor of the reign of Nero as the date for the forged Annales of the Cretan warrior.

In the case of many ψευδεπίγραφα the deceptive label seems not to have been attached with any fraudulent intent, nor to have been due to the original author. To this category belong those treatises which were composed in the rhetorical schools of the Empire.

Perhaps the earliest of these school exercises is the so-called *Commentariolum Petitionis*, which purports to be a letter of Quintus Cicero to his brother, the layman giving the experienced politician some gratuitous advice regarding the proper manner of conducting a campaign! The subject is treated in the stereotype fashion of the schools, the comparative purity of the language alone preventing us from dating its composition later than the Augustan period.[2]

Equally spurious are the so-called *Invectiva in Tullium* and its reply, the *Invectiva in Sallustium*. Both are the work of one and the same rhetorician, who made use of the

[1] Orig. I. 41 historiam primus apud nos Moyses . . . conscripsit, *apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phrygius* de Graecis et Troianis historiam edidit quam in foliis palmarum ab eo conscriptam esse ferunt. This latter statement is not found in the extant explanatory epistle, but may have been made in the Greek original. The *ferunt* shows that Isidorus followed some other *Latin* source. Teuffel, Rom. Lit. § 471, 4, less plausibly assumes an inaccurate reminiscence, and confusion with the libri ex philyra or tiliae of Dictys.

[2] The spuriousness of this pamphlet, which owes its preservation to its incorporation as a letter into Cicero's correspondence, has now been demonstrated by Hendrickson, Am. Jour. Phil. XII. (1892), pp. 200–212.

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polemical literature which the death struggle of the Republic called forth. The prevalent belief as to hostile feelings which the historian entertained for the orator may well have suggested the composition of these two suasoriae. Quintilian, who quotes the *Invectiva in Tullium* repeatedly,[1] seems not to have doubted that Sallust was its author, nor did Donatus or Servius,[2] and Cicero's alleged reply is cited as genuine by Diomedes.[3] The evidence, however, against their authenticity is conclusive.

Of a similar provenance are a speech and a letter *Ad Caesarem senem de republica*, which are attributed to Sallust in the single Ms. in which they are preserved.

But in none of these apocryphal writings is the 'scholastic' origin so manifest as in the so-called *Declamationes* which many ancient writers attribute to Quintilian,[4] the Mss. being anonymous. The extant collection consists of 19 larger and 145 smaller controversiae, the latter being all that remains of 388 pieces known to the ancients. That Quintilian cannot have been their author is now all but universally conceded, and is demonstrable on internal and external grounds. Quintilian himself never mentions them; their contents are in numerous cases incompatible with unequivocal utterances in the Institutio; finally, the language itself is alone sufficient to prove plurality of authorship, and is at variance with the style of the great rhetorician.[5] These controversiae were originally anonymous, and their attribution to Quintilian is due to some error, the commanding authority of the celebrated rhetorician drawing to himself, like some magnet, many treatises of a rhetorical nature.[6]

[1] IV. 1, 68; IX. 3, 89; XI. 1, 24.

[2] Ad Aen. VI. 623.

[3] G. L. I. 387.

[4] Treb. Poll. xxx. tyr. 4, 2; Auson. Proff. Burd. 2, 15; Servius ad Aen. III. 661; Hieronymus (4 times); Pompeius; Ennodius; Isidorus; Lactantius.

[5] Such stylistic resemblances as are met with are due to similarity of subject-matter and the stereotype sameness of the rhetorical vernacular of the schools. Cp. my Prolegomena to Tac. Dial. de orat. p. lx. f.

[6] That this actually happened may still be shown in the case of the scholia to Horace, attributed to Acro. This collection was compiled between the fifth

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Anonymity is, in fact, responsible for the great majority of ψευδεπίγραφα in Latin literature. In some instances (1) an erroneous inference or conjecture, based upon real or fancied resemblances, either in subject-matter or stylistic treatment, to some well-known work, has caused the false adscription; in other cases (2) mere accident led to the insertion of spurious writings into the collection of some famous author, the original writer's name being subsequently overlooked and then lost; in still others, finally, (3) anonymous works were intentionally attributed to illustrious writers for the purpose of increasing their value in the eyes of the public.

Perhaps the best illustration of the first of these causes is furnished by the list of Pseudo Vergiliana, such as the Culex, Ciris, Dirae, Copa, Catalepta, Aetna, the elegies on Maecenas, Moretum, and Epigrammata. Of these the *Culex*, though regarded as Vergilian by Lucan, Martial, Statius, Suetonius, Nonius, Donatus, and Servius, is unquestionably suppositious. The *Ciris* not only exhibits many Vergilian reminiscences, but is strongly influenced by Ovid, as has been recently demonstrated.[1] The poem entitled *Aetna* is as late as the age of Nero, but was written before the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. Its author is in all probability identical with the Lucilius to whom Seneca addresses his Epistolae Morales and Naturales Quaestiones. The arguments against the genuineness of the other Vergiliana are equally strong, with the possible exception of the *Moretum*, which, if it be not a translation by the young Vergil of the Moretum of Parthenius, certainly belongs to the early Augustan era. In any case, we have no reason for supposing that any one of these poets was guilty of a literary forgery; and the same applies

and eighth centuries, and is handed down anonymously in our Mss. Some scholar of the fifteenth century, however, believing the extant scholia to be the original work of the famous commentator, attached the name of Acro to them. If some editor had designedly attributed a collection of 'declamationes' to Quintilian, in order to enhance their value or to insure their wider circulation, some of our Mss. would in all likelihood have exhibited Quintilian's name as the author.

[1] See the excellent discussion of C. Ganzenmüller, Fleck, Jahrb. Suppl. Vol. XX. (1894), pp. 553–657.

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to the author of the Elegies of Pseudo-Horace mentioned by Suetonius.

All these works were *ἀδέσποτα*, when philologians began to turn their attention to the Augustan poets. Their elegant versification, their classical purity of diction, the palpable Vergilian reminiscences in which they abound, certain vague traditions, finally, of juvenile poetic effusions on the part of the author of the Aeneid, — all conspired to render Vergilian authorship a safe inference. This corpus Vergilianum was made before the time of Suetonius, for in his vita Vergilii (preserved in the version of Donatus) these minor poems are quoted as genuine.

The *corpus Tibullianum* presents another instance, the elegies of the third book having been composed by one Lygdamus, and, although their author makes no attempt to merge his identity into that of Tibullus, they found their way into an edition of his works because of their elegiac character and a certain resemblance in the subject-matter. The *Panegyricus in Messallam* was probably attributed to Tibullus, because of the intimacy which was known to have existed between the poet and his patron, Messalla Corvinus.[1]

Of other *ψευδεπίγραφα*, due to wrong inferences, I mention the *Octavia* which, for want of better shelter, found a safe refuge among the dramas of Seneca, although it contains an allusion to Nero's fall, which occurred three years after Seneca's death. This anachronism, added to weighty internal reasons, leaves no doubt of its apocryphal character. The fact that Seneca himself appears in the play may possibly have facilitated its false adscription.[2] There remain to be

[1] Many scholars, including even Teuffel, Rom. Lit.[5] § 245, 4, have attempted to account for the composite character of the collection by supposing that it was designed to include the poetical effusions of a literary circle which centred about Messalla. I have never been able to see the slightest warrant for such an assumption.

[2] The question as to Seneca's authorship of the other tragedies that bear his name, which Bernhardy and others so confidently denied, is now justly answered in the affirmative. Whether, however, the *Hercules Oetaeus* is at least partly spurious is quite another problem, which cannot be discussed here. I agree with those who believe that the second part has been tampered with. Perhaps the original was lost, the extant portion being a later restoration.

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enumerated Pseudo-Asconius *in Verrem*, Pseudo-Caesius Bassius *de metris*, the Pseudo-Frontinus, which forms the fourth book of the genuine *Strategemata*, but is in reality nothing more than an epitome of Valerius Maximus, and the XVIth satire of Iuvenal which is pronounced spurious by the scholiast.[1]

Examples of the second class seem to be rare, the false titles being due to the fact that some writings were handed down in *codices miscellanei*. In such cases the title that preceded caused the loss of one which followed. I believe the *Orthographia* of Apuleius and some of the spurious poems in the Latin Anthology to be instances in point. Another example I recognize in the three epitaphs which are attributed respectively to the old poets, Naevius, Plautus, and Pacuvius.[2] But as all these are generally regarded as genuine,[3] they cannot be dismissed quite so briefly, for these epitaphs are no more authentic than the well-known lines on the tomb of Shakespeare. In the first place, it is intrinsically improbable that all these early poets were alike so solicitous about a proper sepulchral inscription that they took care to compose it themselves. Plautus probably died in Rome; of Naevius this is doubtful; Pacuvius certainly ended his days in far-off Tarentum. Is it to be supposed that Varro took the pains to collect these epitaphs? Cicero, it is true, cites the epitaph

[1] 'Ista a plerisque exploditur et dicitur non esse Iuvenalis.' The remaining satires — vel invito Ribbeckio — I believe to be genuine.

[2] Gell. N. A. I. 24 trium poetarum illustrium epigrammata Cn. Naevii, Plautii, M. Pacuvii quae ipsi fecerunt et incidenda sepulchro suo reliquerunt. Epigramma NAEVII . . . *Immórtalés mortáles si forét fas flére | flerént divaé Caménae Naevium poétam | Itáque póstquam est órchi traditús thesáuro | obliti súnt Romae loquiér lingud Latina.* . . . PLAUTI quod dubitassemus an Plauti foret nisi a M. Varrone positum esset in libro de poetis primo: *postquam est mortem aptus Plautus comoedia luget | Scaena est deserta, dein Risus, Ludus Iocusque | Et numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.* . . . PACUVII: *Adulescens tamen etsi próperas te hoc sáxum rogat | Ut sése aspicias, deinde quod scriptum ést legas: | Hic súnt poetae Pácuvi Marci sita | Ossa. hóc volebam nescius ne essés. Vale.*

[3] The epigram of Naevius, *e.g.* is said by Sellar, the Roman Poets of the Republic, p. 55, to be 'the most favorable specimen of his style'; the simple and pathetic grandeur of the lines of Pacuvius caused Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XXXVII. 521, to espouse their cause; and of the Plautus epitaph Ritschl, Parerga, p. 41, remarks: 'et circa ipsum vitae finem epigramma factum esse sepulchro incidendum veri satis est simile.'

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of Ennius,[1] in *elegiac* verse, which fact is alone sufficient to condemn it, but he seems to have had no knowledge of those under discussion, although he had every reason to quote them. Again, the epitaphs in Gellius do not conform either in style or contents to the contemporary sepulchral inscriptions that have been preserved, with the possible exception of that of Pacuvius.[2] Now, Varro is known to have written a work entitled *Imagines*, which contained seven hundred illustrations of famous men, to which he added suitable epigrams. At a later period an epitome of this was made, with the illustrations omitted. But the epigrams having once been detached, nothing was more natural than that they were subsequently regarded as genuine productions; nothing, further, is more likely than that the epitaphs which Gellius cites from Varro were found in this very collection.[3] But apart from these considerations, there are weighty internal grounds which prove the Plautus and Naevius epitaphs, at least, to be apocryphal, which fact necessarily involves the spuriousness of that on Pacuvius, though otherwise free from objections, since all these epigrams are unquestionably derived from one and the same source.

The lines on Naevius breathe, indeed, a sublime self-assurance ('plenus superbiae Campaniae'), which seems to have been characteristic of the poet; nevertheless he cannot well have made the sweeping statement attributed to him, for the following reason. Naevius still witnessed the ἀκμή of Plautus. Now the sympathetic reference to the old poet, which Plautus goes out of his way to insert in a passage of the Miles Gloriosus,[4] certainly implies friendly relations be-

[1] Tusc. Disp. I. 15, 34: loquor de principibus quid poetae? *Nonne post mortem nobilitari volunt?* Unde ergo illud? *Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam. | Hic vestrum panxit maxima facta patrum. | Nemo me dacrumis decoret nec funera fletu | Faxit. Cur? volito vivos per ora virum.* |

[2] Cp. Teuffel-Schwabe, Rom. Lit.[5] § 115, 2.

[3] Gellius, indeed, quotes the Plautus epitaph from Varro's de poetis, but why should it not have been repeated there? The epitaph on Homer is cited directly from Varro's de imaginibus by the same Gellius (III. 11, 6).

[4] V. 211 ós columnatúm poetae essé ínaudivi bárbaro | quoí bini custódes semper tótis hóris óccubant.

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tween them; but if so, it is difficult to understand how Naevius could have so completely ignored his younger contemporary by asserting 'obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina.' Clearly this epitaph belongs to a later period, namely, that of Varro and Horace, who testifies to the fact that the old poet was then greatly admired and in everybody's hands.[1]

But the lines ascribed to Plautus are open to even weightier objections. For not to lay undue stress upon the use of the hexameter,[2] introduced in Latin literature in the Annales of Ennius, I contend that the phrase 'numeri innumeri' cannot have been penned by Plautus. It unquestionably owes its origin to a time when the marvellous metrical skill of the poet was no longer understood or appreciated. This is true however, of the days of Cicero and Horace, the contemporaries of Varro,[3] who can certainly not be credited with more enlightened views on the subject than the poet whom Ovid styled 'numerosus.'

Of the third class of ψευδεπίγραφα rendered possible by anonymity, in which, however, fraudulent designs undoubtedly played some part, the most interesting illustration is furnished by the large number of supposititious comedies of Plautus, still extant in the time of Varro. As Ritschl long ago showed, the last century of the Roman Republic witnessed a revival of interest in this all but forgotten idol of the people;

[1] Ep. II. 1, 53 Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret | quasi recens?

[2] It is highly probable, as Ritschl l.c. suggests, that it was the use of this metre which tempted Gellius to doubt the genuineness of the epitaph.

[3] Cic. Orat. 55, 184 at comicorum senarii . . . sic saepe sunt abiecti ut nonnumquam vix in eis numerus et versus intellegi possit. Hor. A. P. 270 at vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et | laudavere sales. In the time of Quintilian this metrical obtuseness had already reached such a point that he can say (X. 1, 99) even of the versification of Terence 'plus adhuc habitura gratiae si intra versus trimetros stetissent' and Priscian, de metris Terent., reflecting, as usual, much earlier sources, caps the climax by the statement 'quosdam vel abnegare esse in Terentii comoediis metra vel ea quasi arcana quaedam et ab omnibus doctis semota sibi solis esse cognita confirmare.' If this was the view taken of the metres in Terence, one can well imagine the perplexity of these critics on being confronted with the variegated versification in Plautus. This erroneous notion was not exploded till the appearance of Bentley's famous Schediasma de metris Terentianis.

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for while the popularity of scenic performances had not abated, the productivity of comic playwrights had ceased. In this perplexity, the *domini gregis*, or managers of the day, to satisfy the craving of the populace, had recourse to the plays of Plautus, which to the younger generation represented so many 'novae fabulae.' But Plautus, like Lope de Vega, Cervantes, and Shakespeare in modern times, was extremely negligent as to what became of the children of his brain.[1] Nor must it be forgotten that a Roman poet relinquished all rights to his plays, after they had been accepted and paid for.[2] Thus it naturally happened that the name of the original author was in many cases lost sight of. Now the *domini gregis* of the first century, finding a large number of anonymous plays, did not scruple to attach the name of the famous playwright to many of them, in order to insure a favorable reception for the play at the outset; in other instances the authorship of Plautus may, however, have been justly assumed. When the pinacographic labors of critics, which culminated in the work of Varro, were directed to Plautus, no fewer than 130 comedies were found bearing his name, but of these Varro recognized but 21 (respectively 40) as genuine. The others had been attributed to him either with the intent to deceive or owing to erroneous conjectures. But this eminently plausible explanation of the existence of so many Pseudo-Plautine comedies is not the one given by Gellius (III. 3), in the locus classicus on the subject. We there read the following: in eodem libro (sc. de comoediis Plautinis) M. Varronis id quoque scriptum *Plautium fuisse quempiam poetam comoediarum.* [Cuius Plautii] quoniam fabulae 'Plauti' inscriptae forent, acceptas esse quasi Plautinas, cum essent non a *Plauto* Plautinae sed a *Plautio* Plautianae. Ritschl[3] could see no reason for rejecting this statement, and since M. Hertz[4] drew attention to a painter, M. Plautius, mentioned

[1] Cf. Hor. Ep. II, 1, 175 (Plautus) gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc | securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.

[2] Cp. K. Dziatzko, Autor- und Verlagsrecht im Alterthum, in Rhein. Mus. XLIX. (1894), pp. 559–577.

[3] Parerga, p. 95. [4] De Plautio poeta et pictore, Bresl. Prooem. 1867.

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by Pliny (N. H. XXXV. 10, 37, 115), whom he identified with the alleged comedian, no one has doubted the trustworthy character of the information in Gellius. But if so prolific a poet by that name ever existed, it were passing strange, that we should know so little about him,[1] and that even Pliny did not add a word about his poetical achievements as well, conceding the two to have been the same.[2] If, on the other hand, we suppose this namesake in the genitive, so to speak, to have written but few comedies, then the large number of Pseudo-Plautine plays is not fully accounted for, on this hypothesis.

I feel convinced that scholars have advocated the acceptance of Gellius' statement, chiefly because they believed that its rejection would involve a fraudulent act on the part of Varro, the source of Gellius. But this alternative does not exist, for the very passage of Varro under discussion seems to me quite unintelligible, unless we regard it as a *criticism of Varro himself*[3] of the supposition of some earlier scholar. This philologian, whom I am inclined to believe was none other than Varro's teacher, L. Aelius Stilo, confronted with the perplexing problem of more than 100 spurious plays of Plautus, and not aided, as Varro was, by valuable stylistic criteria, may well have taken refuge in the hypothesis of a writer Plautius, and in the course of his writings probably spoke of *fabulae Plautinae* as if applicable to both. This Varro in the excerpt of Gellius refutes; the possibility, how-

[1] When both Ritschl and Hertz endeavor to meet this objection by saying that there are a great many authors known to us only by name, they forget that in the cases mentioned by them there is no reason to suppose that the writers ever had any real importance, which would not be true of the author of so many plays as Plautius must have composed.

[2] I cannot admit that Hertz has been even moderately successful in establishing the identity. The name Plautius is not rare. We even know of one Novius Plautius, also an artist, and a contemporary of Plautus. Cf. Mueller, Arch. § 173, n. 4.

[3] Ritschl, Parerga, p. 95, indeed, says that one may safely credit Gellius with the ability to distinguish Varronian criticism of another from Varro's own statement. This seems to me to be begging the question. The excerpting Gellius is extremely negligent and not free from misinterpretation, as Ritschl himself admits, *e.g.* pp. 87, 107.

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ever, of a confusion on account of the same genitive termination of Plautus and Plautius, he of course admitted.[1]

Such then are the principal *ψευδεπίγραφα* in Roman literature and the causes that are mainly responsible for them. Clear instances of literary forgery, pure and simple, are not many; intentional false adscriptions by others than the authors of the works themselves we found to be somewhat more numerous; by far the large majority of suppositious writings was due to anonymity, the deceptive label being directly attributable to three causes.

There still remain a few apocryphal treatises which could not properly be included under any of the heads so far dealt with. I refer to *ψευδεπίγραφα* due to homonymity and pseudonymity.

To the former category belong such treatises as the '*de iure pontificio*,' which both Gellius (I. 12, 14) and Nonius (p. 518) ascribe to the ancient annalist, Fabius Pictor, although it seems to have been the work of some obscure namesake.

The poet Ennius was credited with the composition of a number of grammatical treatises; but these were written by a younger Ennius, as Suetonius happens to inform us.[2]

The same grammarian is probably meant, and not the old poet, who is said by Isidorus, on the authority of Suetonius (?), to have been the inventor of a system of stenography. But it is incredible that the author of the Annales ever devoted his time and attention to a matter of this kind, nor is it likely that the need of a shorthand system was felt at a period in which Roman oratory had as yet not assumed an artistic form or an intrinsic importance.

Pseudonymity, finally, extremely rare even among the

[1] L. L. VIII. 36, p. 419 Sp. dissimile Plautus et Plautius, commune et huius Plauti et Macci, and cf. Ritschl, Parerga, p. 25, note. Varro, however, according to Charisius I. 15, p. 59 K. expressly advocated double 'i' for the genitive of nouns in *ius*, a usage which seems not to be earlier than Propertius. Cp. Neue, Lat. Formenl. I. p. 85 ff., 91.

[2] de gram. et rhet. 1 (p. 100 Rf.) quod nonnulli tradunt duos libros de litteris syllabisque, item de metris ab eodem Ennio editos, iure arguit L. Cotta *non poetae sed posterioris Enni* esse cuius etiam de augurandi disciplina volumina feruntur.

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Greeks,[1] is practically unknown in Roman Literature. I am able to mention but two instances that may possibly come under this head.

In the schol. Bob. (p. 268 Or.) to Cicero's speech *pro Plancio*, there occurs this passage: extat autem libellus eiusdem Ciceronis qui ita inscribitur Edictum L. Racilii, trib. pleb. quod *sub nomine ipsius inscripsit* in invectionem P. Clodii. But in view of the many open attacks which Cicero made upon his inveterate enemy,[2] it is extremely improbable that he would at any time have deemed it advisable to adopt as a *nom de plume* the name of one of his stanchest supporters and admirers. This Edictum was probably a rhetorical school exercise.

The other example is taken from Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, 16, 1, who writes as follows: famae celebris tam cupidus fuit, ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit, ut *eos suis nominibus publicarent*. nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur. But this latter pseudonym seems to have been an open secret; at all events, the biography is repeatedly cited by Spartianus under the emperor's name.

Many other literary frauds in Latin, so far as they are of any importance, including extensive interpolations, forged inscriptions, and restorations of lacunae, belong to the period of the Revival of Learning and do not, therefore, come within the scope of the present inquiry.

[1] Class. Stud., p. 71 f.

[2] Cf. esp. ad Quint. frat. II. 1, 3 postea Racilius de privatis me primum sententiam rogavit. multa feci verba de toto furore latrocinioque P. Clodii, eum tamquam reum accusavi multis et secundis admurmurationibus cuncti senatus . . . furebat (sc. Clodius) a Racilio se contumaciter urbaneque vexatum . . . de tribunis pleb. longe optimum Racilium habemus.

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APPENDIX.

I. Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Session, Williamstown, Mass., 1894.

II. Treasurer's Report (p. iv.).

III. List of Officers and Members (p. lxvi.).

IV. Constitution of the Association (p. lxxix.).

V. Publications of the Association (p. lxxxi.).

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MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION (WILLIAMSTOWN).

Charles D. Adams, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
W. A. Adams, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
F. D. Allen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Sidney G. Ashmore, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y.
William N. Bates, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Demarchus C. Brown, Butler University, Irvington, Ind.
Franklin Carter, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
E. G. Coy, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn.
W. A. Eckels, Ripon College, Ripon, Wis.
Homer J. Edmiston, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
F. W. Ellis, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan.
L. H. Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
O. M. Fernald, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O.
James M. Garnett, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.
Alfred Gudeman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Karl P. Harrington, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
John H. Hewitt, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
William A. Houghton, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
A. A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
George B. Hussey, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.
Andrew Ingraham, Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.
Henry C. Johnson, Cortland, N. Y.
Charles Knapp, Barnard College, New York, N. Y.
Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Gonzalez Lodge, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
H. W. Magoun, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Maurice W. Mather, Cambridge, Mass.
George F. Mellen, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Elmer T. Merrill, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
Frank G. Moore, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
E. P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Hanns Oertel, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

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B. Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
John Pickard, University of Missouri, Columbia.
S. B. Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
C. P. G. Scott, Yonkers, N. Y.
Edmund D. Scott, Cheshire Academy.
Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y.
T. D. Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
E. G. Sihler, University of the City of New York, N. Y.
Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus.
Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Guy V. Thompson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
James A. Towle, Westminster School, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.
George M. Wahl, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
B. I. Wheeler, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
James R. Wheeler, University of Vermont, Burlington.
G. M. Whicher, Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
George A. Williams, Vermont Academy, Saxton's River.
Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
John H. Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 63.]

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS., July 10, 1894.

The Twenty-Sixth Annual Session was called to order at 4.15 P.M., in Hopkins Hall, by the President, Professor James M. Garnett, of the University of Virginia.

The Secretary of the ASSOCIATION, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, presented the following report: —

1. The Executive Committee has elected as members of the ASSOCIATION: —

E. C. Adams, Principal of the High School, Newburyport, Mass.
W. A. Adams, Instructor in German, Yale University.
E. H. Atherton, Master of the Girls' Latin School, Boston.
Francis K. Ball, Ph.D., Professor of Greek, University of North Carolina.
William N. Bates, Ph.D., Instructor in Greek, Harvard University.
C. H. Beeson, Instructor in Latin, University of Indiana.
Robert W. Blake, A.M., Tutor in Greek, College of New Jersey.
George W. Botsford, Professor of Greek, Bethany College, West Virginia.
C. F. Brusie, Mount Pleasant Academy, Sing Sing, N.Y.
C. T. Copeland, Instructor in English Literature, Harvard University.
J. H. Dillard, Professor of Latin, Tulane University.
A. Judson Eaton, Professor of Latin, McGill University, Montreal.
W. A. Eckels, Professor of Greek, Ripon College.
Homer J. Edmiston, Instructor in Latin, Cornell University.
F. W. Ellis, Professor of Greek, Washburn College, Topeka.
A. H. Evans, A.M., Instructor in Greek, Cushing Academy, Ashburnham, Mass.
Jos. R. Ewing, Professor of Greek, Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kan.
George A. H. Fraser, Professor of Latin, Colorado College, Colorado Springs.
Clarence W. Gleason, Instructor in Latin and Greek, Roxbury Latin School, Boston.
Frank P. Graves, Professor of Classical Philology, Tufts College.
Charles B. Gulick, Ph.D.
W. D. Hooper, Instructor in Ancient Languages, University of Georgia.
F. H. Howard, Professor of Latin and Greek, Colgate University.
J. H. Howard, Assistant Professor of Latin, University of Indiana.
J. Corrin Hutchinson, Associate Professor of Greek, University of Minnesota.
Arthur J. Leacock, A.M., Wilbraham Academy, Wilbraham, Mass.
D. O. S. Lowell, Teacher of Latin, Roxbury Latin School, Boston.
Grace H. Macurdy, Instructor in Greek, Vassar College.

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Maurice W. Mather, Ph.D.
John Morris, Instructor in English and German, University of Georgia.
William Bishop Owen, Tutor in Greek, University of Chicago.
M. M. Ramsey, Assistant in Romance Languages, Columbian University.
Robert L. Sanderson, Assistant Professor of French, Harvard University.
Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, Professor of German, University of Chicago.
E. D. Scott, Instructor in Latin and Greek, Cheshire Academy, Conn.
Emily James Smith, Dean of Barnard College.
Alice Walton, Ph.D., 37 West 49th Street, New York City.
H. D. Wild, Professor of Latin, Williams College.

2. The ASSOCIATION has received invitations to send delegates to the tenth session of the Congress of Orientalists, to be held at Geneva in September, and to the tenth session of the International Congress of Americanists, to be held at Stockholm in August, 1894. Professor B. I. Wheeler, who was requested to act as delegate to the first named gathering, was subsequently compelled to abandon his intention of attending as a representative of the ASSOCIATION.

3. The TRANSACTIONS for 1893, and the PROCEEDINGS containing the report of the session at Chicago, were issued in June. Separate copies of the PROCEEDINGS may be obtained of the Secretary or of the Publishers.

4. The Executive Committee has resolved to increase for one year at least the percentage paid to the publishers for issuing the publications of the ASSOCIATION. Since the contract with Messrs. Ginn & Company was made (in 1891) the publishers have received 20 % of all sales. During 1894–95 they will receive 25 %.

5. The Executive Committee, recognizing the value of a bibliography of the work done each year by members of the ASSOCIATION, has voted that, beginning with 1894, the Secretary keep a record of all books, pamphlets, etc., published by the members, and that a report be made by him at each regular annual meeting, which report may be printed in the PROCEEDINGS.

Professor Smyth then made his report as Treasurer of the ASSOCIATION, for the year 1893–94 : —

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1892–93		$1206.24
Fees and Arrears	$1113.00	
Sales of Transactions	141.07	
Authors' Offprints	9.00	
Dividends Central N. E. & Western R.R.	6.00	
Interest	24.12	
Total receipts for the year		1293.19
		$2499.43

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EXPENDITURES.

Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXIV.) . . .	$1118.70	
Balance on Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXIII.)	40.00	
Salary of Secretary	250.00	
Postage	48.64	
Expressage	2.50	
Stationery and Job Printing	41.47	
Binding	2.00	
Incidental	8.84	
Total expenditures for the year		$1512.15
Balance July 7, 1894		987.28
		$2499.43

Attention is called to the fact that the membership dues still outstanding for 1892–93 are $221; for the years previous to 1892–93, $348.

The Chair then appointed Professors Lodge and Sihler to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

The reading of papers was then begun. At this time there were about fifty members present. At subsequent meetings the number was somewhat larger.

1. The Song of the Arval Brothers: The Manes worship in the Aryan Period, by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of the Washington and Lee University.

In the absence of the author, this paper was presented by Professor G. Lodge, of Bryn Mawr College.

An adequate interpretation of this monument does not exist. The Romans seem not to have understood its meaning themselves, as they did not understand the somewhat more archaic 'Carmen Saliare' (Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 85, Quint. I. 6. 40). We know from the inscription in which these words occur that the priests read the words *libellis acceptis*, and we can infer not only that the hymn was liable to palaeographic variations, but, as Henzen infers (Acta Fratrum Arvalium, p. 33), that the books were used because the words were unintelligible to the priests. In the original inscription, dating from the time of Elagabalus, each verse of the hymn is repeated three times with numerous epigraphic variants, representing perhaps prior manuscript variants.

I present the text of the hymn, indicating the variants from Merry in his Selected Fragments of Roman Poetry.

enos lases iuvate.
ne veluer vemarmar || *neve lue rue*, etc.
sin(t) sincurrere in pleores || *sins incur°*
satur fu fere mars limen sali(s) sta berber
semunis alternei advoca pit conctos || *advocapit.*
enos marmor iuvato
triumpe.

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This I translate as follows: Now ancestors aid us. Let there be no evil famine, nor evil death to rush upon more of us (?). Have thy fill fierce death, On the shore of the sea pause O Fever, My enemies other where summon to another land, all of them. Now let death aid us, etc.

This interpretation is based on the assumption that the hymn is a totemic charm against fever, and I shall presently compare it with a similar charm from the Atharva Veda. First I proceed with an etymological commentary on the hymn.

Vs. 1. *Lases.* 'hearth-gods,' 'ancestors.' I compare 1st Grk. ἀ-λάσ-τωρ 'avenging spirit.' In connection with the appeal to the Lares to ward off sickness I note Soph. Trach. 1235 ἐξ ἀλαστόρων νοσεῖν, where sickness seems to be a visitation of the ἀλάστορες. It is fair to identify in the above appeal *Lases* with *Mars* and *berber*, the gods of disease, with the diseases. The Lares were 'gibbering ghosts' (cf. Od. λ 43): Lat. *lascivus* 'jolly' derives from 'noisy.' Grk. λάσκω[1] 'shriek,' 'howl' is another congener, and so is Sk. √*ra-s*, same meaning. The *Rasā*, the Vedic mythic stream between the lower world and the earth, and, in Mahabharata, the lower world, is perhaps also a congener, *i.e.* 'ghost-river,' by which the gibbering ghosts sit. On the primitiveness of the Manes worship I shall speak below.

In *ve-luer* (vs. 2) we may recognize a rhotacized *lues* + the pejorative *ve-*; cf. O. Müller, Praef. ad. Festum, p. 34, N. 3: "*Belues* (in a gloss ascribed to Verrius), *egestas quae solet contingere per vastitatem, in his belues scriptum puto pro velues*, i.e. *velues dictum ut veiovis*." The rhotacism is difficult, however, unless we assume an *-es-* stem, gen. **luer-is*, working back to a nom. *luer*, cf. *arbor* ‖ *arbos*, gen. *arbor-is*. *Ve-marmar* would then be also a pejorative compound.

Another possible reading for vs. 2 is *ne Beluae rue* (i.e. ę for *-em*) *arma⟨?s⟩ sin⟨t⟩*, *sincurrere in pleores*, where *sincurrere* is perhaps a gloss for *rue*, a reading actually founded on epigraphic variants in the text save *beluae* for *veluae*. Here if we connect *arma⟨?s⟩* with *armenta* 'herds,' and take it in proleptic agreement with *pleores* (?), we may translate: "Let there be no wild beasts to charge our cattle, to rush upon more (? of them)." In this vs. the locution *sin⟨t⟩ sincurrere* calls for explanation. It is syntactically comparable with *daturum* for *datu esum* 'to be ⟨about⟩ to give' (cf. Postgate in Cl. Rev. 5. 301, Brug. Gr. ii. § 900). Comparable also is the Umbrian future (Büch. Umbr., p. 195). In *sin-currere* we have a congener of the Sk. preposition *sani*.[2]

I have taken *marmar* (if that be the reading) in the sense of 'death.' It is comparable with Sk. *mármman* 'mortal part of the body,' both are reduplicated forms of the root *mar*,[3] kinship with *mors* 'death' is self-evident; kinship with Mars 'god of war and death' is also obvious.

It will be objected that the early Italic function of Mars was 'god of spring.' Possibly. Correct etymologizing will perhaps unite these functions of this god

[1] Aor. λα-κ-εῖν, Lat. *lo-q-or*, are made from the same root: on the relation of the *-ke* and *-ske* suffixes, cf. the author in 'Agglutination and Adaptation' (Am. Jr. Phil. No. 60).

[2] This is preserved in Latin in other words, e.g. *sin-gul-tus* 'sob': *gula* 'throat' a congener of Sk. √gr 'swallow.'

Possibly *sin-cerus* means 'with the heart,' 'heartily,' whence 'sound,' 'sincere.' Or it may mean 'single-hearted.'

[3] I refer to my 'Agglutination and Adaptation' AJP, Nos 60 and 61, for an explanation of the vocalization. In *mármman* the reduplication shows the *-r* and *-n* stems both. I note in advance of the article referred to that the variations of *-r* and *-n* in noun stems are exhibited also in vb. roots.

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into one. I note that Mars had an Italic consort Nērio or Nēriēnē. In Mars I believe we are to see a stem **nr̥-*, whose grade need not concern us now. It is possible thus to identify Ἄρης with *Mars* (**Nars*); *I⟩n⟨d⟩ra* may be brought into this group and attached to a stem *nr̥-* ‖ *nr̥-t-*.[1] The assumption that *d* in *I⟩n⟨d⟩ra* is a passing sound has already been made (cf. Jacobi in KZ. XXXI. p. 316 sq.). The source of *i⟩* I find in the adjective *ind* 'on-rushing.' Grassmann remarks (Wört. z. RV. s.v. *ind*): häufig von *Indra*, selten von andern Göttern. From the frequent combination **ina gᵈra* 'onrushing hero' was developed *ind i⟩ndra*. Lat. *Mārs* is for **Nārs*, i.e. *n̥r-t-s*, Gen. **n̥r-t-ĕs*. The Grk. voc. Ἄρ-ες also shows the stem *n̥r-*. The change of **Nars* to *Mars* was due to *mors* 'death.'[2] In the Sabine word *Nero* = 'fortis' we have a congener of **Nars*, and obviously of Grk. ἀνήρ 'hero.' The three forms *Marmar*, *Ma-mers*[3] ‖ *Mavors* are evidently reduplicated forms. I find in *Ma-vors* a conscious translation of *mars* into terms of *-vir* 'hero.' This reduplication is suggested in Greek by the group Ἄρες ἀρές (E 31).

When we search for the root to which this group belongs, our proof becomes stronger. I find the root in Sk. *nr̥-* ‖ *nr̥-t-* 'dance.' I note the war dance of the American Indians. Our savage Aryan ancestors may well have had the same custom. At any rate Mars had his college of leaping priests. Indra has the standing epithets *nr̥tú*, *nr̥tama* 'dancer.'[4] In the Iliad only Ares and the weapons of war are characterized by the epithet θοῦρος 'leaping' : θρώσκω.

The fem. forms *Nerio* and *Neriene* call for some notice. *Ner(i)ēnē* can be very nearly identified with *Indrāṇī*, the feminine counterpart of *Indra*, in regard of its formation, especially if we regard the (*i*) as having crept in from *Nerio*.

I return to vs. 3 of the song: here I have taken *Mars* = *mors*, and *limen* I construe as a 'suffixless' locative, a formative type especially common with *-an* stems in Sk., but sparsely represented elsewhere. The correction to *sali⟨s⟩* is justified on palaeographic principles. The motive for the corruption may have been got from the Salian priests of Mars. In *berber* I see a reduplicated form to the √*dher* (cf. Dunn, Cl. Rev. viii. p. 95), Grk. θρώσκω 'leap'; Lat. *ferio* 'kick (?),' 'strike' is also a congener. *berber* goes back to **fer-fer*, and should have given **ferber*, but *berber* was the result of a feeling for the reduplication. I connect also *fe(r)bris* 'fever.' I note that in A. V. 5. 22, to be presently cited, the fever is called *muṣṭihā́* 'fisticuffer.' The same personification obtains in our '*attack*,' Ger. *anschlag*, spoken of the onset of disease. In vs. 4 I define *semunis* by 'enemies': it is the opposite of *communis;* cf. the doublets *segrego* ‖ *congrego*, *sevoco* ‖ *convoco*, etc. In *alternei* I see a form corresponding to Lat. *quī*, *hī-c*, etc., that is to say a 'locative,' and I divide *advoca pit*. I take *pit* to be a 'suffixless' locative to the stem *ped-*, with a meaning like Umbrian *pĕdum* 'ditch,' Grk. πέδον 'ground, earth,' Sk. *padá-* 'place,' 'locality': the form *pit* for *ped* is due to the fact that it had come to be attached in course of time to *advoca* as a sort of future termination.

[1] It is obvious that a gen. **nr̥-ós* might be taken **nr̥r-ós*, or **gᵈr-ós*.

[2] I compare the Grk. plural μέρ-ονες 'men' in which there are elements of βροτός (Sk. *mr̥-tá*) 'mortal,' of ἀνήρ (Sk. *nŕ-*) 'man,' and ἄνθρωπος 'human' from ἀνδρο + °φFος (: φύω) 'possessing the nature of a man,' where transfer of aspiration is to be recognized.

[3] We must note the variants *marmor* and *mamor* from the last vs. of the song.

[4] Commonly explained as 'manliest.'

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The hymn A. V. 5. 22 furnished the starting-point for the above interpretation of the Arval Song as a charm against disease. I now offer a translation of a few stanzas of this hymn.

Stz. 1. Agni, drive away the fever from here,
Soma and Gravan, Varuna, be propitious;
Vedi and Barhis, kindlings aflame,
Let what is hateful be off yonder.

Stz. 4. I drive it below
By doing it honor — the fever:
Let Çakambhara's assailant
Go away to the Mahāvṛṣas.

Stz. 8. The Mahāvṛṣas and Mūjavants,
Thy tribesmen, go and devour,
We dedicate thee these, Fever,
Or yon other lands.

Stz. 9. An thou wilt not other lands,
Be complaisant and treat us gently;
Ay, the Fever is obliging,
He will go to the Balhikas.

Stz. 11. Do not make friends of these,
To wit, consumption, and cough, its fellow;
From yonder come thou not back hither,
This I implore thee, Fever.

With Stz. 11 I compare vs. 2: "Let there be no evil famine, evil death to rush upon more of us." With Stz. 9 vs. 3: "Have thy fill, fierce death, take thy stand, Fever, at the threshold of the sea." Stz. 4 illustrates, as was seen just now, the interpretation I have assigned to *berber*. The point of vs. 4 "call our enemies to another land," or (?) "call upon thy enemies in another land," is found specially in Stz. 1 and *passim* in the stanzas cited from the Vedic hymn.

For the two hymns community of origin is not to be proved; such charms are well-nigh universal, but either charm, as representing a totemic period of culture, might root in the Aryan period, and have possibly had a common origin.

Excursus on the Manes Worship.

In connecting *Lases* with Grk. ἀλάστωρ (p. vi.), we were brought face to face with the question whether the Greeks worshipped their ancestors as the Romans did the *Manes*, and the Hindus the *Pitres*. I answer that they did, and give a brief sketch of my argument to prove this.

The Eleusinian mysteries seem to have been instituted for the cultivation of a belief in the immortality of the soul. One of the festivals, in honor of the resurrection goddess Persephone, was held in Ἀνθεστηριών (February) and called ἀνθεστήρια, and popularly interpreted as the 'feast of flowers.' [The offering of flowers and fruits was a part of the Italic and Hindu ritual in the worship of ancestors.]

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In ἀνθεστήρια I see *ἀνθε(ρ)-στήρια[1] which I compare with Lat. *in-fer-iae* [not **inderiae* or **imberiae*, because of association with the uncompounded (?) *fēriae* 'feast days'], and Sk. *a-dhvar-d-s*[2] 'Soma offering.' [This I shall explain in another place as somewhat more closely connected with the rites to the Pitres.]

In point of ritual practice details of the Vedic ritual correspond closely with Circe's directions to Odysseus how to secure an audience with the dead (κ 518 sq.). In the Vedic rites as given in Āçv. Gṛh. Sūtra 2. 5 the sacrifice consisted of boiled-rice, sesamum (barley), rice-milk, meal-pap with honey and curds, rum and boiled rice, made into lumps and sometimes put in pits. Water was also a sacrificial object for the Pitres. Odysseus was directed to make libations with μελικρήτῳ (honey and milk), ἡδεῖ οἴνῳ (sweet wine), and ὕδατι (water), over which he was to throw barley meal. He was also to dig a pit.

In the rites of the Arval brothers (Henzen, Acta Fr. Arv., p. 26) wine and incense were employed in the service within the temple, and probably milk in the sacrifice on the turf (the pits ?). Honey-wine (*mulsum*) seems also to have been used. A sacrifice of meal-pap was probably also made from jars (Henzen, l.c., p. 27). [These jars I explain to be images of the ancestors, and compare the sex-marked jars of the Vedic rite, Açv. Gṛh. Sū. 4. 5. 2.]

A further point is the correspondence of time between the Eleusinian mysteries and one of the Roman festivals to the Manes; thus the ἀνθε(ρ)στήρια were celebrated in February, and the corresponding Latin rites were called *Februa*. [It is suggested that Februa is a decomposite for *in-fe(r)-brua.]

A further coincidence in a name of the Hindu, Greek, and Roman rites is to be noted. The Romans had a tradition (Ov. Fasti v. 421 sq.) that the month Māius was sacred to the Manes, and Varro tells us (L. L. 6. 4. 34) that *Māius* is from *māioribus*. One of the Manes festivals was called *māia*. Among the Greeks two festivals were called μεγάλα, the Dionysia and the Eleusinia. The epithet μεγάλη belongs also to the chthonic goddesses Demeter and Persephone, and Dionysus was a chthonic divinity too; now μέγας is an etymological congener of *māiores* and of *Māia*. In the Hindu ritual a feast of the Pitres was cele-

[1] Etymologies to justify the loss of -ρ- in -(ρ)στρ- will be produced when this study is printed entire.

[2] The Aryans perhaps had underground dwellings with a sort of trap door. (Note the subterranean dwellings of the Germans, Tac. Germ. XVI.) And perhaps in *a-dhvará-* we have a compound 'without doors,' a prehistoric conception of the grave as a 'bourne from which no traveller returns.' In the sense of what has been said above (p. vi. foot-note 4), we can connect FOR-*es* 'doors', with FEN-*estra* 'windows,' and likewise ἀ-θάν-ατος 'the immortal dead,' with Lat. IN-FER-*iae* 'rites to the immortals.' The Sk. root *dhvan* was doubtless originally due to the same impulse as the English word 'slam'; it means (1) to cover up, (2) to make a noise; its doublet *dhvṛ* means 'injure,' 'entrap.' I compare the Eng. vb. 'to floor'; with *dhvṛ* is comparable Lat. *furere* 'rage.' I compare *Furiae* 'the furies,' with Sk. *dhvarás* 'daemonischer wesen,' and *fūr* 'thief,' with *dhūrta* 'deceiver'; possibly φώρ 'thief,' is for *θωρ, patterned on θήρ || φηο 'wild beast,' and prevailed because of association with φέρειν in the phrase ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, influenced doubtless also by φηλήτης, φῆλος 'cheat.'

It is hard to separate *inferiae* Sk. *adhvará*, 'rites to the dead,' from *inferó-s*, Sk. *ádhara-* 'lower.' The *-v-* in *adhvará* is parasitic. Thus I explain the Sk. doublet *takṣ* || *tvakṣ-*: *kṣ* produces anticipatory rounding, whence *tv-* for *t-*. In Lat. *sex* beside Gr. *σFεξ 'six' we have perhaps a similar affection. The syllable *-no-* is always spoken with rounding. Who will say that a Gen. '*dka-n-os*' did not become *dhvan-ós* ? Thus the so-called 'velars' are to be explained: they are either compounds of guttural + *w* or they are gutturals + a parasitic *w* of anticipative rounding.

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brated each month, called *çrāddham*, but more important were the *aṣṭakās*, feasts of the Pitres celebrated on the 8th day of four successive months, November–February. The one of these that occurred in *Māgha* (January) was the most important, and might take the place of all the others. This *Māgha* may well be connected with Sk. *mah-* 'great,' Grk. *μέγας*, Lat. *māgnus*. The technical name of the deified grandfather was *pitā-maha*. I suggest that in Lat. *Maius*, Sk. *Māgh-a*, we have an Aryan month-name got from the festival to the *Manes*.[1]

In my study of Vedic hymns bearing on the funeral rites, in order to fix the meaning of *a-dhvar-á*, the following etymology suggested itself: NEPT-unus = *(Νε)ποτ-ιδάων = Sk. *apā́m* NÁPĀT 'son of the waters,' a personification of Agni in the form of lightning, as has been supposed.

In R. V. x. 15 3[b] *nápātam* is used alone, without *apā́m*, according to my interpretation.[2] At ii. 35. 14[c] *náptre* is certainly used as short for ⟨*apā́m*⟩ *náptre*, where *apā́m* is suggested by the connection. In the Vedas, however, the personification cannot be said to have differentiated into an independent deity. Note however the legend of Agni hiding in the waters.

For the change from *Νεποτ-ιδάων to Ποτιδάων I suggest two reasons. 1°, shortening by haplolalia in an oath formula *Νὴ Νεποτιδαονα; 2°, In Greek the personification of *apā́m nápāt* had become complete, and had passed from the stage of 'son of the waters' to that of 'lord (πότι-) of the waters.' The very ending -ιδάων is found in Vedic. At R. V. 3. 29. 3[d] *Agni* is called *iḍāyāḥ putráḥ* 'son of *iḍā*.'[3] I suggest also the division of *Neptunus* into *Nepot ūnus*. In *-ūnus* I see a gen. sg. = Sk. *udnás* 'of water.' Thus in *Nept-ūnus* we have a translation of *apā́m nápāt*.[4]

With Neptune and Poseidon the Greeks and Romans associated the horse. In R. V. ii. 35. 6[a], the hymn devoted to *apā́m nápāt* we have *áçvasya átra jánimā asyá ca svàr:* 'the birth of the horse is in him, and his is light,' where *átra* as well as *asyá* (Ludwig after Sāyana) is a pronominal form referring to *apā́m nápāt*.

[1] I see in *Mānes* a by-form of *magnus* and compare *ex-ā(g)men : agmen*. In *exāmen* the specialization of meaning allows this phonetic treatment. In *agmen* relation to *ago* was felt. So in *dignus* relation with *dec-us*, in *māgnus* relation with *magis*, whereas the isolated *Mānes* shows the regular phonetic treatment. But Latin shows a trace of this association in the constant application of *māgna* (Aen. iv. 654) and *maior* (ib. ii. 773, Ov. Fast. ii. 503) to the shades (*imago*) of the dead. Thus *fēnum* 'hay,' is to be connected with Grk. *φαγεῖν* 'eat,' from **feŋnum*, and *fēnus* 'interest,' with Sk. √*bhaj* 'share,' from **feŋ-nos*. Back of both forms lies **fag-no*. The palatalisation of the vowel is precisely comparable with the change in *dignum: dec-us*. Note that *fēnus* and *fēnum* are isolated words.

I add to this group λαγνός 'salacious'; lēno 'pander,' to a √*lag* 'lie' (for a cf. infra, p. xi.).

[2] This interpretation I find mentioned also in Ludwig's R. V. v. 420.

[3] The lingual *ḍ* is not original, but the result of association with the √*iḍ* 'worship,' *iḍā* 'praise.' I connect this *iḍ-ā* with the √*idh-* || *id-* 'burn,' and define by (?) 'kindlings'; *iḍā* was a sacrificial food of ghee. It is doubtless in gradation with Hom. *εἶδαρ* 'food,' used possibly first of a liquid food, and so perhaps associated, as its inflection hints, with *ὕδωρ* 'water.'

[4] Johansson in I. F. iv. p. 144 attempts to give to *nápāt* the definition 'water' in the Aryan period, and suggests that Sk. *adbhyás*, dat. to *áp-*, 'water' comes from **ṇbdbhyás*. His semantic is inconclusive, for the associations with water all derive in connection with the 'god of the waters,' as here demonstrated. The regular form **abbhyás* was liable to confusion with *ābhyás* dat. fem., to the demonstrative. I suggest that in *adbhyás* we see a contamination from *ud-* 'water.' Thus *udá* (Ins. sg. R. V. v. 41. 14[d], cf. *apā́*, ib. viii. 4. 3[a]) and *apás* (ib. v. 41. 14[b]), enable us to infer an **udbhyás* as the analogical source of *adbhyás*.

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For the various interpretations of this legend (Ludwig R. V. iv. p. 182) I suggest a much simpler one. According to the now received theories, the Aryans had a stem *ekwe* 'horse,' and a stem *aqa* 'water.' In my 'Agglutination and Adaptation' (AJP, No. 60) I recur to the theory of the primordial *a* sound (which I designate by a instead of a^x) for the earliest period. In Class. Rev. vii. p. 60, I suggested that for *qo-*, the relative stem, we ought to write *k̂vo*, a compound demonstrative from *ke-* + *ve-*. I have stated above (p. ix. n. 2) that in my belief the so-called velars are nothing but ordinary gutturals affected by anticipative rounding.

There are absolutely no unimpeachable examples to prove a difference between the treatment of the so-called velars *q*, etc., and palatals + a labial spirant *k̂w*, etc.[1] But waiving this last point, we see the Aryans possessed of a stem *aqa* 'water,' and a stem *ak̂wa* 'horse.' The lightning (*apā̂m napāt*) as the bringer of the rain, a common feature of Vedic descriptions, created the 'water' (*aqa*), and 'water' was confused with 'horse' (*ak̂wa*) — a sort of primitive pun. As a matter of fact I believe that both nouns are derived from a primitive ak^w — 'swift,' applied indifferently to the scudding clouds, or the running brook (cf. 'run' = stream in *Bull Run*), or the fleet steed.

Remarks on the paper were made by Professor Minton Warren.

2. Omission as a Means of Phonetic Representation, by Charles P. G. Scott.

In a liberal view of the meaning of the word, Omission plays in the fonetic representation of English a very extensiv part indeed. For example, there is an *f* herd in *rough* and *tough*, there ar two *f*'s herd in *philosophy* and *phosphorus*, but there is no *f* seen, and it is merely by a convenient fiction that we say *gh* (dzhĭ ĕtsh) or *ph* (pĭ ĕtsh) represents *f*. But the fiction *is* convenient, and it has a basis of fact. The *gh*, the *ph*, had a right to exist in these words, once, and they ment what they then said. Now they "preserv history;" which is a great thing. The Italians and the Spaniards hav no *ph*, and spel *filosofia*, *fosforo*, and the like; but what is the condition of Italy and Spain to-day?

For an other example, take the various "glides," "slurs," "vanishes," which may be herd, by a fine ear, between, or before, or after sounds having their proper representations, but which hav no sign to indicate their existence. There is a vanish to ĭ (ĭ^{ĭ}, iy) in *marine*, *seen*, etc., to ê (ê^{ĭ}, ei) in *vale*, *vail*, *veil*, etc., to ō (ō^{ŭ}, ou), in *so*, *sole*, *soul*, etc., to û (û^{w}, uw), in *rue*, *yew*, *you*, etc.; there is something in initial *s* or *f* that is not present in final *s* or *f*, and so on; but these accompaniments ar not represented in ordinary notation, partly because they ar fleeting, evasiv and variable, and partly because, altho they do not "go without saying," they may very wel go without spelling. They may be left to the esoteric minutiosity of fonetic precisians. In ordinary spelling, Omission is good enuf for them.

In the words and forms I shal cite the Omission has to do with essential elements, sounds which ar a part of the framework of words and ar such as he who runs may hear.

[1] I defer for the present the demonstration of this point in full, involving a discussion of Sk. *áçva* : ἵππος and O.Bulg. *svĕrĭ* : φήρ 'wild beast.'

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1. **Burgh.** In this Scottish form and its compounds, *Dryburgh*, *Edinburgh*, *Jedburgh*, and other place-names, a vowel is herd for which no representativ appears. The word is pronounced bŭr'o, and is often indeed speld *-boro*, with or without the petty apostrofe at the end. We can not say that the final vowel is represented by *gh*. We must draw the line somewhere.

Historically the case is clear. In the A.S. *burh*, by reason of the trild *r* and the palatal *h*, a vowel was often herd, and therefore often written, between the *r* and the *h* — *buruh*. In the inflected forms this vowel appears as *i*, and works mutation of *u* to *y* — genitiv, dativ, and accusativ *byrig*, whence the modern form *Bury*, and *-bury* (-ber'*i*) in place-names. The nominativ form *burh*, in the expanded form *buruh*, went thru its own changes, and emerged as the modern *borough* (bŭr'o), in composition *-borough*, *-boro'*, *-boro*, *-bro*. The form *burh* emerged in Scottish as *burgh*, where the *gh* was and should be pronounced as a guttural. This form has prevaild in the spelling, however, even where the form pronounced is the disyllable *borough*, *boro*. The result is, on the face of it, that a vowel is pronounced without a sign to indicate it.

The case is parallel on one side to the case of *alarm*, which by reason of the former vigor of the *r*, got to be pronounced with an evoked vowel, *alarum* or *alarom*; which *alarum* is now partly differenced from its original. So the Irishman pronounces *arm* 'arum' or 'arrum,' as the Old High German cald it *aram;* and Hosea Biglow talks of the 'ellum,' and Mrs. Cluppins of 'spazzums.'

2. **Eighth.** The word *eighth* is pronounced êtth — the vowel ê or the difthong *ei* followd by *t*, and that followd by *th*. But the written word, tho containing a now silent guttural, has no character to represent the *t*; for the *t* there seen obviously belongs to the *th*. The *t* sounded is left unrepresented. Historically as well as fonetically the word ought to be speld *eightth* (*eight* + *-th*), representing M.E. *eightethe*, etc., A.S. *eahtoða*.

3. **One.** This word is pronounced wŭn, with an initial *w* sound. But where is the character to represent it? Like the Spanish fleet, it can not be seen; and for the same reason — it is not in sight. The *w* arose from labializing the former initial vowel ō — *one*, pronounced ōn (as it stil is in *alone*, *atone* and *only*), then wōn, then wûn or wun, then wŭn. *One* thus labialized, was formerly often speld honestly with a *w*. *Wone* is common in 16th century print, and *won* appears much erlier.

> In eschewing al maner doublenesse,
> To make too joys insted of *won* grevance.
> *a* 1400 CHAUCER [?] *Ms. Cantab.* Ff. i. 6. f. 104. (H. p. 937.)
>
> For *won* gose and for 2 pyggs xviiid.
> 1460 *Account of the expence of the entertainment given by the first mayor of Rochester* (in *Antiq. Repertory*, 1808, iii. 147).
>
> Ther was never a freake *wone* foot wolde fle.
> *a* 1550 *Hunting of the Cheviot.* (Child, *Ballads*, VII. 38.)
>
> *Wan.* One. Still in use. 1847 HALLIWELL.
>
> He was now yelling after Mrs. Harmon, to know if she was not satisfied with *wan* gutther-snoipe that she must go and pick up another.
> 1887 HOWELLS, *The Minister's Charge*, p. 338.
>
> Now, passon, do 'e know of *wan?* 1894 BLACKMORE, *Perlycross*, p. 315.

4. **Once.** The fonetic history of *once* follows that of *one*. It was in Middle English *ones* ō'nes and became wō'nes, wōns, wûns, wuns, wŭns. I find it speld

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wonus in the 16th century, and it often appears in modern dialect notation as ***wonce, wunce, wance, wonst, wanst.***

Ther stode ***wonus*** a coke on Seynt Pale stepull toppe.
a 1550 in *Reliq. Antiq.* i. 82 (H. p. 816).

Wonst. Once; on purpose. *Lanc.* 1847 HALLIWELL.

Wance. Once. Devon. 1847 HALLIWELL.

"You be to coom to *wance;*" her vowel sounds were of the purest Devonshire air, winged by many a quill, but never summed in pen by any.
1894 BLACKMORE, *Perlycross*, p. 276.

There ar three terminations, involving three large classes of words, in which a vowel is herd without representation. I mean the terminations *-le* equivalent to *-el*, *-re* equivalent to *-er*, and *'s* equivalent to *-es*.

5. **-le.** In *-le* as occurring after a consonant, in *-cle*, *-kle*, *-gle*, *-ple*, *-ble*, *-tle*, *-dle*, *-sle*, *-zle*, there is herd before the *l* an obscure vowel. This vowel is historically, in most cases, an obscured *e* or *i* or *o* or *u*, the termination being formerly, in erly modern Eng., in M.E., or in A.S., *-el*, *-il*, *-ol*, *-ul*. The vowel as now herd has been identified with the natural "glide" between a consonant and *l*, or with the initial murmur of *l*, and most foneticians content themselves with ignoring the vowel, and calling the merged sounds "syllabic *l*," which they write *l*, or *l̩* or *'l*. Of these, the last is the best notation, because it shows most clearly the fact that there is a vowel omitted before *l*. In *rattle* (rætˈl, rætˈˈl), *ripple* (rip'l, rip'ˈl), etc., there is a syllabic *l*; in *rattling* (rætˈling), *rippling* (rip'ling), etc., there is no syllabic *l*, tho we may make one — rætˈˈl-*i*ng, rip'ˈl-*i*ng. Compare *ablely* (êˈb'l-l*i*, êˈb'l-*i*), now *ably* (êˈbl*i*). Historically the vowel is usually *e* — *rattle*, A.S. *hrætel-* (wyrt); *apple*, A.S. *æppel; cattle*, M.E. *catel*, etc. The *e* is retaind in some uses of certain words while dropt in others; *mantel* = *mantle*, *battel* = *battle;* compare *mettle* = *metal*. After *m* and *n*, *-el* prevails; *trammel*, *channel*, etc.

6. **-re.** The case of *-re* for *-er* is similar to that of *-le* for *-el*. In the mouths of those who pronounce the *r*, namely, northern Americans, Scotch, Irish, and northern Englishmen, there is a vowel followd by *r*. In the mouths of southern Englishmen, as Sweet and Murray teach us, there is a vowel, with no *r* following. *Centre*, for example, is pronounced by most English-speaking persons sen'tər, but by London Englishmen it is pronounced sen'tə or sen'tạ.

Now in *centre* pronounced sen'tər there ar two vowels pronounced. One of them is not represented. The final *e* is not the second pronounced *e*. It is not "transposed," but is silent, ded — as ded as the *e* in *have* or *gone*. The history of *centre* is this: The Greek *κέν-τρο-ν* became the Latin *cen-tru-m*, this the Italian *cen-tro*, Old French *cen-tre*, pronounced as written, with the develop*t* *s* for *c* and the obscured final *e* — sen'tre̩. The Old French *centre* became the Middle English *centre*, pronounced and written the same. Later, with the general loss of obscure final *e*, *centre* became fonetically sen'tr-, and this develop*t* a *new* obscure *e*, between the *t* and *r*. It was then speld *center*, the old final *e* being omitted. And so it was with *number*, *chamber*, *eager*, *tiger* and other words from Latin, and with *timber* and other words from Anglo-Saxon. *Centre*, then, consists as so speld of six letters, of which one, final *e*, or, in South British pronunciation, two, *r* and *e*, ar totally silent. The second vowel herd is not represented at all. In *center* so speld, all the sounds ar represented. *Center* is thus both fonetic-

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ally and historically the correct spelling. *Centre* in present spelling arose out of a blunder and is defended through ignorance.

7. -'s. The most common genitiv or possessiv suffix in A.S. was *-es*. This remaind in M.E. as *-es* (identical then in form with the plural suffix *-es*), pronounced *-es* or in certain positions *-ez* — a pronunciation sometimes acknowledged in spelling, as *armes* for *armes* (ârmez) later *arm's* (ârmz). In modern English the suffix is after most consonants reduced to *-s*, pronounced s or z according to the preceding consonant — *ship's* (ships), *kid's* (kidz), etc. This *-s* was written simply *-s* until about the year 1680, when the custom of indicating the omitted vowel, or rather of marking off the case-ending, by an apostrofe, became common, and the possessiv *ships* was written *ship's, kids kid's, mans man's*, etc.

When the nominativ ended in a sibilant, -s (*-s, -ss, -se, -ce, -x*), -z (*-z, -zz, -s, -se*), -sh (*-sh, -ch, -che*), -zh (*-ge*), -tsh (*-tch, -ch*), -dzh (*-dge, -ge*), the *e* before the final sibilant of the possessiv did not fall out, so that the possessiv and the plural forms remaind alike in *-es* — *lasses, lances, bushes, witches, churches, judges, foxes*, etc.

Here was the opportunity of the wooden Walkers and Lindley Murrays of that age. Finding the apostrofe used in possessiv forms where there was an actual omission of a once existing vowel, as in *man's, bird's*, etc., they began to use the apostrofe in *all* possessivs, as a "sign." The apostrofe was thus used in possessivs like *horses, lances, judges*, which wer written *horse's, lance's, judge's*, as if they wer formed from *horse* + 's, etc., whereas they represent M.E. *hors-es* (A.S. *hors-es*), *launc-es, jug-es*, with the full genitiv suffix *-es*. The *e* in *hors-e* is not identical historically with the *e* in *hors-es*. They ar of different origin; and moreover one is ded (nay, it never existed! — A.S. *hors*) and the other stil livs.

The forms *horse's, lance's, judge's*, etc., ar irrational in that the apostrofe indicates an omission which has not taken place either in speech or in writing; but the apostrofe may do as a "sign."

But the wooden regularists went further. They not only used the apostrofe where a vowel had been omitted in pronunciation a century and more ago, and where the vowel was not omitted either in pronunciation or writing, but they actually thrust out of the writing the vowel then and stil pronounced and gave the apostrofe a new office — that of representing, not a vowel omitted, but a vowel utterd. After *-s, -ss, -sh, -ch, -x*, the termination *-es* was reduced to 's, and they wrote, and so we now all write, *lass's, bush's, witch's, church's, fox's*, etc. The plural form has not been sofisticated, and we write *lasses, bushes, witches, churches, foxes*, etc., with exactly the same pronunciation as the possessiv. In *lass's* we have three esses (or, as we see it written, *s's*), pronounced as s+e+z. In *s's* we hav two esses, pronounced as e+s+e+z.

Examples of the apostrofed possessiv do not become common before 1680. The older notation without the apostrofe has never wholly ceast. Sir Frederick Madden in his fine edition of Layamon (1847), and the Rev. Oswald Cockayne in his *Saxon Leechdoms* (1861), reject the apostrofe.

The following examples illustrate the two notations.

> And with thy blessings steele my *Lances* point.
> 1623 SHAKESPEARE, Rich. II, i. 3. 74 (F^1 p. 26).
> A *Witches* Prayer. 1695 CONGREVE, *Love for Love*, iv. 21 (1710, i. 460).
> Their *Ancestress's* Arms. 1799 YORKE, *Royal Tribes of Wales*, p. 50.

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The *Albatross's* blood. 1798 COLERIDGE, *Anc. Mariner*, l. 513.
The *Marquis's* man. 1855 THACKERAY, *The Newcomes*, ii. 9 (1868, p. 106).
McNish's "Anatomy of Drunkenness" was published there, 1855; and *M'Cosh's* "Typical Forms of Creation," in 1856.
1861 BOWDITCH, *Suffolk Surnames*.

Ill now my weary limbs repose
Beneath this *bush's* friendly shade. 1864 *Sir Guy de Guy*, p. 10.

But in the dark unknown
Perfect their circles seem,
Even as a *bridge's* arch of stone
As rounded in the stream.
1874 LONGFELLOW, *Charles Sumner*.

'Independence of thought of his own'—as if it could have been somebody *else's*. 1894 *Academy*, Aug. 4, p. 81.

The next two cases ar of common vowel letters.

8. **i.** What we ar pleased to call "long i" is a difthong, pronounced normally ai (with dialectal variants æi, ɔi, oi, etc.) and composed of a, long or short, followed by i short ('ee' short, not 'ĭ' short). The name of the letter in Latin and in A.S. was *i*, pronounced ĭ. We call it ai. What our forefathers cald ĭs and speld, like honest men, just as they pronounced it, *ĭs*, we now spel *ice* and pronounce ais. They pronounced and wrote *wĭd;* we write *wide* and pronounce waid. So the A.S. *slde* is now *side*, said; *pln* is *pine*, pain; *niht* is *night*, nait; *lht* is *light*, lait; and so on. So Latin *fĭnĭtus*, Eng. *finite*, fainait; Latin *mĭlia*, A.S. *mĭl*, E. *mile*, mail, etc.

The following shows the original and the present spoken forms of these words:—

ĭ (the letter)	ĭs	w	ĭd	s	ĭde	p	ĭn	n	ĭht	f	ĭn	ĭtus
ai	ais	waid	said..	pain	nai..t	fainait....

9. **u.** This letter, cald in Latin u (*oo*) as it is spelt, is now cald in English yu (*yoo*). In words from the Latin thru French, or directly, long *u* is pronounced in most positions yû, or iû, i̯û. The Latin *ûsus* is in English *use*, pronounced yûs; *ûniŏ(n-)* is *union* yûn'yụn; *fûmus* is *fume* fiûm; *mûsa* is *muse* miûz; *cumulus* is *cumulus* ciû'miuḷus; *computare* is *compute*, compiût', etc. Here is a consonant, y, or a consonantized vowel, i, left wholly unrepresented.

û (the letter)	û	s	u	s	û	n	i	ŏ (n-)	f	û	m	u	s	m	û	s	a
y û	y û s....	y û n y ụ n	f i û m....	m i û z..

When an *l* or an *r* precedes the *u*, the interpolated i is stil supposed to be pronounced, tho teeming millions drop it or hav never used it. People ar supposed to pronounce *lucid* liû'sid, *lunar* liû'nạr (or liû'nạ), *rule* riûl, *rumor* rû'mọr (or rû'mạ), but most say just lû'nạr, rûl, rû'mọr, etc. I know of no reason why this natural reversion to the old and stable pronunciation of *u* in such positions should be opposed. Indeed, most dictionaries now admit û after r—rûl, etc. And so where the *u* = iu> u is not in the Latin: *lieu-ten'ant* liu-ten'ạnt, lu-ten'ạnt; *new* niû, now often nû. Most persons within my observation pronounce *newspaper* nûz'pêp̣er, or nûs'pêp̣er, tho all agree that we ought to say niûz'pêp̣er; and *New York*, outside of dictionaries and other fairy-books, is commonly nû yôrk. One hears even nû yôk.

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In the independent spelling of the 16th century the English pronunciation of *use* and other words was sometimes plainly confest. I find for *use* the spellings *youse* and *yowse*, more than once.

> Money receyvede to the *youse* of the churche.
> 1562 *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow* (Camden Soc. 1869), p. 112.
> He and his wyffe did knolege yt for my *yowse*.
> *c* 1560 *Account* quoted in Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (1887), p. 57.
> I hear ye ar very well *youssed* and no bringer up ye have.
> 1570 LADY HUNGERFORD, *Letter to the Duchess of Feria*, quoted in Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (1887), p. 249.

The fonetic instinct asserts itself in all ages. Mr. Sweet, a man of "this so-cald nineteenth century," spels *use* without mitigation or remorse '*jŭws*,' and *usefully* '*jŭwsfli*.'

> *jŭws* sb. gebrauch, nutzen. *jŭwsfli* adj. nützlich.
> 1885 SWEET, *Handbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*, p. 49.

In *eu* or *ew*, pronounced yû, the consonant y is represented by the *e* (*e* > *i* > i > j > y), as in *ewe*, *ewer*, etc. Sometimes the y is put on visibly. *Yew* was erlier *ew*, and beside the surname *Ewell* I find *Yewell*.

In one instance I find the digraf *ou*, properly û, used as equivalent to iû. The name of Samuel *Houston* and of the city in Texas named after him, and of other towns of the same name, is commonly pronounced hiûs'tụn; but *Houston* street in New York is pronounced haus'tụn. The original pronunciation must hav been hûs'tun.

10. **ou.** The digraf *ou* in *out*, *bound*, etc., contains an unrepresented sound. This *ou* is pronounced au (with variants æu, *eu*, əu), but the *o* does not really represent the first sound a. The digraf *ou* was introduced into English from Old French to represent the simple sound û (*oo*); it is composed of the letter *o*, then common in the value û (as it is in mod. E. *do*, *move*, etc.) and the letter *u*, the historical representativ of the same sound. *ou* retains its former value, by the preservativ influence of w, in *wound* (wûnd) (which is also pronounced waund, by conformity to the changed pronunciation of *found*, *round*, etc., formerly fûnd, rûnd, etc.); and has that value in words recently taken from the French — *group*, *soup*, *troupe*, etc. So that *out* (aut) is really a + *ou* (= u) + t; *bound* (baund) b + a + *ou* (= u) + n + d. Compare *aoudad* (â'-u-dad or a-û'-dad). The vowel a is not represented at all, tho it is common and convenient to treat the *o* as standing for the first element of the difthong, as if it wer ŏ, which seems very like å (ä) (compare *papa*, in books pronounced pa-pâ', in actual speech now commonly pâ'pạ, in dialect stories often written *poppa*, *popper*). The non-appearance of the a in the written digraf is tacitly admitted in the Yankee dialect spellings *haouse*, *haow*, *naow*, *taown*, etc., representing hæus, hæu, næu, tæun, for the regular haus, hau, nau, taun. See Holmes (*One-Hoss Shay*), Lowell (*Biglow Papers*), Mrs. Stowe, etc.

11. **a.** I might mention an other class of words in which an i or y interpolated in speech is not recognized in spelling, but the use is now dialectal or obsolete. I mean the words in which *c* or *k* before the sound a (written *a*) or ai (written *i*)

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is followd by the consonant y, that is, palatalized; as in *car* (pron. cịar kyâr kyâ), *card* (cịârd kyârd kyâd), *kind* (cịaind, kyaind). This manner of pronunciation is not now recognized in standard English.

12. **ch.** In the difone written *ch* and pronounced tsh, there is a *t* herd, but not written. It is written in the other spelling *tch*, which is the regular medial and final spelling of the difone in question. We write *pitch, witch, catch, watch, fetch, vetch*, etc., where in Middle English we find *picche, wicche, cacche, wacche, fecche, vecche*, etc.; an original *t* + *sh* appears in *wet-shod*, dialectal *watshod*, speld *watched, watcherd* in Halliwell. The *t* is a genuin fonetic improvement, and ought not to be thrust out in reformd spelling purporting to be based on fonetic principles. It is no improvement to spell *pitch* 'pich,' *catch* 'cach,' etc. The *t* is all right; it is the *ch* which calls for reform. Why not *pitsh?*

Many words, however, both of Anglo-Saxon and of French provenience, faild to receiv the fonetic insert *t*, and we hav, with initial *ch, chick, chill*, etc., *chair, chance, charm*, etc., with medial *ch, bachelor, achieve, sachel*, etc., with final *ch, each, much, such, which, bench, winch*, etc., *rich, search, touch*, etc. These ar the words defectivly speld, without their existent but unrecognized *t*. Yet many of these words with medial or final *ch* wer in the 16th and 17th centuries often speld with their *t*, in good honest fashion — *batcheler* (1617), *atchieve* (as late as 1765), *coatche* (1578), *dutchy, lurtcher* (1530), *outch* (1582 Mulcaster), *croutch* (1582 id.), *slowtch* (1582 id.), *partch* (1577), *ritch* (1596), *satchel* (a spelling stil in use), *mutch, sutch* (we often see *sitch* for *sich*), *sertche* (1530 Palsgrave), *tutch* (1577), etc. So in surnames we hav *Bachelor* and *Batchelor, Rich* and *Ritch, Richey* and *Ritchie, Prichard* and *Pritchard, Michell* and *Mitchell*, and in local names *Lichfield* and *Litchfield*. The name of the 8th letter is written either *ache* or *aitch*.

Initial *tch* and *tsh, tsch* ar becoming wel known in English and German transcriptions of Russian and Oriental words. But initial *tch* is found in English words also. The word *chair* is speld *tcheir* in Lyndesay's *Thrie Estaits* (1602, l. 1953), and the word *tchick*, verb and noun, imitativ of a clicking or clucking sound, is found in Sir Walter Scott (*Quentin Durward*, ch. 14) and in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 76, p. 32. Howells uses this *tchick* without a vowel to its back — "*tchk, tchk, tchk!*" (1887 *The Minister's Charge*, p. 355).

13. **j** or **g(e)**. Parallel to tsh is the sonant form dzh. The component *d* is acknowledged in the common spelling *dg(e)*, as in *badge, edge, judge, lodge, knowledge, dudgeon, badger, ledger*, etc., in which the *d* is a true fonetic insert, the Middle English forms being *bage* or *bagge, egge, juge, logge, knowlege* or *knowleche, dogeon*, etc. But the *d* is not always inserted. It never appears initially except in some Oriental words of recent introduction. The usual initial spelling of dzh is *j* or *g*, as in *jet, gem*, etc. The medial and final spelling is either *-dg(e)* as above, or *-g(e)*, as in *page, rage, allege, cabbage, damage, savage, pigeon, hinge*, etc. But in these words, the component *d* was often recognized in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, as in *alledge* (1530), *cabbadge* and *cabbidge, chardge* (1538), *damadge, priviledge, savadge, pidgeon, hindge*, etc. We stil see *widgeon* beside *wigeon, Babbadge* beside *Babbage, Talmadge* beside *Talmage*, etc., and *porridge* has driven out the erlier *porrage*. In *journal, journey*, etc., as compared with their Latin source *diurnus*, it appears that *j* represents the Latin *i*, and that the *d* pronounced is unrepresented. In *joke, judge*, etc.,

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the *j* in English represents only the Latin *i* (=y), which took on an initial d by analogy with words having original *di*; thus, *i* > (d)i = di, > di̯ > dy > dzh = *j*.

14. t. The Latin *t* before *i* appears now in German with a following *s* pronounced but not written: L. *natio*(*n*-) (nâ-ti-ōn′), G. *nation* (nâ-tsi-ōn′). In Swedish the *t* is followd in pronunciation by sh: *nation* (nâ-tshōn′). In French the *t* is pronounced s: and so in English, with the further change of si to si̯ and sh: O.F. *nation, nacion*, M.E. *nation, nacion, nacioun* (nâ-si-ûn′), mod. E. *nation* (nâ′si-un, næs′i̯un, now nê′shụn).

15. oi. The spelling *choir*, pronounced cwair, according to Sweet cwəiə, is merely a disguise of the true form *quire*, imitating modern French *chœur*. Goldsmith rimes *choir* with *Loire*. We hav in English several words from the French ending in *-oir*, which we pronounce "like the French" — or at least in a non-English fashion, which with many is the same thing — *memoir* pronounced mem′-wôr, *reservoir* pronounced rez-ẹr-vwôr′, or rez′-ẹr-vwôr, *abbatoir* pronounced æb′-ạ-twôr′, *moire* pronounced mwôr, etc., with variations. The French *oi* is renderd wa or wŏ or wô. The w is represented by the *o* (compare Portuguese *lingoa* for Latin *lingua*). The *i* represents a, as in *vin* (veṅ, væṅ) it represents e or æ. The French pronunciation wŏ for *oi* or *oy* is recognized in the late 16th century spelling *bwoy* (1600 Hakluyt), *buoy* (1605 Shakespeare), for erlier *boy* (1530), *boye* (1466), from O.F. *boye*. There ar really 3 forms of this word: (1) the original *boy* (boi), universal among sailors; (2) the later *bwoy*, now *buoy*, properly pronounced bwoi; (3) a doutful form, of unestablisht spelling, pronounced bû′*i*, represented perhaps by the obsolete spellings *boe, bouye, buye, buie*, depending rather upon the D. *boei* (pronounced bû′*i*) than upon the French.

The paper ended with several reflections and morals, to which it is here necessary to apply the principle of Omission.

Remarks were made by Professors Lodge and March, by Mr. Ingraham, and by the author.

3. The Athenian Polemarch, by Dr. Guy V. Thompson, of Yale University.

Bruno Keil (Die solonische Verfassung, 1892, S. 114, Anm. 1) proposes to fill the lacuna before ἐλάττους (Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία 4. 2) with the words ἐκλήρουν, τὰς μέν, so as to remove the inconsistency between this sentence and κληροῦσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς in 4. 3. Replying to the objection that the generals were never chosen by lot, he says that while this is true for the time after Kleisthenes, it is not true for the time before him, the reasons being that the polemarch led the army as late as 490 B.C.; not until 501/0 were ten generals *chosen*, one from each phyle; the development of the στρατηγία does not therefore begin until 501/0; consequently the generals and hipparchs must have been "untere Beamte" at so early a time as that of Drakon.

Against Keil's view two points may be stated: first, the polemarch did not "lead the army" in 490, in the sense intended by Keil; secondly, there are indications of the development of the στρατηγία before the time of Kleisthenes.

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I. The part which the polemarch had in the battle of Marathon — for this is what Keil alludes to — is set forth in Herod. VI. 109 ff. The polemarch was not in command of a phyle on the field of battle (Stein *ad loc.*). He did not have chief command, for in sections 110–11 it is distinctly stated that Miltiades was general-in-chief. The position of the polemarch in the battle of Marathon was purely honorary. It was the survival of a real power, which we know from 'Αθ. πολ. 3. 2 he once possessed. To be sure, 'Αθ. πολ. 22. 2 contains the statement τῆς δὲ ἁπάσης στρατιᾶς ἡγεμὼν ἦν ὁ πολέμαρχος in a description of the Kleisthenean constitution. But the power of the polemarch in 500 B.C. may reasonably be assumed to have been the same as in 490 B.C. What it was in 490 should be clear from Herod. VI. 109 ff., discussed above. Aristotle drew his account of the reforms of Kleisthenes from Herodotos (Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen. I. 29–38), and 'Αθ. πολ. 22. 2 should be interpreted in the light of Herod. VI. 109 ff.

II. At least three instances are known of Athenian στρατηγοί having chief command before the time of Kleisthenes. First, Phrynon was general and chief in command in the expedition from Athens which captured Sigeion 610 B.C. Strabo XIII. 38, p. 599, πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Φρύνωνα στρατηγὸν, κτλ. The same story is told by Polyainos στρ. I. 25, Diog. Laert. I. 74, Suidas s.v. Πιττακός, all no doubt coming from Strabo's source, which seems to have been Demetrios of Skepsis through Apollodoros (Niese, Rh. Mus. 32, 267–307; Christ, Gr. Litteraturges. 456). Not much reliance, however, is to be placed on the accuracy of the use of the word στρατηγός in these accounts. The second instance is that of Alkmaion, in the first sacred war, which was ended in 590 B.C. by the victory of the Amphiktyons over Krisa. Plutarch, Solon, 11, 'Αλκμαίων, οὐ Σόλων, 'Αθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγέγραπται. This statement rests ultimately, as we may fairly assume from ἀναγέγραπται, upon the authority of an official record. The third instance is that of Peisistratos, who, as general of the Athenians, took Nisaia, the port of Megara, in 570 B.C. Herod. I. 59–64, where στρατηγίῃ is not decisive; 'Αθ. πολ. 22. 16, Πεισίστρατος δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὤν. Cf. 17. 8.

These instances indicate that the decline of the military power of the polemarch began as early as the end of the seventh century. Two other considerations support this view: first, judicial duties became attached to the office of polemarch before the time of Drakon ('Αθ. πολ. 3. 5). This being the case the polemarchs became more and more confined to the city, and if they still retained the chief control in war, it was in an advisory capacity only, unless the field of battle were near at hand, as in 490. Further, when the Athenians began to send out commercial and colonizing expeditions, as they did in 610 and again in 560, the generals must have become the actual commanders and have assumed most if not all of the military power of the polemarch. Secondly, Solon provided that the nine archons should be chosen by lot out of forty men selected from the phylae, ten from each, instead of being elected by all the citizens, as under the constitution of Drakon. Under this system the polemarch was frequently a man of little or no experience as a leader in war, and the practical management of wars must have fallen to the generals.

The question when the polemarch lost his actual command cannot be answered. But we know from 'Αθ. πολ. 3 that when the office was created he was what his name indicates, the leader in war. The office was created before the seventh century B.C. We have seen that he did not have chief command of the army in

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501/0 and not always before, even as far back as 610, when his power was already yielding to that of the στρατηγός. It seems probable then that the development of the στρατηγία began by the end of the seventh century, and that the generals of Drakon's time are not to be classed, as by Keil, among the "untere Beamte."

Remarks were made by Professors Elwell and Seymour, and by the author.

4. On the inscriptional Hymn to Apollo, recently discovered at Delphi, by Professor F. D. Allen of Harvard University.

The condition and contents of this inscription, published by Weil and Reinach in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 17, p. 569, were briefly described. The composition is in continuous paeons (— ∪ —), without traces of strophic arrangement. This, and the other lyric fragments found at Delphi, confirm what we learned from Isyllus's paean, that lyric poetry was written by the ancients like prose, no attempt being made to represent to the eye its phrases or rhythmical divisions. The date of the hymn is after 279 B.C., but cannot be exactly fixed.

A curious feature of the text is that in those syllables which are divided between two notes of the music the vowel is written double: Τριτωωνίδος. Even short vowels: Δεελφίσιιν. The diphthongs are treated in two ways. In the case of ει, οι, and ου the whole diphthong is repeated (μαντειεῖον, Φοιοῖβος, ἐριβρόμουου). But ευ is doubled as εου, αυ as αου (ταούρων), and αι either as αει or αιει. This has its bearing on pronunciation. The latter method is clearly an attempt to distribute the two elements of the diphthong between the two notes, ει representing merely a long ī-sound and ου a long ū-sound. In the case of ειει, ουου, οιοι, on the other hand, the graphic repetition of the whole diphthong obviously means that these diphthongs were nothing but digraphs for simple sounds. For an actual repetition of both elements of a real diphthong would be grotesque. It follows, then, that, at the time when this hymn was inscribed, οι, as well as ει and ου, was monophthongal.

The musical signs engraved above the syllables find their interpretation in what we already know of the Greek notation. The key of the composition is thus fixed as the Phrygian; that is, three flats according to Greek reckoning, the actual pitch being, however, about a third lower. At least a part of the composition is in either the *enharmonic* or *chromatic* genus, but it is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine positively which of the two is intended, as the notation for the two was identical, though the pitch of many notes differed. Two alien notes, not belonging in the regular Phrygian scale, occur. One of them ("B" = g♭) occurs but once. The other ("O" = b♮♭) recurs frequently, and appears to be used much as the note b♮♭ would be used in a composition in C minor, — as the *sharp seventh*, that is, of the minor scale. We have hitherto supposed that the ancient minor scales used only the *flat seventh*, but this appears to be erroneous. It is to be observed that in this hymn the flat seventh (b♭) does not occur at all, and seems to be studiously avoided.

Other points about ancient music which seem to be established by this important find are first, the possibility of combining diatonic and chromatic (or enhar-

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monic) music in one and the same composition; and secondly, the possibility of temporary modulation into related keys, effected partly by the use of the διεζευγμένων and the συνημμένων forms of the scales within the same composition, and partly by the introduction of alien tones, not included in either of these forms. The melody of this hymn evidently exemplifies one of the more complex developments of ancient art. Its progressions are strange, and for the most part unpleasant to our ears.

Remarks were made by Professors Wright and Smyth.

The President then appointed the following Committees: —

On Place of Meeting: Professors Allen, Warren, Platner.

On Officers for 1894–95: Professors Hart, C. F. Smith, E. T. Merrill.

Professor Hart then alluded to the death of Professor Whitney, the first President of the ASSOCIATION, and for many years a member of the Executive Committee. Professors Hart, March, and Seymour were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions in reference to the death of Professor Whitney.

Adjourned at 6.15 P.M.

EVENING SESSION.

At eight o'clock the ASSOCIATION reassembled, in the College Chapel, to listen to the address of the President of the ASSOCIATION. The speaker was introduced by Franklin Carter, President of Williams College, who extended a welcome to the ASSOCIATION on behalf of the Trustees and Faculty of Williams College.

5. The Progress of English Philology, by Professor James M. Garnett, of the University of Virginia, President of the ASSOCIATION.

After a brief reference to the progress of philological science during the twenty-five years' existence of the Association, and the contributions of the members of the Association to it, Professor Garnett paid a tribute to the memory of the late Professor Whitney, to whom "our Association owes more than to any other one man," and quoted extracts from his President's address at Rochester in 1870 as showing the objects and aims of the Association, and how it had consistently adhered to them. After recommending that the Association adopt the plan of the English Philological Society, namely, "the assigning to specialists the task of annually reporting for the President's address the progress of each department of philology during the preceding year," he took up his subject proper, *The Progress of English Philology*, during the past twenty-five or thirty years, circumscribing the term, after Professor George Curtius's definition of philology as understood in England and France, to "the study of language," English philology being understood to mean "all that relates to the investigation, the study, and the

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teaching of the English language in its widest sense, both in itself and in its relations to cognate languages and to the general science of language." The fact was noted that this is a very modern subject, especially "the study of living dialects," "the grounding of the laws of language in physiological necessities," to quote from Professor March's President's address in 1874. The study of phonetics, as illustrating the progress of English philology, was first commented on, and the principal works in that branch, such as those of Ellis, Bell, Sweet, and others, were mentioned. The scientific study of English etymology was also adverted to. "The reign of law in the philological world has come to be recognized, and while English seems to have been the last to yield to its inexorable demands, it has finally yielded, and he who would etymologize regardless of it, is no longer entitled to a hearing." The most prominent works illustrative of this branch were noted, particularly those of Professor Skeat, and in connection with them the most recent works in English lexicography, at the head of which stands the dictionary of the English Philological Society, known as Dr. Murray's "New English Dictionary," the most complete work of the kind in any language, the only drawback to its usefulness being the delay in the publication of its successive parts. Special mention was also made of the Bosworth-Toller "Anglo-Saxon Dictionary," and the Stratmann-Bradley "Dictionary of Middle English," the standard works for those periods of English, and others of less importance. The greatest present need in the progress of English philology was pronounced to be "an accurate and comprehensive historical grammar of the English language," which should be an improvement upon the German works of Fiedler and Sachs, Maetzner, and Koch. Much material for this purpose has been accumulated in the publications of the Early English Text Society and other learned societies of England. The oldest period of the language has been fairly well provided for, but the Middle English period needs further study and elucidation.

As valuable works illustrative of the late Middle English Professor Skeat's editions of Langland's "Piers Plowman," and of Chaucer's complete works, were mentioned, and the hope expressed that he would add to them a new edition of Gower, who needs re-editing. Professor Child's "Ballads" and Professor Lounsbury's "Studies in Chaucer" were also referred to as illustrations of progress, though not strictly philological. The formation of the Modern Language Association and of the American Dialect Society, outgrowths from this Association, illustrates the active prosecution of modern, as distinct from oriental and classical philology. The establishment of such periodicals as *Anglia* and *Englische Studien* in Germany, of the *American Journal of Philology*, including modern, though chiefly devoted to classical philology, and of *Modern Language Notes*, in this country, shows philological activity. Some of the most important German works for the study of English philology, such as Wülker's new edition of Grein's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie," the bibliographies of Wülker, Elze and Körting, and the special treatises of Behrens, Morsbach and Kluge, were also noted. In this country the editions of Old English texts in the "Library of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," and some other works, illustrate this progress.

But even more than the publication of journals and special works, the recent establishment of chairs of English Philology at the universities of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Great Britain and America, was dwelt upon, as showing the progress that this subject has made in the last twenty-five

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years. Scarcely a German or English University is without its representative of English philology, and the number of such chairs in this country has largely increased, the larger universities having separated the chair of the English language, including philology, from the chair of English literature, which is a distinct mark of progress, as it widens and deepens the study of both. "Not less noticeable than the increase and the number of such chairs is the improvement in the methods of instruction. The historical method has come more and more into vogue; it has been realized that to know the present we must know the past; that the English of the modern period cannot be thoroughly known without a knowledge of that of the earlier periods, and helps are almost daily being provided which subserve this end. The critical and philological method, long applied to the classical languages, has been applied to the modern languages, and to English especially. We have learned to value the discipline thereby furnished, and to know that, while students are acquiring a thorough and accurate knowledge of their own language, they are undergoing a mental discipline equal to that supplied by the study of any other language; and that for some this must serve as the only linguistic discipline they will ever receive."

"While some of the colleges and universities are thus gradually doing their part in contributing to the progress of English philology, I fear the same cannot be said of the preparatory schools. They still seem to stick in the old ruts, to cling to old methods, to limit the teaching of the English language to the stereotype formal English grammar. But I cannot go into this subject at the close of this address. I would merely recommend that they add to their curriculum, at least for the higher classes, the study of the history of the English language. With much that is commendable in the suggestions of the English Conference contained in the Report of the 'Committee of Ten,' I think that they have overlooked the importance of this subject. If the schools will adopt this recommendation, they will supply the groundwork for more advanced teaching in the colleges and universities, and remove the crass ignorance on this subject that now prevails among their students. They will help forward the study of English philology, which must be based, in its elementary form, on the history of the English language."

At the conclusion of the address, President Carter extended to the members of the ASSOCIATION an invitation to take luncheon at his house on the following day, and in the afternoon to make an excursion to the top of Mount Greylock.

WILLIAMSTOWN, July 11th, 1894.

The meeting was called to order at 9.15 A.M.

6. Cena, *δεῖπνον*, prandium, *ἄριστον*, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

There are few words, perhaps, in classical literature, more variable in meaning than the four selected as the subject of this paper.

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Ordinarily we speak of δεῖπνον as a late meal, and, in this sense, equivalent to δόρπον; cf. Od. XII. 439; IV. 429; II. 20; vide Aesch. Fr. 181: ἄριστα, δεῖπνα, δόρπα θ' αἱρεῖσθαι τρίτα. Among the three meals mentioned here, δόρπον comes last, and must correspond to our supper, or cena in Latin, when used as a late meal.

δεῖπνον, though sometimes equivalent to ἄριστον, an early meal, varied with the fashion of the day, sometimes early, sometimes late.

The phrase, ἀπὸ δείπνου, found in Homer and elsewhere, may mean *straightway after dinner*, or simply after a meal, with the idea of *chief meal* implied. Il. VIII. 54. In Il. II. 383, it is simply provender or dry food; vide Aesch. Supp. 801, etc. δεῖπνον is equivalent to prandium, and implies an early meal, Od. IX. 311.

ἄριστον becomes δεῖπνον, the chief meal of the day, Xen. Mem. II. 7, 12.

In Xen. Cyr. I. 2, § 11, there is a difficulty because of the indefinite meaning of ἄριστον. To the superficial or casual reader it is either breakfast or dinner. It has been suggested that ἄριστον, with the meaning of *dinner*, agrees perfectly with the statement that in two days they took the food of but one — breakfast before they left home, supper in place of their dinner, and supper, on the second night, of what they should have eaten on the evening of the first day. In the same section occurs ἀριστήσαιεν, but with the meaning (suggested by the editor[1]) of breakfast. This is only one of many instances of confusion growing out of the doubtful meaning of ἄριστον. As an early meal, vide Il. XXIV. 124, etc.; also Aesch. Ag. 331; Fr. 181.

δεῖπνον, in its relation to the modified root "*dap*" of a shorter form *da*, which carries with it the idea of distribution, means simply a meal. The same root appears in δάπτω, to devour: Il. XVI. 159; Il. XXIII. 183; Aesch. Supp. 70; Soph. O. T. 682; Aesch. Pr. 437.

The later Greeks called breakfast τὸ ἀκράτισμα; luncheon, ἄριστον, or δεῖπνον μεσημβρινόν (Athen. 1, 9, 10, p. 115). It is only with some such modifying word as μεσημβρινός that the meaning of any of these words applied to meals can be determined with any degree of definiteness. This may be said to be due to the fact that the etymology has little or no influence over the popular notion as to what the words should mean.

If we associate ἄριστον with ἕως (dawn), or with ἠέριος (early morn), then we must concede to it the primary meaning of an early meal (our breakfast). In this sense it is etymologically equivalent to prandium, which also primarily meant the first meal of the day. Cf. Thuc. VII. 81; IV. 90; Hdt. III. 26; VI. 78; Aristop. Nubes, 416; Eq. 815; Anab. IV. 6, 21, 22. δεῖπνον in Hellenistic Greek differs little from its classic use. Vide Luke xiv. 12; xvii. 8; xx. 46; xxii. 20; John xii. 2; xiii. 2–4; xxi. 20; Matt. xxiii. 6; Mark vi. 21; xii. 39; Rev. xix. 9; Dan. v. 1. It will be observed that δεῖπνον, in a few of these passages, is rendered feast, e.g. ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις (at feasts). Cf. also Rev. iii. 20; Luke xiv. 16, 17, 24. For ἄριστον, vide John xxi. 12, 15; Luke xi. 37, etc.

Prandium is derived from **pram*-(*e*)*d*-*iio*-*m*, if we accept Osthoff's derivation. Cf. Umbr. *prumum* primum.

From this we get *prandeo*, to take breakfast; *pransor*, he who breakfasts.

[1] Owen's edition of the Cyropaedia.

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Etymologically, *prandium* is an early meal, earlier than midday. It is a morning meal (our breakfast). Its composition agrees with the Greek breakfast — *simple*. Cf. Plaut. Cap. III. 1, 19, etc.

Varying customs seem to have paid no heed to the etymology, and left it to the whim of the writer or speaker to decide for himself, not only the time but whether he must say: δεῖπνον, cena, ἄριστον, or prandium. Vide Plaut. Menaechmi III. 2, 25; II. 3, 37; Stichus IV. 2, 46; Amphitruo II. 2, 33; Hor. Sat. II. 7. 30; Cic. Mur. 35; Phil. II. 39; Ver. II. 1, 19; ad Fam. IX. 26; Suet. Cal. 58; Seneca, Ep. 83; Quint. VII. 3. 33.

Cena apud antiquos dicebatur quid nunc est prandium, says a Roman grammarian (506 A.D.). Vide Sext. Pompeius Festus, s.v. *cena*.

Cena is not to be associated with θοίνη, the latter word being connected with Skt. *dhinoti* satiate, Old Bulgarian *doilica* nurse. Cēna, on the other hand, represents older caesna. In its more general sense, θοίνη means a dinner, a meal or banquet. ἐκ θοίνης, after dinner, occurs in Epicharmus (9, 9, Ahr.), εἰς τὴν θοίνην καλεῖν τινα, in Eurip. Ion 1140, ἐπὶ θοίνην ἴέναι, in Plat. Phaed. 247 B. Cf. Theaet. 178 D, etc.

The conclusion reached from the foregoing observations is that δεῖπνον, like cena, varied as to time from noon to midnight and possibly later, as in the case of *banquets* or *feasts* which were not ordinary meals; so, also, ἄριστον, like prandium, from early morn to midday.

Remarks were made by Messrs. Ashmore, Scott, Seymour, and Warren, and by the author.

The Secretary then reported that he had sent out in June the following notice: —

At the last two meetings of the Association the project to meet once in two years, at the same time and place as other organizations of kindred interests, has received the attention of the members present. At the meeting held in 1892, at the University of Virginia, it was voted that the Executive Committee be authorized to make arrangements in concert with the other societies for a joint meeting (see Proceedings, vol. XXIII. p. xi.). At the Chicago meeting in 1893, the Committee was empowered to consider the feasibility of bringing about the meeting approved of in 1892.

Since it appears that none of the other philological associations either now meets, or purposes to meet, in mid-summer, it seems proper to consider the advisableness of shifting the date of our meeting in order to test the advantages promised from the proposed joint sessions.

It is therefore requested that you give expression to your preference among the times proposed for the joint meeting, and that you state whether there is a reasonable probability of your attending at the time selected. It should be borne in mind that any regular biennial joint meeting of the ASSOCIATION in conjunction with the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY and the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION is impracticable in the summer months and that, under present conditions, such a joint meeting would take place in the East only. Furthermore for the informa-

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tion of members it may be stated that the regular meetings of the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY take place in the Easter vacation, but that this Society has determined to meet at Christmas in 1894, provided the AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION meets with it; and that the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION holds its regular sessions in the Christmas holidays.

Another question, distinct from that mentioned above, deals with the desirability of changing the time of our regular meetings.

In reply to the above notice, a large number of the members indicated a preference that the special meeting be held during the Christmas holidays. Whereupon it was voted that a special meeting of the ASSOCIATION be held in Philadelphia during the Christmas holidays in conjunction with the American Oriental Society, and that the Modern Language Association, the American Dialect Society, and the Spelling Reform Association be invited to meet at the same time and place. Further, that this joint meeting be especially commemorative of the services of the late Professor Whitney, and of the esteem in which he is held by his former friends and colleagues.

The Secretary also reported that the number of members desiring to change the date of the regular meeting was so small as not to warrant any discussion of the desirability of abandoning the usual time of meeting.

Professor Hart then reported as Chairman of the Committee to prepare resolutions upon the death of Professor Whitney.

The Committee respectfully reports for adoption and for entry in the Proceedings the following minute: —

The American Philological Association, at its first meeting after the death of Professor William D. Whitney, bears grateful testimony to the value of the services which he rendered for the furtherance of philological learning, and especially in connection with this Association. Fitly chosen to be its first President, and retained for a quarter of a century upon its Executive Committee, he never failed to take an active part in its work; and in many ways he advanced its interests and encouraged and assisted the studies to which its members were devoted. The record of his life-work may be left for more full recital at another time; but the Association takes this opportunity of testifying to its sense of obligation to Professor Whitney's manifold and successful labors and of the great loss which his death has brought to its members and to philological students throughout the world.

The Committee further asks that it may be continued and authorized to secure a suitable memorial of Professor Whitney to be published in the Transactions.

The report was adopted and the Committee given the authorization it requested.

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7. Some Poetical Constructions in Thucydides, by Professor Charles Forster Smith, of the University of Wisconsin.

This paper is printed in full in the Transactions. Remarks were made upon it by Professors Smyth and Seymour, and by the author.

8. Notes on Thucydides I. 8. 1, 9. 3, 28. 3, by Professor Harold N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University.

In the first passage, the words τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένῃ should be rendered "by the fact that their equipment of arms (or military outfit) was buried with them." This is in accord with the regular meaning of the word σκευή, as well as with archaeological evidence.

In 9. 3, ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα ἔτι πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας, κτέ., it is possible that καὶ πεζῷ or the like was originally written (or intended) to correspond to ναυτικῷ τε.

In 28. 3, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν . . . φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται, ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον should be rendered: "they said that they, on their side, should be forced . . . to make friends whom they did not wish, other than (i.e. different from) those who were now more their friends," i.e. the Corcyraeans said: "we shall be forced to make friends (the Athenians) different from those (i.e. the Peloponnesians) who are now (by virtue of Dorian blood and previous habit) more our friends (than are the Athenians)." Here μᾶλλον really modifies φίλων supplied with ὄντων from the preceding φίλους.

Remarks were made by Professor C. F. Smith.

9. A Discussion of Horace, Carmina III. 30, 10–14, by Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College.

> Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
> et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
> regnavit populorum, ex humili potens
> princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
> deduxisse modos.

It is evident that the interpretation of this passage turns on the construction which is assumed for the clauses *qua . . . obstrepit* and *qua . . . regnavit*. The commentators generally connect them either with *ex humili potens* (so Kiessling), or with *princeps deduxisse* (so Wickham and Page). In support of the latter view, Page urges that "Horace does not wish to limit his fame to his native district, but that his native district should share in his own world-wide glory." Wickham had formerly given expression to his own opinion in almost the same words. Bentley is silent as to the construction of the *qua*-clauses, but since he regarded *ex humili potens* as picturing the career of Daunus, it is plain that he joined them either to *dicar* or to *princeps deduxisse*. Kiessling's comment is thoroughly characteristic in its brevity and positiveness of tone: "*qua . . . populorum* giebt die nähere Bestimmung zu *ex humili potens* (*potens* als *vates* IV. 8, 26) neben der

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niedern Abkunft auch die *origo* aus dem abgelegenen Venusia betonend. . . ." Orelli-Hirschfelder (in the editio quarta maior) argue that we must arrange the words thus: *Dicar princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos modo deduxisse*, (ibi natus), *qua* (ubi) *Aufidus obstrepit*, non vero, ibi, ubi Aufidus fluit, dicar. The only consideration advanced in support of this positive declaration is the assertion "Natale enim solum Horatio nimis angustus gloriae finis esse videatur." If we are to understand that there is an ellipsis here of *ibi natus*, we may justly complain of the failure to cite other examples of such ellipsis.

Lucian Müller (in the Prolegomena to his text in the Teubner series, 1886) injects a new element into the discussion by attacking the correctness of the text and by maintaining that in *ex humili potens* we have a corruption which effectually conceals the true reading. This objection, however, has deservedly failed to find support among Horatian students. Dillenburger cautions us thus: "Noli tamen haec cum *dicar* artius coniungere; nam nomen Horatii et gloria tam angustis finibus non est circumscribenda." He is writing, however, rather with reference to the esteem in which Horace is held to-day than with regard to the text which he had before him. Doering is in substantial agreement with Orelli. Nauck's comment is: "Preisen wird man mich dass ich in Apulien, nicht Preisen wird man mich in Apulien dass ich."

Let us now examine these views in detail. Against the view advocated by Wickham and Page, it may be fairly argued that it is not true that Horace *carmen Aeolium ad Italos modos deduxit* by the Aufidus. There is no evidence to show that Horace ever revisited Venusia after he came to Rome with his father. It is of course probable that he went to Venusia as soon as he returned to Italy after the battle of Philippi, for such a visit would be the natural outcome of his desire to ascertain the exact state of his property there. But of such a visit at that time or at any subsequent period he nowhere makes mention. (Compare Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, pp. 31, 32, footnote). Against Kiessling, on the other hand, we may say with equal force that Horace did not rise "from low estate to high renown in far-off Venusia." His renown and the verse whereby it was gained belong alike to the years when Venusia and the Aufidus had given place to Rome, Tibur, and the valley of the Digentia. (Compare again Sellar, p. 26.) If therefore due regard be had to the known facts of Horace's life, it is plain that the qua-clauses cannot be joined either to *princeps deduxisse* or to *ex humili potens*. Again, in point of syntax these clauses go most readily with *dicar*. It is extremely difficult to see how any one in reading the verses aloud could help taking them in that way. As has been well remarked, "The ancients read with their ears, as well as with their eyes." (See on this point Gudeman in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, p. 68; Wilkins on Cicero *De Oratore*, iii. §§ 195, 196; Sandys on *Orator*, § 173; cf. also the story told of Vergil by Iulius Montanus, cited by Nettleship (p. 77) in his account of Vergil in the Classical Writers series, published by Appleton, 1880). The meaning of the passage will then be simply, "The Apulians will sing of me as one who rose from low estate to high renown, and as the first (Roman) who made Aeolic song at home among Aeolic measures." We might represent this thought in Latin by writing "Apulia me dicet, ex humili potentem, principem deduxisse modos." In *opposition* to the thought thus obtained, no *argument* worth mentioning has been presented. The gist of the position taken by Dillenburger, Wickham, Orelli, and Page, plainly stated, is this:

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Horace *ought not* to have been willing to limit the proclamation of his fame to Apulia and the Apulians, therefore he *cannot* have said any such thing. This is a form of *assertion* which, to my mind at least, is not at all convincing. With the aesthetic considerations which lie at the bottom of their contention, everybody will sympathize, but we ought not to allow aesthetics to override syntax or to do violence to facts. Nor have we any right to emend (as L. Müller would have us do) in the face of unanimous MSS. testimony, so long as a meaning which is sensible and which exhibits a proper regard for facts and syntax is obtainable from the passage. So much for the destructive side of this paper. Let us consider now what can be urged in *support* of the meaning I have assigned to the passage. I have to quote an epigram (i. 61) of Martial, which, so far as I know, has never been cited in this connection.

Verona docti syllabas amat vatis,
  Marone felix Mantua est,
Censetur Apona Livio suo tellus
  Stellaque nec Flacco minus,
Apollodoro plaudit imbrifer Nilus,
  Nasone Paeligni sonant,
Duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum
  Facunda loquitur Corduba,
Gaudent iocosae Canio suo Gades,
  Emerita Deciano meo:
Te, Liciniane, gloriabitur
  Nec me tacebit Bilbilis.

The whole epigram is interesting and valuable in this connection, but especially verses 7, 8, 11 and 12. Here we find Martial expressing not only of himself, but also of another, as a thing of which that other may well be proud, the very thought which, we are told, Horace could not have entertained in reference to himself. If it was aesthetically wrong for Horace to express such a thought, it is worse for Martial to damn his friend with faint praise. The correspondence between the thought of Horace's verses, as paraphrased above (Apulia me dicet ex humili potentem, etc.) and verses 7 and 8 of Martial's poem is complete. I think it not unlikely that Martial had the ode of Horace in mind. That the Horatian poem was well known is clearly shown by the fact that it was imitated by Propertius (iv. 1. 33–36, iv. 2. 15–24 Haupt) and by Ovid (Met. xv. 871 sqq.; Amor. iii. 15. 7; ibid. vss. 19, 20; Amor. i. 15. 41, 42). That Martial was familiar with the ode of Horace and with Ovid's paraphrase in the Metamorphoses is evident, I think, from two passages in the Epigrams (viii. 3. 5–8, and x. 2. 9–12). Though I unhesitatingly reject Kiessling's view that *situ* in Horace = "crumbled stone," I think it quite probable that Martial derived his general thought in the three epigrams referred to ultimately from Horace, even though that thought is modified by the effect of the imitations by Propertius and Ovid. (See Friedländer on Martial viii. 3.) If I am right in this, we may perhaps conclude that Martial joined the qua-clauses with *dicar*.

To sum up, we may put the matter thus: —

1. In point of syntax, the clauses in question go most readily with *dicar*.

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2. To join them either to *ex humili potens* or to *princeps deduxisse* is to do violence to the known facts of Horace's career, as well as to produce a construction far from clear or natural.

3. The sense obtained by joining the clauses to *dicar* does no violence to facts or to syntax. If it be objected that this view is tame, two answers may be made. First, for that very reason it may be nearer the truth. Horace's muse is not always winged. Secondly, this much-decried thought seems to have brought no suggestion of tameness to the minds of Ovid and Martial.

It remains to consider briefly the view held by Macleane. The above discussion, be it noted, had been worked out in every detail, before I saw his edition. In the brief argument prefixed to the Ode in general and in the first part of his note on this particular passage, Macleane takes a view entirely in accord with that advocated in this paper. Had he stopped there, all would have been well. He proceeds, however, as follows: "But if this interpretation be objected to on the ground that Horace never appeared to take any great interest[1] in his birthplace . . . , either we must suppose him to mean Italy in general . . . or the words must be translated thus: 'It shall be said that I who in that place where the Aufidus roars, and where Daunus, poor of streams, ruled over his rustic people, from a man of low degree became great, was the first to adapt the Aeolian verse to Italian measures.'" To this view I have already taken exception. We have here a curious illustration, in this recantation, of the blighting effect of traditional interpretation.

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore, Sihler, C. L. Smith, Hart, and, in reply, by Dr. Knapp.

10. The Speeches in the *Agricola* of Tacitus, by Professor W. B. Owen, of Lafayette College.

The paper referd to a discussion of "Libration in the Periods of Cicero" at the Chicago meeting, and briefly treated the subject with reference to other authors, coming rapidly to Tacitus. His erlier essays show this feature of style abundantly. The discussion was, however, limited to the Speeches in the Agricola.

These speeches librate as holes, rhetorically, in the effect, as recorded, upon the respectiv armies, and in the effect upon the reader.

Then in detail, the thoughts of the first recur in the second, point for point, with a change of course in the point of view and with the application reverst.

There is, first, the confidence of victory, based in either case upon the extremity — "*necessitas*" Calgacus calls it. Theirs is the last margin of land; they hav no place to which they can retreat — no one to fall back upon, — they *must* conquer.

[1] Horace did take an interest in his native place. See Wickham on Carm. i. 22. 13, and Sellar, pp. 9-11. It may be worth while to point out that passages like Carm. iii. 4. 9-20, and Sat. i. 5. 77 *Incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos ostentare mihi*, do not militate against the view held above that Horace never revisited, or at any rate never lived for any length of time at Venusia after he came to Rome with his father as described in the sixth satire of the first book. In such passages he may well be drawing upon his memories of the past. Finally, if *ex humili potens* be joined with *Daunus*, the point made in this paper is in nowise affected.

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So the Romans; the extremity with them is the peril of a retreat, without supplies, thru an unfrendly and unfamiliar cuntry. While neither would admit that there ar cowards in his army, this is an appeal to cowards as wel as brave men; for under these circumstances desperate fighting is the only safe, as wel as the only honorabl course.

Then as to the character of the armies, — each has the very pink of valor, tried and true; while the others ar a timid, shrinking, craven set, inspired as Calgacus insists, only by greed, cruelty, and lust; or, as Agricola suggests, overtaken only because further retreat is impossibl.

Then in the appeals to past achievments, the various incitements to victory, and the consequences of defeat, each address has its counterpart in the other.

The paper gave only brief discussion to verbal duplicates, and the libration of sentences. In oratory the tendency is to greater formality than in narrativ or treatis, especially the forms that promote emfasis and rhetorical effect. Duplication is an easy one, and givs a graceful rhythm as wel as clearnes and emfasis.

Climax is a good form too, and is especially frequent in oratory. There ar four instances of it in the first chapter of the speech of Calgacus. It is notabl however that a sentence with three climactic steps usually falls back into the vibratory swing; as — *nihil nisi fluctus, et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris;* and *auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* So with one or two exceptions thruout the speeches.

A more practical interest attaches to the recognition of this movement when it becomes a help in the critical handling of uncertain text. There ar two passages in the speeches where considerations of this kind giv an easy solution to the only textual difficulties. The first is in chapter 31, *ager atque annus*, where the MS. reading is *aggerat annus*. In the very beginning of the sentence the pace is set for a series of pairs, — *Bona fortunæque in tributum*, and *ager atque annus in frumentum* falls into the swing which is continued thru five or six vibrations.

When such movement becums the law of a sentence, we can not of course expect all the pairs to show real cumulation of thought. *ager atque annus*, is simply the yearly product of the land, as *bona fortunæque* stand for the simpl idea of *pecunia*.

The second passage is one in which the more remote libration of the two speeches is worth considering. Calgacus says, — *quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti*. The *eoque* has by sum been changed to *iique* on the ground that their nobility was no reason for their occupying the penetralia. Editors who retain *eoque* usually justify the reading by giving to *nobilissimi* the sense of *purest born, autocthons*, and explain that an indigenous population was likely to linger longest in the least accesibl parts of a cuntry, — hence *eoque*. Turning to the corresponding passage in the speech of Agricola, where he accounts for the remoteness and the survival of this army before him in quite another way, we find a very similar expression; *hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites.*

Ideoque seems to hav sum value in confirming the reading *eoque* in the former speech.

Remarks were made by Professors Gudeman, Ashmore, and Hart, and by the author.

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11. Critical Notes on Sophocles, by Professor John H. Wright, of Harvard University.

The indiscriminate and arbitrary emendation of the language of a classical author, as transmitted to us in the manuscripts, is decidedly to be condemned; and indeed only such emendations should be received into a text as can claim a very high degree of probability. On the other hand, so long as new readings proposed have a certain amount of possibility, emendation is at once legitimate and necessary; for, in a given case, we should remember that it is only after all the apparent possibilities shall have been examined, and — with the exception of one, of course — duly eliminated, that a text attains finality. The readings proposed in this paper are not offered as certainties, nor even as very probable readings, but rather as fair possibilities. Emendation has been attempted only either when the manuscripts do not unite in giving satisfactory (Sophoclean) sense, or when their language or sense may reasonably be regarded as un-Sophoclean or at any rate as less Sophoclean than that of the proposed change. (Of course I do not accept L as the parent of the existing manuscripts.) For lack of space the critical apparatus, the parallel passages, and the palaeographical justification of the emendations here offered are not given. Except when otherwise stated the text used is that of Mekler-Dindorf (1885).

AJAX 1266 sq. φεῦ· τοῦ θανόντος ὡς ταχεῖά τοι βροτοῖς
χάρις διαρρεῖ

— for τις.

id. 1337 sqq. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἔμπας ὄντ' ἐγὼ τοιόνδ' ἐμοὶ
οὐκ ἀντατιμάσαιμ' ἄν, ὥστε μὴ λέγειν
ἔν' ἄνδρα δὴ εἶναι ἄριστον

— for ἄνδρ' ἰδεῖν.

ELECTRA 47. ἄγγελλε δ' ὅρκον προστιθεὶς ὁδουνεκα
τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης ἐξ ἀναγκαίας τύχης.

Reiske's ὅρκον for L's ὅρκωι is defensible on palaeographical grounds, since 'uncial' OPKON might have been misread for OPKWI. Something might be said for

ἄγγελλε, μὴ ὄκνον προστιθεὶς, κτλ.

Cf. *Ant.* 243 τὰ δεινὰ γάρ τοι προστίθησ' ὄκνον πολύν, and *O.C.* 1636 οὐκ ὄκνου μέτα | κατήνεσεν τάδ' ὅρκιος δράσειν ξένῳ, where ὄκνου is Bothe's certain emendation for L's οἴκτου. But the Scholiast on *El.* 47 had a text with some form of ὅρκος.

id. 224 sqq. ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ δεινοῖς οὐ σχήσω
ταύτας αὐδάς,
ὄφρα με βίος ἔχῃ

— for ἅτας.

id. 653 sq. καὶ τέκνων ὅσων ἐμοὶ
δύσνοια μὴ πρόσεστι μηδ' ἔπη πικρά

— for πρόσεστιν ἢ λύπη πικρά.

OEDIPUS COLONEUS 113 sq. The traditional text reads

σιγήσομαι τε καὶ σύ μ' ἐξ ὁδοῦ πόδα
κρύψον κατ' ἄλσος,

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in which ἐξ ὁδοῦ πόδα must be corrupt. Should we not perhaps write ἐξ ὁδοῦ ποδὼν = ἐξ ὁδοῦ [ἐκ]ποδὼν, the three words felt as one, and the preposition in composition omitted by a familiar idiom? The ποδών would have been written ΠΟΔΩ̄, and this would easily have given rise to πόδα. I prefer this explanation to ἐξ ὁδοῦ 'κποδών, which had also occurred to me as it has occurred to others.

id. 250. πρός σ' ὅτι σοι φίλον ἐκ σέθεν ἄντομαι.

The traditional ἐκ σέθεν, which has been much emended, is sustained by the ἐκ θεῶν of v. 256, which at once echoes and rebukes it.

id. 418 sq. κᾇθ' οἱ κάκιστοι τῶνδ' ἀκούσαντες πατρὸς
τοὐμοῦ πόθου προύθεντο τὴν τυραννίδα;

— for πάρος.

For the sentiment compare *O. C.* 1383 ἀπάτωρ ἐμοῦ. The close of the verse is a favorite place for πατρός, which written ΠΡΟC might well have been taken for πάρος. For the same reason πάρος was sometimes supposed to be πατρός. Cf. *Trach.* 56 (Hayley and Earle), 88, *O.C.* 1689 (Dind.).

id. 1407 sq. ἐὰν ὧδ' αἵδ' ἀραὶ
πατρὸς τελῶνται

— for αἱ τοῦδ' ἀραί. τοῦδ' crept in from the line above.

id. 1702 sq. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν ἀφίλητος ἐμοί ποτε
καὶ τᾇδε μὴ κυρήσῃς

— for L's γέρων. Hermann proposed γὰρ ὤν. Cf. *Phil.* 298, 766, *O. C.* 980, 985.

ANTIGONE 390. σχολῇ ποθ' ἥξειν δεῦρο δῆτ' ἐξηύχουν ἐγώ

— for ἄν. For many other passages where an ἄν has arisen from δή see H. Richards, *Classical Review*, V. (1892), pp. 336 sqq. In *Phil.* 869, ἄν should, however, be retained.

id. 604 sq. τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν
ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι;

In this passage, vexatious alike to the textual critic and to the grammarian, may we not read and point

τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἄν, ὁρῶν
ὑπερβασίᾳ, κατάσχοι;

Cf. *Aj.* 119, 430, *Phil.* 895.

PHILOCTETES 234. ὦ φίλτατον φώνημα γ'· εὖ τοι καὶ λαβεῖν

— for φώνημα· φεῦ τὸ καὶ λαβεῖν.

id. 596 sq. οὗτος γὰρ πλέον
τὸ θάρσος εἶχε θατέρου πράσσειν τάδε

— for δράσειν. Possibly δρᾶσαι. Cf. *Phil.* 918.

id. 647. καίπερ οὐ πολλῶν ἔτι

— for L's ἔνι. Cf. *El.* 1327, *Aj.* 1269.

id. 1136 sqq. ὁρῶν μὲν αἰσχρὰς ἀπάτας, στυγνὸν δὲ φῶτ' ἐχθοδοπόν
μυρί' ἀπ' αἰσχρῶν ἀνατέλλοντ', ὃς ἐφ' ἡμῖν κάκ' ἐμήσατ', ὦ Ζεῦ.

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L reads at the close ὅσ' . . . ἐμήσατ' ὀδυσσεύς, which is impossible. Evidently 'Οδυσσεύς was a gloss on something in the line, probably ὅς. This then crowded out what stood at the end of the line, perhaps ὦ Ζεῦ (Dind.), which is Sophoclean. ὅς is the suggestion of Bothe.

id. 1227. ἔπραξας ἔργον ποῖον οὖν οὔ σοι πρέπον;

— for ὦν.

Adjourned at 11.45.

Evening Session.

The reading of papers was begun at 8.45 P.M.

12. Coronelli's Maps of Athens, by Professor J. R. Wheeler, of the University of Vermont.

The Venetian cosmographer Coronelli has left two maps of Athens. The first of these appeared in 1686 in his work entitled *Memorie istoriogeografiche delli regni della Morea e Negroponte e luoghi adiacenti, descritte, etc.* (Cf. Laborde *Athènes aux XVe. XVIe. et XVIIe. Siècles*, II. p. 99.) Subsequent editions show some slight and wholly unimportant variations in the details of the map. This first plan of Athens by Coronelli, a copy of which from the Marsh Library at Burlington was used for illustration, was compared with that of Spon, and shown to be no more than a copy of the French scholar's work.

A later edition of Coronelli's book on the Morea, which is without date, but which would seem to be later than the Venetian siege of Athens, appeared under the title *Conquiste nella Morea della sereniss. Republica di Venezia, nella seconda campagna della guerra intrapresa L'Anno M.DC.LXXXIV. sotto la valorosa condotta del Cap: Generale Francesco Morosini, Caualier, e Procuratore di S. Marco contro Meemet IV. Imperator dei Turchi.* This edition (No. XXXIV. 4, 26166 in St. Mark's Library) contains, at page 64, the second and most interesting map of Athens, which is inscribed *Antica, e moderna città d' Atene, dedicata dal P. Coronelli all' illustriss: et eccellentiss: Sig: Cristino Martinelli, Patritio Veneto.* In the copy of the map at Venice the portion of this dedication which is at the bottom of the plate has been cut off. A photograph of this map, made from a copy of it now in the library of the German Institute at Athens, was shown. The copy at Athens is not in the "Conquiste" as at Venice, but by itself, and this fact suggests the possibility that the plan was an entirely separate publication originally, and merely inserted after the siege of Athens (it bears the date of the siege, 1687) in the earlier work. Coronelli gives no description of it except the brief numbered explanation of buildings which appears at the top of the plate. Reasons were given which show beyond a doubt that this plan had its origin in that of Guillet de St. Georges, published by Laborde, *Athènes*, I. p. 228.

Coronelli's maps of Athens thus have no really independent value, but they are interesting documents in the history of the Hellenic renaissance.

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13. The Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens,[1] by Professor John Williams White, of Harvard University. This paper was read by Professor Seymour.

In inscriptions of the fifth century and fourth century B.C. and in Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Lucian, references occur to a structure on the Acropollis at Athens which is called simply ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, without further designation. The scholiasts, however, on the passages in which the Opisthodomus is thus referred to and the ancient lexicographers define its situation clearly.

The view generally accepted makes the Opisthodomus in question a part of the Parthenon, either the western chamber of the cella, or the western portico, or the two combined. Since the discovery of the Hecatompedon, the temple of Athena whose foundations lie close to the Erechtheum on the south, Dörpfeld has maintained that the term Opisthodomus designates the three rooms that constitute the western half of this temple, which he believes to have been still in existence in the time of Pausanius. I purpose to discuss as the main thesis of the present paper the proposition that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis, referred to in the inscriptions and authors simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, was not, as has been supposed, a part of some existing temple, but was *a separate building*, complete in itself.

The current view, if I may so name it, would seem to be expressly contradicted by the testimony of the lexicographers and scholiasts. An important part of this testimony, with the original passages in the authors of which it is an explanation, is the following: [Dem.] XIII. 14, with Schol. FY; Harpocration and Suidas *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος; Arist. *Plut.* 1191–1193, with Schol. RV on 1193 and Schol. LB on 1191; Photius and Et. Mag. *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος; Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 286, 26; Dem. XXIV. 136, with Schol. ATCV; Hesychius *s.v.* ὀπισθοδόμος (*sic*).

The meaning of the interpreters here seems to be clear. They say that the Opisthodomus was *a house*, or *a place on the Acropolis*, or *a part of the Acropolis, that lay behind the temple of Athena*, and that *it was used as a treasury*.

If, in the language of those interpreters, the words νεώς and ἱερόν mean *temple*, it is possible to obtain the definition of Opisthodomus adopted in the current view only by attaching to ὄπισθεν the meaning *in the back part of*. οἶκος ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ would then mean *a room in the back part of the temple of Athena*. But this meaning of ὄπισθεν with the genitive expressing the place where cannot be established. It is recognized by none of the lexicographers. In order to express the desired meaning ὄπισθεν must be combined adjectively with the article; the genitive that follows is then partitive. *Cf.* Paus. IV. 31. 11.

It may be well to establish the uses of ὄπισθεν in this author, who naturally had occasion to use the word often. In Pausanias ὄπισθεν may be used adjectively, and sometimes adverbially, but in the great majority of instances of its occurrence, it is followed, as an adverb of place, by the genitive. In the most of these it clearly means *behind*; in some cases the meaning is indeterminable, because the statement is brief, and we have no other means of arriving at the facts; in no instance can it be proved that the word means *in the back part of*.

[1] The paper here presented in abstract is printed in full in Volume VI. of the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.

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In the following cases ὄπισθεν signifies, in my judgment, *behind*: I. 18. 6. *Cf.* VIII. 9. 6; 30. 7; 30. 8. I. 19. 4. *Cf.* II. 31. 3; III. 16. 6; VIII. 14. 10. I. 40. 4, 5. II. 5. 1. II. 29. 11. III. 15. 1. *Cf.* I. 1. 3. III. 17. 5. V. 17. 9. *Cf.* V. 19. 6. VI. 10. 6. *Cf.* X. 9. 9. X. 19. 10. The following are indeterminable, but that in them ὄπισθεν means *behind* can hardly be doubted in view of the preceding clear instances of this meaning: II. 11. 1. II. 13. 7. V. 15. 7. VIII. 22. 7. It should further be noted, as important in establishing the meaning of ὄπισθεν with the genitive of place, that the counter-idea is generally expressed by πρό with the genitive, where by no contrivance can the preposition signify *in the front part of.*

In view of these facts, it is impossible to interpret ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ to mean *in the back part of the temple of Athena.*

But, as is well known, νεώς and ἱερόν may signify *cella*, as well as *temple*, although this meaning is comparatively very rare both in the literature and in inscriptions. If this signification of these words could be established for the phrase οἶκος ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ (or ἱεροῦ), we should arrive at the meaning demanded by the current view as to the situation of the Opisthodomus.

The question is limited to the use of νεώς and ἱερόν in their actual application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens. Fortunately the successive labours of scholars have collected the existing literary aud epigraphical evidence not only for those words but also for the other terms designating these temples and their parts (Michaelis, *Parthenon*, 1871, pp. 285–317; Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.*, 1880; Milchhöfer in Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, pp. XX.–XXII.), and it is now not difficult to reach trustworthy conclusions in regard to their use and application. The law of use for νεώς and ἱερόν requires that, when they have the limited sense *cella, this shall always be clearly indicated either by an added epithet or by the context.* Such instances are surprisingly rare. There are only three cases in which νεώς or ἱερόν means *cella* among sixty-three recorded occurrences of the words in application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis, and this signification is fixed in each case by the context or an added epithet. In the passages from the lexicographers and scholiasts, on the contrary, that are cited above, no limitation whatever of the meaning of νεώς and ἱερόν is indicated. And yet the especial purpose of these interpreters was to give a definition; nor were they ignorant of the fact, had νεώς and ἱερόν seemed to them to be liable to misinterpretation, that the unmistakable ἄδυτον, an Homeric word, and σηκός were ready to their hand.

If, nevertheless, we seek to attach to νεώς and ἱερόν in these passages the restricted sense of *cella*, we encounter an unexpected difficulty. The schol. Arist. *Plut.* 1193 says that the Opisthodomus lay behind the νεώς of *Athena Polias.* Those, therefore, who hold the current view in regard to the situation of the Opisthodomus must either establish the worship of Athena Polias in the Parthenon or Hecatompedon, or reject the evidence. If the evidence is trustworthy and if the term Polias designates, as is commonly believed, Athena of the Erechtheum or of the temple that preceded it on the same site, then we are forced, on the supposition that νεώς here has the restricted sense, to the conclusion that the Opisthodomus lay in the Erechtheum. But this is impossible. Boeckh saw these difficulties, and felt himself forced to declare that the scholiast had blundered; although he himself accepted and in part sought to explain the remaining testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers.

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That in the phrase οἶκος or οἴκημα ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ the words οἶκος and οἴκημα may signify *house* will at once be granted. This use of οἶκος to denote a separate structure that was a treasury receives striking confirmation from the names officially recorded of four of the treasuries and magazines at Delos, Ἀνδρίων οἶκος, Ναξίων οἶκος, Δηλίων οἶκος, and Πώριος οἶκος.

The same word is used by Hesychius in defining θησαυρός, namely: εἰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ χρημάτων [ἢ] ἱερῶν ἀπόθεσιν οἶκος.

If the preceding discussion of the terms ὄπισθεν, νεώς, and οἶκος is sound, we must either agree that the Opisthodomus was neither in the Parthenon nor in the Hecatompedon, but was a separate building, or else reject the testimony of the lexicographers and scholiasts as to its situation. Michaelis does reject their testimony, declaring that their explanation of the name is for the most part worthless. He makes an exception in favour of Harpocration, but the reasons for this are not apparent. In Harpocration's definition, ὁ οἶκος ὁ ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, one might be tempted to construe ὁ ὄπισθεν οἶκος τοῦ νεώ, and render *the back chamber of the temple*; but this construction is excluded by the phraseology of the Epitome, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ οὕτως ὁ ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οἶκος, where the genitive τοῦ νεώ cannot be partitive. Michaelis's rejection of the evidence seems to justify the conclusion that he did not believe it possible to interpret ὄπισθεν and νεώς in the manner demanded by the current view.

The testimony of these later writers receives unexpected confirmation from an early and important inscription, *CIA.* IV. 1 C, 25–29 (p. 3 ff.). This inscription says at least so much, that in the first half of the fifth century B.C. treasure of the Eleusinian goddesses was kept in an enclosure to the south of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis. This statement is strikingly similar to that of the lexicographers and scholiasts quoted above.

We have, further, excellent testimony to the existence of a treasury at Athens, mentioned in connexion with the Stoa Poecile and Temple of Castor and Pollux in such a manner as to make it highly probable that it was a separate structure, in Harpocration *s.v.* Πολύγνωτος. *Cf.* also Photius and Suidas *s.v.* and Endocia, 340 (ed. Flach, 1880). The only authenticated reading here is τῷ Θησαυρῷ. Editors without due warrant have changed this by conjecture to Θησείῳ or Θησέως ἱερῷ. In this they have disregarded the testimony of Pausanias, who ascribes the paintings in the Theseum to Micon. The supposition, expressed above, that this Θησαυρός at Athens which was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus was a separate building, is strengthened by the well-known fact that the treasure-houses at Olympia and Delphi were called θησαυροί — and were separate structures.

If the theory that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building is contradicted by any inscriptional or literary evidence, it must be abandoned. Is it thus contradicted? This Opisthodomus is mentioned four times in Greek literature. [Dem.] xiii. 14; Arist. Plut. 1193; Dem. xxiv. 136; Luc. *Tim.* 53. There is no intimation in any one of these four passages that the Opisthodomus mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the cella either of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon. On the contrary, so far as they contain any implication at all, it is easier to suppose that the burning recorded by Demosthenes and the spoliation imagined by Lucian relate to a building that stood apart and was at least of a semi-secular character than to a part of a great temple. It is fairly incredible that the Parthenon should have

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been set on fire in the early years of the fourth century B.C., and no distinct mention of so notable an event have come down to us; and one may well wonder how Lucian imagined Timon to have set to work to dig through its massive walls.

There are two other references to an opisthodomus on the Acropolis: Plut. *Demet.* 23; Aristides, I. p. 548, 14, Dind. These passages contain an implication of importance to the present discussion. When, namely, the Opisthodomus is referred to by Demosthenes, Aristophanes, and Lucian, no specification of its situation is necessary. It is sufficient to say, ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. But Plutarch in designating the place in which Demetrius was lodged felt it necessary to name it τὸν ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος. Aristides, likewise, who as the context shows undoubtedly refers to the Parthenon, says τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, not simply τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. The inference is that these two opisthodomi were not the same. This tells against the view of those who believe that the Opisthodomus was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon.

The theory that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building is not contradicted by any references to it in literature. The references to it in inscriptions are the following: *CIA.* I. 32 A, 15–18, and B, 20–24; 273 ab, 16–20; 109; IV. 225 c (p. 168), A col. II. 31–36; I. 191, 3; *Sitz. Ber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1887, p. 1201, No. 45, 11; II. 652 B, 23, 24 (repeated in 660, 61, 62); 685, 2; 720 A, col. II. 6, and B, col. I. 32; 721 B, col. II. 19, and 21–23.

The striking fact here, as before, is that the great treasure-house of Athens is referred to simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. Whatever other information about it we may be able to gather from these important records, there certainly is no implication in any one of them that the Opisthodomus mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the cella either of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon.

The case, therefore, now stands as follows: The assumption that the Opisthodomus was not a separate building involves the rejection of the testimony cited above of the lexicographers and scholiasts, who, as Harpocration, were often drawing on excellent sources and whose special purpose was a definition. The authors and inscriptions, on the contrary, say nothing about the situation of the Opisthodomus because they unconsciously assume that this is known. On the other hand, the assumption that the Opisthodomus was a separate building, a fact clearly declared by the lexicographers and scholiasts, finds no contradiction in passages in the authors or in inscriptions that refer to the Opisthodomus, and is supported by two independent considerations of weight. In other words, this theory reconciles the evidence.

The question, intimately connected with the main thesis of this paper, that now evidently presses for answer is the following. If the Opisthodomus was not the rear chamber or chambers of an existing temple, either the Parthenon or the Hecatompedon, but a separate building, where on the Acropolis was it situated?

Here, as before, and for the same reason, we expect no help from the authors and inscriptions; but the lexicographers and scholiasts give us the desired information. They say that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena*, and specifically *behind the temple of Athena Polias*. If, further, the generally accepted restoration of ἀρχαῖον in *CIA.* IV. 1. 28 be allowed, we have evidence that money was kept, although the Opisthodomus is not here named, *to the south of the old*

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temple of Athena, νότοθ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαίου νε]ὼ ἐμ πόλει, at least as early as 460 B.C.

What was the temple of Athena Polias? Until very recently there was but one answer to this question. The term Πολιάς, when used of the protecting goddess of Athens, was the epithet of Athena in her oldest temple on the Acropolis, as distinguished from Ἀθηνᾶ Παρθένος and Ἀθηνᾶ Πρόμαχος, and this oldest temple, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς, was the Erechtheum or the temple that preceded it on the same site. The eastern chamber of the cella of this temple had been from early times the shrine of the ancient wooden image of the goddess to which alone belonged the title of Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς.

On the discovery of the Hecatompedon, Dörpfeld took issue with the prevailing view. The oldest temple on the Acropolis was the Hecatompedon, not the Erechtheum, which was only a shrine of Erechtheus. The Hecatompedon was the original temple of Athena Polias, but not the only one; the temple of Athena Polias *par excellence* was the Parthenon.

Dörpfeld's attempt to wrest the name *temple of Athena Polias* from the Erechtheum has not met with acceptance. It has been considered and successively rejected by Petersen, Curtius, Frazer, and Michaelis, all of whom maintain the traditional view that the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis was the temple of Athena Polias, and that this was the Erechtheum. Accepting the traditional view, what is meant when it is said that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena Polias?*

If the front of the old temple of Athena, *i.e.* of the Erechtheum, was at the east of the temple, as was generally true of Greek temples, the Opisthodomus must have lain to the west of it, behind the Pandroseum, and must be sought for there. On this supposition, there must have once existed at this place a substantial and independent structure, no trace of the foundations of which, however, have been brought to light by the recent thorough excavation of the Acropolis.

This brings us face to face with a question of great apparent difficulty. Namely, how is it possible that the treasury of Athens, a separate building as has been proved, was called an *opisthodomus?* Pollux (I. 6) and Varro (*de lingua Lat.* V. 160) say that in Greek temples the ὀπισθόδομος lay behind the *cella*. This use of the word, to designate the rear portico of a temple, is confirmed by its actual employment in the literature. It is thus applied to the western porticos of the temples of Zeus and Hera at Olympia. Nowhere is it used to designate a building that was and always had been a separate structure. This established application of the word seems to contradict hopelessly the view that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis was a separate building; but in fact it itself indicates the solution of the difficulty.

Whether in early times the northern or eastern portico of the Erechtheum was regarded the front of the temple cannot be surely determined; but it seems probable that, at least in the time of the sources from which Harpocration and the other lexicographers and the scholiasts drew their information, the front of the temple was thought to be at the north. Here lay the broad portico through which Pausanias entered the temple. If the front of the temple was at the north, the Opisthodomus, which was situated ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεώ, must have lain to the south of the Erechtheum.

Here in fact we find it, the Opisthodomus of the old Hecatompedon, rebuilt,

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after the destruction of the temple in the Persian Wars, to serve as it had served before the coming of Xerxes as treasury of the gods and of the state. The peristyle of the temple disappeared; its cella was not restored; the Opisthodomus, consisting of the three rooms and the western portico, was alone rebuilt. This was the Opisthodomus to which reference is made, in the times following the Persian Wars, simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, the θησαυρός that was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus. It was a treasury, and was doubtless so spoken of, but its official name was ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, and in the fourth century B.C. this name became current as its general designation. Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Lucian could so speak of it, without danger of confusion. There was another opisthodomus on the Acropolis, but when this was meant the speaker said ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τοῦ Παρθενῶνος or used an equivalent expression. This solution, which we owe to the insight of Ernst Curtius, is a complete and satisfactory explanation of the application of the *name* Opisthodomus to the Athenian treasury, and is confirmed by a consideration of the uses to which the Opisthodomus was put. It accounts adequately for the established facts.

The lexicographers and scholiasts, in the first place, call the Opisthodomus a ταμιεῖον or θησαυροφυλάκιον. In it, by their testimony, were housed τὰ χρήματα, both the sacred treasure, τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν, and the public treasure, τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον καὶ ὁ φόρος.

Our earliest documentary proof of the existence of the hecatompedon is *CIA.* IV. p. 137 ff. This inscription, which in date precedes the Persian Wars, names the ταμίαι frequently, and, although much mutilated, evidently contained important prescriptions of their duties. Among these it is specified τὰ οἰκήματα [τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατ]ομπέδῳ ἀνοίγειν [τοὺς] ταμίας (II. 17, 18). It is generally agreed that the chambers here referred to are those in the western half of the cella and that they were treasure-chambers. These are the rooms which according to the conclusions to which we have come constituted the treasury referred to as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος in later times.

The inscription already named above (*CIA.* IV. 1 C. 25–29), which in date falls between 480 and 460 B.C., records the fact that treasure was kept in a precinct south of the old temple of Athena. The περίβολος here mentioned, if the lacuna has been properly supplied, was that of the Hecatompedon, in which at the time of the decree stood the restored treasury, and in this treasury the money in question must have been kept. That it was safely housed is certain, however general the phrase [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι] may be; the treasure was not kept in the open.

In 454 B.C. the chest of the Delian Confederation was transferred to Athens, and from this date the funded treasure of the state, which consisted of the surplus of its yearly income and was kept on the Acropolis, was large. This was public money, δημόσια, in contrast with sacred treasure, ἱερά. The two funds were kept separate, but the reserve treasure of the state as well as the other was under the charge of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, to whom the hellenotamiae paid over the yearly surplus of the tribute. This system of financial control existed from the time of the transfer of the Delian fund to Athens.

Now the theory that the public and sacred treasure of Athens was stored in the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon fails to provide a place for it before the completion of that temple in 438 B.C. This fact is so formidable that once the advocates

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of the theory even resorted to the supposition that the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon must have been completed and put to use as early as 454 B.C. when the Delian fund was brought to Athens. The view, on the contrary, that makes the restored Opisthodomus of the Hecatompedon the treasury on the Acropolis provides adequately for all demands from the Persian Wars to the latest times.

After the Persian Wars to the time of the completion of the Parthenon the treasures *in kind* of Athena must have been stored partly in the old temple, which was certainly rebuilt after the retreat of the Persians, partly in the treasury. In the latter was also the sacred money of Athena, and likewise of some of the other gods. On the completion of the Parthenon the treasures in kind were transferred, as is well known, to the Pronaos, Neos Hecatompedos, and "Parthenon" of the new temple. In 435–4 were passed the two celebrated decrees (*CIA.* I. 32 A, B) which brought all of the finances of the state into order. In them we clearly perceive the influence of Pericles, under whose careful financial policy Athens was preparing herself for the great struggle with Sparta that was to follow. The provisions of these two decrees are met with singular fitness on the supposition that the public and sacred money was housed in the restored Opisthodomus of the Hecatompedon.

The money now stored in the treasury had become a great sum (A 2 ff.). This fact is confirmed by the testimony of Thucydides. The amount of coined silver on the Acropolis at the time when the decree was passed was 9700 talents. This included both the state-reserve and the treasure of the goddess. The existence of so great a treasure in 435 B.C., which must have been the accumulation of years, necessarily implies the existence of a treasury before the completion of the Parthenon.

It is noteworthy that the decrees assume certain facts. The fact of the existence of a treasury is taken for granted, just as that of the boards of the hellenotamiae, logistae, and ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. The treasury is named three times (A 15, 17, B 23), simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, in such a way as to imply that it was a well-known place in established use. The specification, further, of the duty of the hellenotamiae in B 18 ff. to deposit the yearly surplus from the tribute from the treasurers of the goddess simply recognizes and emphasizes, as Kirchhoff has shown, a previous practice. The one important new provision is the establishment of the board of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (A 13 ff.). This necessitated certain rearrangements in the use of the Opisthodomus. From this time the tamiae of Athena are to store her money-treasure ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου, the tamiae of the other gods ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. This must mean, as Dörpfeld has already pointed out, the room to the right and the room to the left in the back part of the Opisthodomus. Since now we know that there was a third treasure, and that it was large, which although under the charge of the treasurers of Athena was still kept separate, we cannot but conclude that it was stored in the larger chamber that lay in front of the two smaller chambers. It had probably been here from the first establishment of a state-fund. This use of the larger chamber explains the provision in A 15 ff. (quoted on p. 15). This provision, in which the words ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον imply a limitation, means, as I think, that the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν are not to have access to the chamber in which the treasure of which they are in charge is stored except in company with the ταμίαι τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας, not that they are always to be present when

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the other rooms are opened. To reach their own chamber they were obliged to pass through that set aside for the reserve fund of the state, which was in charge, under the authority of the state, of the more ancient and much more important board. It must not be forgotten that the state exercised absolute control over all of these treasures, although it employed the form of a fictitious loan when it drew upon the resources of Athena and of the other gods. The outward symbol of this authority was the key of the treasury held by the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, of whom Aristotle says (*Ath. Pol.* 44), τηρεῖ δ' οὗτος τὰς κλεῖς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματά ἐστιν καὶ <τὰ> γράμματα τῇ πόλει. The custody of the key did not imply responsibility for the actual management of the funds.

Remarks were made by Professors Wright, Allen, Wheeler, Smyth, and Seymour.

14. On a literary judgment of Fronto, by Professor Minton Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University.

Of the body of literary criticism among the Romans much is lost to us. Enough has been preserved, however, to enable us to estimate its general scope and character. We know the technical terms employed by the rhetoricians to designate varieties of style, and some of the traditional verdicts upon individual writers have reached us in a variety of ways. Oftentimes, however, the judgments expressed are so brief and epigrammatic that we are not entirely clear as to their meaning, and sometimes they exactly contravene what we should have expected, so that the bolder critics resort to emendation. So Wölfflin (Rhein. Museum, 47, 640) in the comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes, Quintilian 10. 1. 106, emends so as to read *curae plus in hoc, in illo naturae.* So the celebrated criticism of Cicero on Lucretius ad Q. Fr. II. 9, *Lucreti poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt, multis luminibus ingenii, multae tamen artis,* has been completely turned about by many editors inserting *non* before *multis* or *multae.* The critical estimates of Horace upon the older poets still furnish editors material for controversy. There is no universal agreement as to who is meant by *Graecis intacti carminis auctor* S. 1. 10. 66. The line *Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi* Ep. II. 1. 58 still awaits a completely satisfactory explanation. Many scholars have puzzled their heads to account for the omission of Varro by Horace in his enumeration of preceding satirists, and recently Christ has gone so far as to propose to read *Varrone Reatino* with hypermeter in S. 1. 10. 46 (cf. Sitzungsberichte der München Akademie, 1893, Heft 1, p. 119), in my judgment a very perverse change.

The passage from Fronto to be discussed, while not concerned with establishing a canon like that of Volcacius Sedigitus, does attempt discrimination and contrast between various authors; and although it has not given rise to as much discussion as some of the passages above mentioned, it has certainly troubled the lexicographers and historians of literature. The passage will be found in Naber's ed. p. 113 f. We here consider only the sentences referring to the poets and historians.

"*In poetis autem quis ignorat ut gracilis sit Lucilius, Albucius aridus, sublimis Lucretius, mediocris Pacubius, inaequalis Accius, Ennius multiformis?*" — It will be seen that we have six poets named in three contrasted pairs. In the

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first and last pair we have chiasm, while in the middle pair, the adjective in each case precedes the names. We have also at least four technical names regularly applied to style, *gracilis, aridus, sublimis, mediocris. Gracilis* here represents the Greek *ἰσχνός*, which is more commonly translated by *subtilis* or *tenuis*. Gellius, VI. 14. 1, following Varro also translates *ἰσχνός* by *gracilis*, but uses *uber* instead of *sublimis* as an equivalent for *ἀδρός*. Moreover, Varro, according to Gellius, made Pacuvius the representative of *ubertas*, Lucilius of *gracilitas*, and Terentius of *mediocritas*. As *mediocris* does not seem especially appropriate to Pacuvius, one is almost tempted to believe that Fronto wrote with chiastic arrangement *sublimis Lucretius, Terentius mediocris, Terentius* falling out from its similarity of ending to *Lucretius*. In that case the epithet applying to Pacuvius (? uber) has been lost. It is hardly probable that Fronto is the originator of these descriptive adjectives; as Varro had called Lucilius *gracilis*, so Ovid, Am. 1. 15. 23 calls Lucretius *sublimis*.

The epithet *aridus* is the technical designation of the faulty style opposed to *gracilis*. Compare Auctor ad Herennium IV. 11, 16, Fortunatianus, R. M. p. 126, and Gellius VI. 14. 5.

Who now is the Albucius who is contrasted with Lucilius? Teuffel (§ 141–3), following M. Hertz, is inclined to identify him with the Epicurean T. Albucius, whom Lucilius ridicules for his Graeco-mania. He may have written, surmises Hertz, a didactic Epicurean poem before Lucretius, which died of its aridity. We have, however, no other evidence that this T. Albucius ever wrote poetry at all. It seems to me much more probable that our Albucius is to be identified with the Abuccius mentioned twice by Varro, R. R. 3. 6. 6. and 3. 2. 17 *item L. Abuccius, ut homo, scitis, adprime doctus, cuius Luciliano charactere sunt libelli*. The early editions have here Albucius, but Keil follows the MSS., and the existence of the name Abuccius is abundantly proved from inscriptions. As Fronto's opinion may ultimately go back to Varro, it seems much more plausible, even if we have to emend to Abuccius, that a poet who was a satirist in the manner of Lucilius is contrasted with him, than to suppose that Albucius wrote an Epicurean poem.

In the last pair of poets coupled together Accius is called *inaequalis*, Ennius *multiformis*. R. Klussman, Emendationes Frontonianae (1874), p. 54, does not find in *inaequalis* a proper contrast to *multiformis*, and accordingly reads *aequalis*. While we readily admit that Ennius shows variety, is versatile and many-sided, we can hardly affirm that Accuis lacked these qualities. Teuffel says of Accius "In Vielseitigkeit, Formgewandheit, etc., dem Ennius ähnlich." Accius is elsewhere alluded to by Fronto with great respect, and *inaequalis* can hardly be accepted as a term of grave censure. Martial, it will be remembered, converts it into a compliment; cf. VII. 90 and 81. The only other passage I have found where *inaequalis* is applied to a poet is Seneca, Suasoriae, VI. 27.

Passing from the poets to speak of historians, Fronto drops the chiastic order. "*Historiam quoque scribsere Sallustius structe, Pictor incondite, Claudius lepide, Antias invenuste, Sisenna longinque, verbis Cato multiiugis, Coelius singulis.*" The first four abverbs gives us no trouble. *Structe* makes the contrast to *incondite, lepide* to *invenuste*. So too at the end *verbis multiiugis* is set off against *singulis*. Sisenna is left unpaired with the adverb *longinque*, and Klussmann, Emendationes, p. 54, to complete the parallelism, conjectures that some name has

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fallen out, suggesting Rutilius, who is included by Velleius, 2. 9, in his list of historians, being mentioned as a contemporary of Claudius Quadrugarius and Valerius Antias, who are mentioned by Fronto. As Fronto, however, pays no attention to chronology, coupling Sallust with Pictor, we can have no certainty as to what name, if any, was omitted. What now is the meaning of *longinque?* Harper's quoting this very passage assigns the meaning, 'after a long interval,' surely a curious literary judgment to put beside *invenuste.* The text is given after the ed. of Mai in a very misleading way, *historiam scripsere Pictor incondite, Sisenna longinque.* In the original Claudius and Antias intervene between Pictor and Sisenna, and Mai, comparing Cicero, Brutus, 74, gives to *longinque* the meaning of *inusitate.* Harper's mistake is not an inheritance from Andrews, which gives 'of ancient times,' presumably a translation of Freund's 'alterthümlich antik,' — Klotz gives 'alterthümlich,' Georges 'der Zeit nach entfernt, alt, antik,' De Vit. *inusitate.* White and Riddle, and Key do not quote the passage, and of course the lexicographers of the last century do not. Peter, in his large edition of the Historical Fragments, Proleg. 331, without translating the word, refers it to the copiousness or prolixity of the narrative. In this he is followed by Teuffel, who translates by 'umständlich.' So too Cruttwell, p. 102. "He became prolix. This apparently is what Fronto meant when he says *scripsit longinque.*" The fact that six books of the historiae seem to have been devoted to a period of three years from 91–88, and if Nonius' citation of a 23d book is correct, seventeen books were taken up with the events of six years, might seem to justify *longinque* in the sense of prolix. Compare also the use of *longinquus* in Plautus, Mil. 1020 and Merc. 610. Fronto nowhere else uses *longinquus* or *longinque.* He makes frequent use of *longus* and *longior, prolixus* and *prolixior,* applied to the length of an epistle, etc. But *longinque* may go back to an earlier writer, as *gracilis,* which does not elsewhere occur in Fronto. Against Teuffel I am inclined to think that *longinque* refers to the language rather than the undue length of his history. Compare especially Cic. Brutus, 75. 260, '*ne a C. Rusio quidem accusatore deterreri potuit quominus inusitatis verbis uteretur*' and '*recte loqui putabat esse inusitate loqui.*' Fronto himself opposes p. 64 Naber *remotis et requisitis* to *volgaribus et usitatis,* and *longinque* may have been chosen as an adverb to neatly express this. Compare Quintilian, 8. 6. 17, *a longinqua similitudine ductae.*

What, finally, is the meaning of *multiiugis verbis* and *singulis?* Some argument might be made for translating these words 'with polysyndeton' 'with asyndeton.' *Multiiugum* in the sense of polysyndeton is not given in Harper's. (The poem in which it occurs was not printed until 1839.) Georges and De Vit give it. See Carmen de figuris (Halm, R. M. p. 65). For *singula verba* used in connection with asyndeton, cf. auctor ad Her. IV. 19. 26, Julius Rufinianus (Halm, R. M. p. 53), Quintilian, IX. 3. 50 and IX. 4. 23, and Donatus, Commentary on Andria Prol. 18, '*In singulis magna emphasis est auctoritatis.*'

It is a well-known fact that polysyndeton is frequent in Cato. Compare Elmer, "The Copulative Conjunctions que, et, atque in the Inscriptions of the Republic, in Terence and in Cato," p. 37. Especially noteworthy is a passage cited by Gellius, VI. 3, from the oration for the Rhodians which it will be remembered was included in the Origines. *Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere atque superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere.* Here we have five *atques.* Two connect three sy-

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nonymous adjectives, one two synonymous verbs, one two synonymous nouns, and one two clauses. We must not imagine that such a piling up of connectives was not noticed by the ancients as a mark of style. A curious proof that it was noticed is afforded by the correspondence of Fronto. See p. 36. M. Aurelius writes, '*Nam uni M. Porcio me dedicavi atque despondi atqui delegavi. Hoc etiam ipsum* atque *unde putas? ex ipso furor.*' The verbatim fragments of Coelius are very few and very short. None of them show any tendency to polysyndeton, and of 32 verbatim fragments, ten exhibit asyndeton. It may be objected, however, that such an interpretation of *multiiugis* and *singulis* does not go well with the adverbs *longinque, invenuste*, etc.; that it is too special and perhaps too trivial a criticism. It will be noted that in the passage already quoted from Cato the polysyndeton is accompanied by an abundant use of synonyms. A writer in the Nation, April 29, 1886, says, "Speaking of the use of synonyms, M. Amiel says (in other language) that it is well one's team of words should be adapted to the subject and the occasion; a writer should sometimes drive at full speed with a single epithet, sometimes with four magnificently, sometimes à la Russe with three, sometimes even with a tandem, perhaps more safely with the usual two, etc."

In a similar figurative sense, implying the comparison with a team, *multiiugis* and *singulis* seem to be used here. Coelius uses the single word, the off-hand stroke; Cato drives in pairs and threes, sometimes with four magnificently. This is the meaning also attached to the word by Peter, Prolegomena, CXXXVIIII. With this use of *multiiugis* we may compare in Fronto, p. 211, *neque verba multa geminata supervacanea inferciet.* With the use of *singulis*, Fronto, p. 151, *synonymis colligendis, verbis interdum singularibus requirendis*, and a curious parallel with Amiel is furnished by p. 139. The whole passage beginning with *castella verborum* is too long to quote, "*quae ratio sit verba geminandi et interdum trigeminandi, non numquam quadriplicia saepe quinquies aut eo amplius superlata ponendi*," etc. Numerous passages might be cited from Fronto's works where he insists upon the necessity of choosing one's words carefully, and that Coelius was one of the few early writers who did pay attention to seeking for the right word is attested by Fronto, p. 62.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professor Gudeman, and, in reply, by the author.

15. On Velleius Paterculus, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of the University of the City of New York.

The constant drawing upon Velleius[1] by Mommsen in his *Provinzen*, and the elaborate special treatise by Leopold von Ranke in the "Analekten," subjoined to the third volume of his *Universal History*, would suffice to dispose of the depreciation of this writer found in many current manuals of Roman literature.

Niebuhr indeed calls him "einen *tiefbelesenen tiefeingeweihten Meister*." The present writer does not believe that the elaborate eulogy of Seianus (II. 127–128) is to be considered *the* raison d'être of the entire publication. —One of the points

[1] Halm and Haase do not throughout agree in the paragraphing.

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which may well be emphasized is the attitude of Velleius towards contemporary and preceding historians, particularly toward Livy. The brief summary actually published was intended chiefly as the *avant courier* of a "*iustum opus*," a regular, i.e. an elaborate work: cf. I. 16, 1; II. 29, 1; 38, 1; 41, 1; 48, 6; 52, 2; 55, 1; 66, 3; 86, 1; 89, 1; 89, 6; 96, 3; 99, 2; 103, 3; 108, 2; 114, 4; 119, 1; 124, 1: *explicare* II. 48, 6; 96, 3; *ordine narrare* II. 114, 4; *iustis voluminibus exponere* 124, 1.

The following particular point demands especial attention. In II. 48, 6, Velleius says: harum praeteritarumque rerum ordo (he refers to the breach between Caesar and the Senate 50–49 B.C., and the beginning of the civil war) cum iustis *aliorum* voluminibus *promatur* (note the tense) tum ut spero nostris explicabitur. These volumina, if they had been Livy's, would hardly have been referred to in this manner: he seems to allude to a work of fairly recent publication which either dealt particularly, or began, with the civil wars of Caesar and Pompey; perhaps he had in mind the *historiae* of Aufidius Bassus. — The fact that he dealt, e.g., with the death of Cicero disposes of the assumption that he entitled his work "A fine Titi Livi," a title still maintained in Schaefer's *Quellenkunde*, but abandoned in Peter's *Fragmenta*. When Tacitus wrote his Dialogus (c. 23), Aufidius had attained the rank of a standard modern historian. His "auctoritas historiae" is highly commended by Quintilian 10, 1, 103, "utique in libris belli Germanici." Whether this refers to all the German wars in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, or to the calamity of Varus only, we cannot state with absolute certainty: the former, however, is much more probable: there was no doubt a great temptation for a writer who wrote under Tiberius to belittle or suppress the services of Germanicus, and perhaps the fairness and fidelity of Aufidius Bassus in this part of his work was that which elicited the special commendation of Quintilian. When dealing with the catastrophe of Varus, Velleius again alludes to the account of other writers, II. 119, 1, iustis voluminibus *ut* alii ita nos conabimur exponere. Livy cannot be meant, for his work was concluded with the death of Drusus, 9 B.C., and the probability of an allusion to Aufidius Bassus is stronger still. — Taking, then, the attitude and aim of Velleius himself, this summary which we have was really a tentative first production, and at the same time, an announcement of a more elaborate and ambitious work that was to begin probably as that of Aufidius Bassus seems to have done, with the era of Caesar. We therefore are made to realize the following: Livy's great national history carried down to the death of Drusus 9 B.C., in the last 40 books out of a total of 142, dealt with the last 50 years of the entire work, beginning with the first Triumvirate. These last 40 books of Livy therefore, while they probably rendered obsolete the publications of partisans written in the Caesarean era itself, *did not deter writers of the first and second generations subsequently from re-writing that entire period.* It was *after* Livy that the sentiment of loyalty to the emperors and the consciousness of dynastic continuity was engendered in Rome.

Current manuals such as Teuffel's vindicate to Velleius comparative freedom from the type of Silver Latinity as far as the vocabulary is concerned, T.[5] II. § 278: "Der Wortschatz ist der Hauptsache nach der classische." Cruttwell, p. 345, "his style is not unclassical as far as the vocabulary goes." Bernhardy,[3] p. 615, "Besser als sein Geschmach befriedigt seine Sprache, denn mit Ausnahme von affectirten Woertern u. Structuren ist sie rein." Simcox says nothing about it. This

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adherence to the Ciceronian standard would be notable in an age as to which we learn from the reminiscences of the elder Seneca that the masters of rhetorical schools who were now the prime factor in the formation of style, affected *novelty* above all things. Seneca, rhet. p. 260 Kiessling: Illi in hoc *scholasticis morem gerebat, ne verbis calcatis et obsoletis uteretur:* sed quaedam antiqua et *a Cicerone dicta a ceteris deinde deserta* dicebat." With all deference to Bernhardy's and Teuffel's statements the desire of Velleius to write for the sake of fine writing and to improve upon the diction of the Ciceronian era seems palpable enough.

To illustrate his striving after variation: eodem temporum tractu I. 15, 3; circa eadem tempora II. 8, 2; per eadem tempora II. 8, 3; per idem aevi spatium II. 9, 3; eadem aetate II. 9, 6; per ea tempora II. 18, 1; per id tempus II. 34, 1; per haec tempora II. 34, 3; eadem tempestate II. 78, 3. — We see in Velleius distinctly that trend of taste which laid poetical vocabulary under contribution and in many ways affected "*speciosa verba*." Throughout V. uses *moliri* for aedificare; generally *patrare* for conficere, e.g. bellum patrare II. 11, 2; 59, 4; proelium, p. II. 21, 3; facinus II. 58, 1; patratio belli II. 98, 2. *conflare* exercitum II. 74, 2; *speciosus* is almost entirely used for pulcher: sp. classis II. 79, 2; supplementum II. 81, 2; inscriptio 104, 2; ministerium 111, 3; — of a gale working havoc in a fleet: *lacerare* maiorem partem classis II. 79, 3; in *ore atque oculis* (= in conspectu) II. 84, 2, *regimen* classis II. 85, 2; *sepelire* bellum II. 75, 1; 82, 1; 89, 3; 90, 1; 129, 4. *abditus carceri* (in the fashion of poetical construction) II. 91. 4; *in campum descendere* (cf. Hor. Carm. III. 1, 11, descendat in campum petitor); qui iam decem et septem *legionum potentes* erant II. 65, 1; *ultra* and *infra* in comparative locutions: ultra fortem temerarius II. 68, 3; infra servos cliens II. 83, 1; — odium clementia *eluctatus* II. 86, 2; difficultate locorum *luctatus* II. 115, 2; a kind of double superlative: *penitus*que Romano nomini *infestissimus* II. 27, 1; *eruere* f. delere: eruta Carthagine II. 38, 2; the locution w. ductus (for abl. abs.): Metelli *ductu* II. 38, 6; cf. 39, 1; 79, 4. quis satis mirari *queat* II. 75, 2. *sustinere* as an auxiliary closely related to posse, II. 40, 4; 81, 1; 86, 2. *avia* itinerum II. 75, 3; — suicide: regis morte quam ille *conscientia acciverat* II. 38, 6; *vitae* suae *vim intulit* II. 45, 5; — *destruere* aliquem II. 48, 2; magnitudinem *inlibatam* detulisset ad inferos II. 48, 2; poenas *luere* II. 54, 1; nationibus . . . *accensis* (in bellum) II. 98, 2; pars exercitus *maccrata* II. 112, 3. *reliqua* belli II. 123, 1; exercitum *habilem gubernaculo* II. 113, 2; cum longe maximam partem *absumpsisset* acies II. 119, 4; Lepidus *tendens* ad Tiberium II. 115, 2; *quaeritare* sedes I. 4, 3; *fragmine* subsellii ictus II. 3, 2. *reor* = arbitror: I. 5, 3; II. 12, 2; 92, 5. *linquere* I. 9, 4; *compos* victoriae I. 10, 3; *rapto* vivere (cf. Vergil and Ovid); II. 32, 6. *aevum* f. aetas II. 66, 5. Compared with his contemporary Valerius Maximus, Velleius does observe a certain moderation in this respect.

As to the conscious manipulation of *figurae*, also (σχήματα λέξεως), Velleius exhibits more simplicity than Valerius Maximus. Still the rhetorical training and taste of V. is directly and uniformly apparent. Cruttwell says, p. 345: "he ran through the minor offices to the praetorship (14 A.D.) and soon after set himself to repair the deficiencies of a purely military education by systematic study." But the young gentlemen of equestrian rank who became tribuni militum

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at twenty or twenty-two had no *purely military*, they had no military education whatever when they began that career (cf. *Madvig*, Die Befehlshaber und das avancement in dem Römischen Heere, Kleine Philol. Schriften). — The rhetorical strain in Velleius is in fact due no doubt to his early training in the rhetorical schools, which were the only schools of Rome.

Of *metaphors* we meet but few, and these are forced, e.g. when speaking of Caesar and Pompey at Pharsalus, II. 52, 3, *conlisa* inter se *duo* reipublicae *capita effossumque alterum* Romani imperii *lumen*: a mixture of two gruesome images.

Rhythm of the period, "*numerus*" of technical nomenclature, has on the whole disappeared with the free and broad period of Cicero: it is to be looked for rather in more minute and petty forms, as in *chiasmus*: modus culpae ex pecuniae modo II. 22, 5; vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis est II. 36, 3; ut has armis ita auctoritate Cappadociam . . . fecit stipendiariam II. 39, 3; qui neque petitus honeste ab iis neque probabiliter gestus est II. 46, 1; patientia periculorum bellique experientia II. 78, 2; qui aut otium validius diligat aut facilius sufficiat negotio II. 98, 3. In Valerius Maximus chiasmus abounds.

The most striking characteristic, however, in the style of Velleius is his striving after effect in the coining of *Sententiae*, terse, epigrammatic passages which might become quotable perhaps. The evidence of the rhetor Seneca shows conclusively that the faculty of composing *Sententiae* was one of the main criteria by which *rhetores* and budding disciples were judged; e.g. hanc adiecit *sententiam* quam solebat mirari Latro, Contr. I. 2, 17; nobilem illam *sententiam* quam Fabius Maximus circumferebat, ib. II. 4, 9; compositio aspera et quae vitaret compositionem, *sententiae vivae* Contr. III. 18; Hermagoras *raras sententias* dicebat, sed *argutas* et quae auditorem diligentem penitus adficerent, securum et negligentem transcurrerent, Contr. II. 6, 13; oratio eius erat valens, culta, *ingentibus* plena *sententiis* ib. III. 2. The Roman *rhetores* claimed superiority in this respect, exercising, as they did, their profession side by side with the Greek teachers in Rome: dicebat autem Agroitas incultum ut scires illum inter Graecos non fuisse, *sententiis fortibus, ut scires eum inter Romanos fuisse.* Contr. II. 6, 12; cf. Volkmann Rhetorik der Griechen u. Römer², p. 455.

Of Carthage V. says: neque ante invisum esse desiit, quam esse desiit I. 12, 7. — a *negotiis* in *otium* conversa civitas II. 1, 1. Of the burial of the younger Scipio: eiusque corpus *velato capite elatum* est, cuius opera super totum terrarum orbem Roma extulerat *caput* II. 4, 6. Sulla, vir qui neque ad finem victoriae satis laudari neque post victoriam abunde vituperari potest II. 17, 1. Mortem magis voto quam arbitrio inimicorun obiit II. 22, 4. Of Pompey's method of dealing with the pirates: quamquam in auctore satis rationis est, tamen ratio quemlibet magnum auctorem faceret II. 32, 6; — cum neuter ab altero quod arguebat mentitus argui posset II. 33, 2. — (M. Cato) qui numquam recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non potuerat II. 35, 2. Of Curio: homo *ingeniosissime nequam* II. 48, 3; cf. 68, 1; — (cf. Seneca rh. suas. I. 5: propter *intempestive liberos* sales; Contr. I. 1, 22: tam *immature magnum* ingenium.) — cum et Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores et multis Antonius dum erat sobrius II. 63, 1; cum et Brutus cuilibet ducum praeferendus videretur et Vatinius nulli non esset postferendus II. 69, 3; neque reperias quos aut pronior fortuna comitata sit aut veluti fatigata maturius destituerit quam Brutum et Cassium II. 69, 6; of Sextius Pompey: libertorum suorum libertus et servorum servus II. 73, 1; Fulvia nihil

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muliebriter praeter corpus gerens II. 74, 3; of Agrippa: parendi, sed uni, scientissimus II. 79, 1; Plancus non iudicio . . . sed morbo proditor II. 83, 1; Dellius exempli sui tenax II. 84, 2; of Antony at Actium: imperator qui in desertores saevire debuerat, desertor exercitus sui factus est II. 85, 3. quod vi facere voluerant, iure passi sunt II. 91, 2; Iuliam . . . feminam neque sibi neque reipublicae felicis uteri II. 93, 2; homine inter summam vitiorum dissimulationem vitiosissimo II. 97, 1; gens etiam Germana (Germanica ?) feritate ferocior II. 106, 2; *natione* magis quam *ratione* barbarus II. 108, 2; quae probandae essent non quae utique probarentur sequens II. 113, 2; pecuniae vero *quam non contemptor* Syria declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit II. 117, 2. consilio belli bellum iunxit II. 110, 5; decretis facta iungit II. 118, 3; non enim desertis superfuit sed desertor occidit II. 119, 4.

One of the most notable differences (in the employment of the artifices of rhetoric) between Velleius and Valerius Maximus is in the use of *apostrophe*. The artium scriptores as represented in Ernesti and Volkmann seem to have dealt with it only as used in forensic orations, but the practice of the *declamatores* seems to have made it common enough. Velleius contents himself with a single one, an apostrophe to Marc Antony on account of the proscription of Cicero, II. 66, 3–5, a passage of real elevation. But in Valerius Maximus I have noted *twenty-seven* distinct cases of apostrophe, it being with him a mere convenient variation of presentation. The *votum* to Jupiter at the end of the *volumen* is also a kind of apostrophe, and rises from the rhetorical observance of investing the epilogue with particular form and dignity, as Tacitus too did at the end of the Agricola.

Adjourned at 10.30 P.M.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Thursday, July 12th, 1894.

The ASSOCIATION was called to order at 9.30 A.M.

The Committee on Place of Meeting reported that the next regular meeting should be held at Cleveland, July 9, 1895. The report was adopted.

The Committee on Officers for 1894–95 proposed the following list of nominations: —

President, John H. Wright, Harvard University.
Vice-Presidents, Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.
Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University.
Secretary and Treasurer, Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College.
Additional members of the *Executive Committee*.
Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University.
William W. Goodwin, Harvard University.
Abby Leach, Vassar College.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College.
Benjamin I. Wheeler, Cornell University.

The report was adopted and the above officers elected.

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16. The Date of the Poet Lycophron,[1] by Dr. William N. Bates, of Harvard University.

The date of the poet Lycophron has never been satisfactorily settled. Writers on the history of Greek literature have made him flourish in the reigns of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), or of Euergetes (247–222), or have simply stated that he flourished about the middle of the third century. This difference of opinion was doubtless caused by the apparently conflicting testimony of the evidence on which we have to depend. The scholiasts and lexicographers made him flourish in the time of Philadelphus, while it was argued that lines 1226–1280 of the Alexandra, which predict the coming glory of Rome, could not have been written before the first Punic war.[2] But in 1883 Wilamowitz showed that the Alexandra was probably written between 300 and 290; and Susemihl went a step farther and showed that it was written about 295. With this date established the passage in the Alexandra relating to Rome can have no bearing on the date of the poet.

In the life of Lycophron by Tzetzes we are informed that he was hired by Ptolemy Philadelphus to arrange the comedies in the Alexandrian library at the same time that Alexander Aetolus arranged the tragedies and Zenodotus the other poetical works. This most probably occurred in the year 285–84, when the library was established. Zenodotus had the most important position of the three and was afterwards librarian. Naturally we should expect him to be older than either Lycophron or Alexander. And, in fact, Couat in his Histoire de la Poésie Alexandrine gives the date of the birth of Zenodotus as 324–320 B.C., and of Alexander as about 320; Susemihl gives the dates as about 325 and 315 respectively. Consequently, if Lycophron was younger than Zenodotus and as old as Alexander, and he could not very well have been younger if he wrote the Alexandra in 295, he would have been born about 320, or perhaps 325–320.

This date is confirmed by the fact that he was one of the seven poets known as the tragic Pleiad. The other poets of this group can be shown to have flourished at the end of the 124th Olympiad, or about the year 281. That is, if Lycophron was born about 320, he was about forty years old when he acquired a reputation as a tragic poet; and this surely is a very appropriate age at which a literary man might be said to flourish.

There is but one allusion to the death of Lycophron, and that is in Ovid's Ibis. There are very good reasons for believing that Ovid took this allusion to Lycophron from the Ibis of Callimachus, which he says he is imitating, and which was written about two years before the Hymn to Apollo. This latter poem was written either in 248 or in 263, and consequently Lycophron must have died at least before 250.

To sum up briefly, Lycophron was born between 325 and 320 B.C., wrote his Alexandra about 295, was appointed to arrange the comedies in the Alexandrian library in 285–84, about 280 began to flourish as a tragic poet and, continued as such down to the time of his death, which must have occurred before the year 250.

[1] This paper will appear in substantially the form in which it was read in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* for 1895.

[2] Lines 1446–1450 were also appealed to.

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17. The Saturnians of Livius Andronicus and Naevius tested according to the Quantitative Theory, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

This paper does not include within its scope any attempt to settle the ancient dispute regarding the nature of the Saturnian verse, whether it is quantitative or accentual. The purpose of the writer will be accomplished if he shall have furnished some data to be used by future students of the problem. These data have been obtained by testing in some respects the results which Lucian Müller, the champion of the quantitative theory, has himself reached in applying his own theory to the fragments of the two primitive Latin epics bearing the names of Livius Andronicus and Cn. Naevius.

It may, perhaps, be safely assumed that, if the quantitative theory has any positive value, it can be applied with some degree of success to these, the most important poems composed in the Saturnian metre, so that the exceptions and irregularities shall not overshadow that which is normal. Furthermore, it would not be unreasonable to expect to find, if anything, a slight improvement in metrical treatment in a poet who in other respects so far outshines Livius Andronicus as does Naevius. The results here given of a few tests applied to the fragments seem neither to warrant the former assumption nor to realize the latter expectation.

The fragments of the work of Livius as collected and arranged by Müller in his work, "*Der saturnische Vers*," make up fifty-two verses or parts of verses; in the case of Naevius there are seventy-two. The normal Saturnian verse is assumed by Müller to be composed of an Iambic Dimeter Catalectic followed by a Trochaic Tripody, which would be graphically expressed thus: —

$$\| \cup \angle \cup \angle \cup \angle \cup \vdots \angle \cup \angle \cup \angle \cup \|.$$

Not a single verse in either Livius or Naevius exactly corresponds to this norm. In seven (7) cases in Livius, Müller makes no attempt to give a complete scansion, or else the verses are too fragmentary to admit of any safe venture. The same is true in eight (8) of the verses of Naevius.

Various irrational substitutions abound to an extent that seems well-nigh ruinous to a quantitative theory: (1) Long syllable for a short, — in Livius, 80; in Naevius, 140 (a much larger proportion, therefore, in the better writer). (2) Short syllable for a long, — Livius, 20; Naevius, 19. (3) Two short for one short, — Livius, 19; Naevius, 24.

Regular resolutions, on the other hand, are much less frequent than would be expected, there being only 3 in Livius, and 12 in Naevius.

Loss, or suppression of a syllable, is a device to which resort must often be had, if the quantitative theory is correct. This occurs as follows: (1) The antepenultimate syllable in the first half of the verse, — Livius, 2; Naevius, 4. (2) The antepenultimate syllable in the second half of the verse, — Livius, 13; Naevius, 20. The other two possible kinds of suppression, however, viz. the second half of the first trochee in the first half of the verse, and the second half of the first trochee in the second half of the verse, do not occur in these fragments.

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The caesura seems to be less regular in Naevius than in Livius. Once in Naevius it is out of place, viz. v. 42: —

Sin illos déserdnt ⋮ fortissimós virórum.

In v. 26 of the same writer it does not occur at all: —

Voltúrnalém, Paldtudlem, Fúrrindlem.

The caesura is accompanied by hiatus four (4) times in Livius, and eight (8) times in Naevius: *e.g.*, Naevius v. 13: —

ibi fords cum aúro ⋮ ilico éxibant.

Hiatus occurs at least once in Livius besides these cases at caesura, perhaps not elsewhere in either writer.

As regards pure elisions, the case stands as follows: (1) Short vowel, — Livius, 6; Naevius, 6. (2) Long vowel, — Livius, 4; Naevius, 4.

Ecthlipsis occurs in Livius 6 times; in Naevius, 12 times.

Of synizesis there are in Livius at least 5 instances; in Naevius, 6. A good example of a verse relying strongly on this figure is Livius, v. 30: —

venit Mercúrius cúmque eo ⋮ filiús Latónas.

The determination of the number of instances of assonance and alliteration which occur has in it so large a subjective element that little can be concluded from the result in any case. There can be no doubt in such a verse as Livius, 8:

matrém meám procítum ⋮ plúrimi venérunt.

Livius, v. 19, shows rather a species of primitive rhyme: —

igitúr cor démum Ulixi ⋮ praé pavóre frixit.

Perhaps five (5) verses may be considered worthy of notice in this respect in Livius, viz. Nos. 5, 8, 9, 19, 45; and ten (10) in Naevius, viz. Nos. 2, 9, 11, 17, 23, 32, 47, 53, 57, 62.

Without considering, then, any further points, it appears that the quantitative theory fares thus in the hands of its best friend: (1) No verse can be fitted to it exactly. (2) An unreasonable number of irrational substitutions must be assumed. (3) Total loss of a syllable must be assumed in nearly forty (40) cases out of a whole number of but a little over one hundred (100) verses. (4) The regular resolutions, which are so common in all the other poets of this period, are rare. (5) Hiatus is comparatively common. (6) In other respects there is little that is noteworthy in either of the two writers. (7) As regards irrational substitutions, suppressions, caesura, and hiatus, Naevius is even more irregular than Livius.

It may be added that even with Müller, it may be clearly seen, it has often been a purely arbitrary matter to decide which way to mark a verse according to the theory adopted.

To the "Saturnian metre," whatever that is, have been referred fragments of Latin ranging in character all the way from those that to the naked eye — and ear — are prose pure and simple, to the epics that we have been considering. If beside this fact is placed the assurance given us at this meeting that the early

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Greek poetry may be called "rhythmical prose," is it not possible to believe that scholars have been trying to read into Saturnian verse a regularity and system which the Romans knew nothing about? How far was the Saturnian metre from "rhythmical prose"?

Remarks were made by Professors Allen and C. L. Smith.

Professor C. L. Smith then proposed the following resolution: —

Voted: That the Secretary be instructed to convey the thanks of this Association to the Trustees of Williams College for the ample provision they have made for the entertainment of the Association at its present meeting; to President and Mrs. Carter for their generous hospitality, and to Professor Fernald for the thoughtful care he has given to all the arrangements for our comfort. *Adopted.*

18. Time and Space in Word-Concepts, by Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

It takes a certain time to utter a word. Remembrance of the word, the word-concept, includes time as one of its elements. This time-element is one of the most persistent of the elements. We may forget all the letters of a word and yet remember its length, and in the history of languages, words ar found to retain their length thru the most varied changes of quality of sounds.

A consonant may be dropt and the preceding vowel lengthend: gans > gōs, þegn > þēn, þenc-an > þōh'te, etc.

A vowel dropt and preceding vowel lengthend.

A vowel dropt and consonant lengthend, i.e. dubld: telian > tellan, cnysian > cnyssan, etc.

A consonant dropt and another consonant lengthend, as in assimilation, so-calld, producing dubld consonants: adsimilate > assimilate, disfero > differo, etc.

The new forms in all such exampls ar resultants of the joint action of the law of least effort and the law of persistence of the time-concept.

The persistence of the time-concept is a force in separate syllabls, also preserving the quantity of every root vowel, or other significant sound thru all its combinations, unless sum other force destroy it.

The time of the word-concept is not void or uniform duration, but the fysiologic duration of human consciousness, which has a rhythmic flow markt by hart beats and exspiration and inspiration. This force in the concept is exhibited most fully in song and poetry, but it is also activ in word-formation. As the poet fits his words to his meter, so man the word-maker adjusts his sounds to the rhythmic flow of fysiologic time, lengthening and shortening syllabls which he puts together, to preserv the natural morae and feet. The English speech-concept foot is three morae. The English pronunciation of Latin and Greek exhibits the working of this concept plainly; so English derivativs: brief, briefer, brevity; admire, admirer, miracl. Whenever stress accent cums to dominate a language formd under the laws of time and pitch, a new gravitation to accentual centers is set up, and a new dialect arizes, the resultant of the old time-concept and the new gravitation.

When alfabetic writing and printing appear, a space-concept is added to the time-concept of words. Readers and writers hav pictures of words in memory.

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To them a word-concept in its simplest form is an outline only of a certain length and bredth; this may be fild up by a time-concept into a sort of pencil sketch, a monocrome, a fotograf, and colord finally by sound-concepts of various qualities.

The space-concepts in a wel spelt language ar similar in frame work, number, and proportion to the time-concepts and sound-concepts, and make the word a visibl object, easy to recall and to communicate. The space-concepts ar also persistent in form, a powerful conservativ force to resist the fluctuations of sound, or, in a badly spelt language, to resist all efforts for reform.

19. The Eye and Ear in lerning to read, by Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

Alfabetic writing has been often said to be the most important invention of man. The invention consists in using the characters addrest to the eye as signs of the elementary sounds of words, insted of signs of the objects named. In lerning to read a wel spelt language the letters would of course be lernd first as signs of sounds. There ar few of them. They ar interesting objects of sight. Twenty letters can be lernd as easily as twenty new playmates, and having lernd the letters, sight and sound together, the lerner can read right off any words familiar by sound. The attempt to substitute for this natural method a connecting of the printed word, the space-concept, directly with the object named, is a giving up of the alfabetic invention. Even English spelling is not so bad as to make that a necessity.

20. On *urbs aeterna, urbs sacra*, and Similar Phrases, by Professor F. G. Moore, of Dartmouth College.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made upon it by Professor Sihler.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, reported as Chairman of the Committee on Spelling Reform.

The Committee has taken no official action during the last year. It reports progress. There has been sum correspondence with members of the Philological Society of England in regard to an enlargement of the List of Words in Amended Spelling which was publisht by this Association in 1886.

The first volume of a Standard Dictionary which givs vocabulary places to all the words of this list was publisht in New York during this year.

The American Medical Editors' Association in June, 1893, "unanimously resolvd to carry out in practis" 1, the use of *e* for *æ* and *œ*, as in *hemorrhage, fetus*, etc.; 2, the rules for spelling chemic terms advised by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, dropping terminal *e* in many words; 3, the dropping of redundant *al* from adjectivs such as *chemical, biological*, etc.; 4, the spelling of *meter, center*, etc.; *honor, color*, etc.; *program*, etc.

The Stenographers' Congress at Chicago, July 21, voted that papers red at the Congress might be printed in amended spelling. The Business Educators' meeting past a similar vote at the same date.

In the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at the annual meeting in September, 1893, a report was presented on

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Uniformity in the Spelling of Barbaric and Savage Languages and Race Names, recommending that the System of Orthografy adopted by the Royal Geographical Society, the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the War Office, and the Government of the United States should be adopted so far as it is applicabl.

A pamflet has been issued by the U. S. Bureau of Education, as one of its Circulars of Information, on Spelling Reform, giving an account of the movement for the reform to 1893.

This Association wil be reminded by this report of the deth of Professor W. D. Whitney, who was the first Chairman of this Committee, and who has always been the strongest support of this reform. No one can fil his place.

The report was accepted, and the Committee continued.

The Executive Committee was requested to select a member for the vacancy occasioned by the death of Professor Whitney. Professor James M. Garnett was appointed.

21. *Iacio* Compounds in the Present System with Prefix ending in a Consonant,[1] by Dr. Maurice W. Mather.

It is a familiar fact that regularly in Roman poets before the Christian era, and sometimes also in later writers, compounds of *iacio* in the present tenses, having prefixes ending in a consonant, show that prefix syllable long. In all the poetry preserved to us written before the death of Augustus there are but four certain examples of a short prefix; viz. Naev. vs. 94, p. 23 R.: —

Immó quos scicidi in iús conscindam atque *ăbiciam.*

Plaut. Asin. 814: —

Praerípias scortum amánti atque argentum *ŏbicias.*

Merc. 932: —

Sánus non es. Quín pedes vos ín curriculum *cŏnicitis?*

Rud. 769: —

Iam hércle ego te contínuo barba arrípiam in ignem *cŏniciam.*

In most of the examples in scenic poetry the prefix syllable may be scanned either long or short. There are, however, seventeen cases, as against the above four shorts, in which the meter requires a long syllable. It is safer, therefore, to assume all doubtful cases long. In hexameter and lyric verse, the long prefix syllable is universal until we come to Germanicus and Manilius, both of whom use it short. E.g. *sŭbicit* in Arat. 196, and *ădice* in Astron. 44. 4. From this time on some poets use only the long prefix, as Valerius Flaccus; some the short only, as Lucan; while others, e.g. Silius Italicus, use both long and short.

[1] A fuller discussion of this paper will appear in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. VI.

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How is this change of quantity to be understood, and how are we to explain the long prefix? The short syllable needs no explanation, as that is just what we should expect if the verb part of the compound was spelled *-icis, -icit*, etc.; and we see that it was so spelled, as early as 105 B.C., from an inscription, C.I.L. I. 577. I. 12. 16 (p. 163), which gives *proicito*. To explain the long quantity, we cannot suppose that the vowel of the prefix was lengthened, as was done by some in Gellius's time (cf. Gell. 4. 17); for, as Gellius himself states, only *con* and *in* are so treated when *f* or *s* follows, as in *confero, consequor*. Nor are we to assume that *iacio* shortened to *iicio*, as Quintilian (1. 4. 11) and Gellius (l.c.) and Priscian (II. 126. 18 K) teach. For the sound of consonant *i* followed by vowel *i* is foreign to Latin usage; moreover, we find this spelling in no genuine inscription and but rarely in MSS. before the twelfth century. It is evident that the grammarians advocated it merely because it offered an explanation for the long prefix syllable in poets, and because the change of *iacio* to *iicio* was in accordance with analogy. As *facio* gave *inficio*, so *iacio* should give *iniicio*.

If, then, we must abandon both ancient methods of explaining the long prefix, what are we to substitute in their place?

An inscription of 123–2 B.C. (C.I.L. I. 198. 50) gives the clue to a solution of the problem in the form *conieciant*. If enough forms with *iecio* can be found to establish a theory, we may suppose that *iacio* in compounds first shortened to *iecio*, and that this form, being retained by poets till the close of the Augustan period, caused the prefix syllable to be long by position. I will first give cases of *iecio* actually preserved or hinted at in compounds of which the prefix ends in a consonant.

In Plaut. Poen. 1174, *adiecerit* in F where A has *adiceret* points to an original *adieceret*. The verse is anapaestic octonarius: —

Fuit hódie operae pretiũm quoivis qui amábilitati animum *ddiceret*.

In Mil. 112: —

Conlcit in navem mſles clam matrém suam.

Contegit of CD (*contigit* B) probably rose from *coniecit*.

In Truc. 298: —

Út pereat ut eum *iniciatis* ſn malam fraudem ét probrum.

Inleciatis of A for *iniciatis* of BCD could easily have arisen from *inieciatis*.

In Mil. 623: —

Eám pudet me tſbi in senecta *obicere* sollicitúdinem.

D has *obveccere*, very likely a corruption from *obiecere*. B ante ras. had *obiceret*, C has *obiicere*.

In Ter. Ad. 710, all the MSS. and the lemma of Donatus have *iniecit*: —

Itaque ádeo magnam mi *iniecit* sua cómmoditate cúram.

Doubtless it was taken for a perfect, but that it is present is likely, both from the connection and from the dependent verb, which is primary.

A sententia quoted by Vincent of Beauvais (Ribb. Com. Frag. p. 368, 49): —

Fórtior qui cúpiditates ést quam qui hostes *súbicit*,

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shows the form *subecit* in two MSS., α and γ. While this form may be due to the slight distinction in sound between short *i* and short *e* (*subecit* having risen from *subicit*), it is just as likely a supposition that *subiecit* was in the original, and the *i* was omitted by mere carelessness.

A verse by Cicero in the de Div. 1. 48, 106, appears in two tenth-century MSS. (AV) with *abiecit*:—

Abicit efflantem et laceratum adfligit in unda.

In Verg. Aen. 6. 421:—

Obicit ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens.

Priscian appears from the testimony of two MSS. of the ninth century (LG) to have read *obiecit*.

The best of Livy's MSS. in four passages have *iecio* forms in present compounds with prefixes ending in a consonant. At 10. 8. 3 and 10. 37. 14 the three principal MSS. of the first decade (MPU, all of tenth or eleventh century) have *adiecit*. The chief MS. of the third decade, Puteanus (P) of fifth or sixth century, has in 22. 19. 2 *adiecit* parallel with *tradit*, and in 26. 19. 2 (*s*)*ubiecere* for an infinitive.

Lachmann in his Commentary to Lucretius, p. 128, cites *conieciant* from the Lex Servilia and *obieciemus* from the Digesta Florentina, the latter being of the sixth or seventh century. Schuchardt in Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins II. 4, gives *adiecientur* and *iniecient* from the codex Gothanus of the Gospels of the seventh century.

These are all the instances I have found of *iecio* preserved after consonant prefixes, except one in Pliny mentioned below. After vowel prefixes there are even more numerous examples. I will name only a few. In C.I.L. IX. 782, an inscription of uncertain date, we get *proiecitad* = proicito. That Lucilius and Varro wrote *iecio* is probable from *eiecere* and *eiecit*, which are written in quotations from these authors in a few of Nonius's MSS. The two Leyden MSS. of Lucretius at 2. 951 have *eiecit*, and at 3. 513 all MSS. of importance have *traiecere*. Vergil has several examples occurring in six different MSS., including Romanus of the fourth or fifth century with three examples, Mediceus of equal age with one example, and Bernensis 184 (c) of the ninth century with four examples. Catullus, Ovid, Livy, Caesar, and others furnish examples. There is one case, *eiece*, in one of Lachmann's MSS. of the New Testament. Also a few examples are cited by Schuchardt from the Florentine Digests, from Augustine, and from the codex Gothanus of the Gospels.

In authors from the reign of Tiberius to 200 A.D. we find only two examples of *iecio*, one in Plin. N.H. 7. sect. 1. 2, where V, a MS. of the eleventh century, has *abiecit*, rell. *abicit*; the other in Stat. Th. 6. 770, where *eiecit* is read in Bambergensis of the eleventh century.

The distribution of these *iecio* forms, 51 in all, is as follows: 34 from the republic and the Augustan period, 2 from the first century A.D., and 15 from works later than the second century. It looks to me, therefore, safe to assume that *iacio* shortened in composition to *iecio*, that this form was preserved by poets and a few literary men, as Cicero, Caesar, and Livy, until the close of the Augustan period, that at this time the shorter *icio* form, which had existed in conversa-

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tion as early as Naevius and Plautus and had become sufficiently common by 105 B.C. to be used in a law, had totally superseded the older *iecio;* except possibly in provincial and vulgar Latin, where the *iecio* form may have continued to be spoken, for such a supposition would help us to explain the *iecio* forms in New Testament codices and in Augustine. The use of *iecio* in Justinian's digests may have been due to the legal fondness for old forms. The two occurrences in Pliny and Statius are not apt to be from those writers themselves, for at their time *icio* was the common spelling, as we see from the use of short prefixes by many of the poets. Germanicus, Manilius, Lucan, Martial, Juvenal, use short prefixes altogether. Those poets of this period who used the prefix long were merely imitating the usage of older poets. Valerius Flaccus, and Statius are of this class, but Statius once only fell into the usage of his time; cf. *ădici* in Th. 7. 4.

22. Notes on Certain Fragments of Hellanicus, by Professor B. Perrin, of Yale University.

At the request of the author, this paper was read by title only.

It is an attempt to establish a difference in time and scope between the chronicles of Hellanicus called Ἀτθίς and Ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας.

23. English Words which hav Gaind or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction, by Charles P. G. Scott, Esq., of Yonkers, N.Y.

This paper presents the conclusion of the investigation of Attraction which has appeared in Vols. XXIII. and XXIV. It appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Professor Garnett.

24. A Votive Tablet to Artemis Anaïtis and Mên Tiamu in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,[1] by Professor John H. Wright, of Harvard University.

This slab, which probably came from Kula in Asia Minor, has been for forty or fifty years in Boston. On the upper surface is a panel, on which are rudely represented, in low relief, a man, child, woman, and second child, *en face*, from right to left; their right arms are raised from the elbow, thumb separated from the outstretched palm, — the familiar attitude of adoration. The relief and the inscription do not exactly correspond. The inscription reads, restored: —

Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀναειτι κ[αὶ Μη-]
νὶ Τιάμου Μουσαῖς β̄ [καὶ]
Καλλιγένεια ἡ σύμβι[ος αὐ-]
τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μουσαίου το[ῦ υἱοῦ]
μαρτυροῦντες τὰς δ[υνά-]
μις τῶν θεῶν ἀπέδω[καν]
τὴν εὐχήν· ἔτους σ̄π̄ᾱ,[μη(νὸς)]
Δείου ī.

[1] This paper will be printed, with an illustration, in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. VI.

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'To Artemis Anaïtis and Mên Tiamu: Musaes, son of Musaes, and Calligeneia, his consort, on behalf of Musaes their son, in testimony to the powers of the gods, have paid their vow. In the year 281, the 10th of the month Deius [A.D. 197, if of the era of Sulla].'

In connection with the detailed interpretation of the inscription, several questions were discussed: viz., the inflection and accentuation of Ἀνάϊτις, the spelling and accentuation of words like Μουσαῖς (from Μουσαῖος); a small *corpus* of Mên Tiamu inscriptions was furnished, as also references to all the literature of the Anaïtis inscriptions. Corrections and emendations in Suidas, Lucian, and in inscriptions in Waddington-Le Bas' *Asie Mineure* were offered. It was urged that Artemis Anaïtis and Mên (according to Ramsay, originally Maen, Mān) were the representatives of the very ancient Phrygian pair of divinities known commonly in classical literature as the Great Mother (Cybele) and Attis, and that Mên [= Sabazius] may originally have been a solar divinity, who subsequently became lunar through Greek popular etymology (Μήν, μήνη, 'moon'). The possible connection of the Tiamu in Mên Tiamu (= Μὴν καταχθόνιος) with Tiamat (Tiam-tu), the ancient Semitic (Babylonian) demon of the deep, was suggested. It was argued that Mên was known to the European Greeks much earlier than has hitherto been supposed; that the Μηναγύρτης of classical literature (Menander, Antiphanes) was none other than the 'priest of Mên,' and that as early as the time of Demosthenes (cf. *Cor.* 260, *F.L.* 284; Strabo X. p. 471), the itinerant priests of Mên, with the priests of the Great Mother, were familiar and striking figures in the streets of Athens.

25. Literary Frauds among the Romans, by Professor Alfred Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

26. Beta in the Argive alphabet, by Professor James R. Wheeler, of the University of Vermont.

This paper was a brief discussion of an inscription from the Argive Hêraeum, which is published as No. V. *Am. Journ. of Arch.* IX. p. 353. *Beta* is represented by this character, ⅂, a form already found on a bronze placque from Hêrmione (*Revue Archéologique*, 1891, II, pp. 150 ff., and *Monumenti Antichi*, 1891, pp. 593 ff.), the Argive origin of which has been suspected, but not proved.

27. The Prepositions in Aulus Gellius, by Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College.

This paper is to be found in the TRANSACTIONS.

28. A Note on the Gnomic Aorist, by Professor H. C. Elmer, of Cornell University.

The purpose of this paper was to point out what the writer conceives to be an error in the explanation now in vogue of the origin and force of the gnomic

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aorist. It seems to be a belief accepted without question by nearly all grammarians that this use arose from the ordinary use of the aorist in predicating past occurrences. The prevailing view is, if we except certain monographs upon the subject, best set forth by Goodwin in his *Moods and Tenses*, §§ 155, 156, 157, and I accordingly make the presentation there given the basis of my remarks. Goodwin explains this use of the aorist by saying that it gives "a more vivid statement of general truths by employing a distinct case or several distinct cases in the past to represent (as it were) all possible cases, and implying that what has occurred is likely to occur again under similar circumstances." (For a similar explanation cf., *e.g.*, the following grammars: Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 236 note; Allen & Greenough, § 279 c, note; Hadley & Allen, § 840; Kühner, Lat. Gr. II., § 33, 9, etc.). This view may be illustrated by saying that "a man went" was first used of a distinct case in the past, and then this case was used to represent all possible cases, and finally at times came to be felt as meaning "a man is wont to go."

Does this seem to any one an easy transition of meaning? To make it seem a possible one, Goodwin has brought together in § 156 five examples which, it is claimed, could form a bridge "from the common to the gnomic use of the aorist." The first thing that strikes one in this collection of examples is that three out of the five are drawn from out-of-the-way places — from mere fragments that have been preserved without any context to make clear in what sense they were used. Classen, however, in his note on Thucyd. II. 77, 4, cites three other similar instances: Plat. Rep. 5, p. 469 d, Soph. O. R. 981, El. 415. Such uses fall into two distinct classes. Those in the first class, in order that the transition may be made clear to the English mind, have to be treated as though they were mere perfects, *e.g.* πολλὰ στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν, i.e. many cases *have already arisen*, implying *it often happens*. This use of the aorist seems to belong exclusively to comparatively late Greek and to be extremely rare even then. But even if it were an early use, it would not seem to me to have much weight in the face of other facts. If the transition which the examples cited are intended to illustrate really took place in the case in question, how does it happen that the usage started with, and for a long time confined itself to, the aorist instead of the perfect? The gnomic aorist is already common in Homeric times, while the gnomic perfect is not found at all till much later. However, none of the instances with πολλάκις or ἐνίοτε seem to me to have any bearing upon the question, though much has been made of them in attempting to establish the theory now in vogue. The gnomic aorist is a primary tense, and such words are as appropriate with it as they would be with the gnomic present, and for precisely the same reason. Such cases are like any other gnomic aorist, and the fact that πολλάκις, or ἐνίοτε, is used with it can no more be supposed to show a connection with the past than the frequent use of that word with the present shows that the present tense ever had such a connection.

The other instances in this list (except one which I explain differently below) are sweeping negations in the past, "Faint heart never yet raised a trophy" (οὔπω τρόπαιον ἔστησαν). It is true that if a thing *never did happen* there is an implication that it *does not happen* and *never will happen*, but that is very far from proving that *never did happen* would easily come to be felt as a primary tense. Such passages represent the ordinary use of the aorist and refer as distinctly as any aorist ever did to the past, while the gnomic aorist is found already in com-

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mon use in the earliest Greek known to us and is from the first invariably a primary tense taking the regular sequence of such a tense. Furthermore, there seems to be nothing in any of the English writers that can give support to the view that the use under discussion started with sweeping negations, or in fact with general past assertions of any sort. Indeed, one of the remarkable things about this list of examples given to illustrate the transition from the ordinary to the gnomic use of the aorist is that the examples without exception come from comparatively late Greek. These examples we are asked to look upon as marking the middle step of a transition to a usage that was already firmly established and in common use five hundred years before.

Finally, there is still another peculiarity about the gnomic aorist which the commonly accepted theory of its origin and force leaves wholly unexplained. It has been noticed that the gnomic aorist is chiefly confined to animated passages, or used in connection with sudden occurrences (cf. Goodwin, §§ 154 and 157). Now, if the aorist has come to indicate "what is wont to happen" only by implication from its original reference to "what has often happened in the past," how is its fondness for animated surroundings to be accounted for? It is easy to understand the grammars when they say the present tense is used for a past tense to make the narrative more animated and vivid, but here we seem, if the prevailing view is correct, to have a past tense used for a present to bring about the same result.

On the whole, does it not seem that Brugmann is right, when, in his *Griechishe Grammatik*, § 160, he refers to the gnomic aorist as a use "noch nicht befriedigend erklärt?" Mutzbauer, also, in his *Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre*, protests against this explanation of the gnomic aorist, that has been in vogue since the publication of Franke's article, forty years ago. The views of Mutzbauer are, I believe, the latest that have been printed upon the subject,[1] and, strangely enough, they seem to represent, in some of their features, a return to the theory of Moller (*Philologus*, VIII. 1, p. 113 ff.), which Franke had given himself so much trouble to overthrow. The explanation of the gnomic aorist published last year by Mutzbauer is, in most of its essential features, the same as that which I have taught my own students for the past four or five years in connection with similar phenomena in Latin. In this note I venture to point out some objections to the common view which he does not mention, and to call attention briefly to certain features of this aorist which he leaves untouched. It may, in general, be said of the aorist that it deals with an act as an entirety. By its use the beginning, the progress, and the end of an act are brought together and focussed in a single conception. The idea of the act is not dwelt upon, but merely touched for an instant and then dismissed. The speaker, as it were, makes short work of the thought. There is a sort of impetus about the tense. Now it is admitted on every hand that this tense refers sometimes to an act that lies in the past, sometimes (especially in moods other than the indicative) to one that lies in the future, and that, in either one of these cases, the ordinary force of the aorist, as above indicated, is to be recognized. For instance, in the past ἔλυε dwells upon the progress of the act, ἔλυσε dismisses the same act with merely a lively reference to it as an accomplished thing. The expression μὴ λύσῃς differs from μὴ λῦε in exactly the same way except that the conception in these

[1] Musić's *Gnomički aorist u grčkom*, etc., published in 1892, I have not seen.

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cases is of a future act instead of one that is past. (Cf. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XV., p. 147.) The aorist indicative is also occasionally used referring to the future (see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 61, with the examples there cited). In most cases, however, where the Greek wishes to express this conception of a future act in the indicative, the future perfect is used. I do not refer now to the true future perfect, but to instances where that tense is used instead of a simple future merely to emphasize the certainty and promptness of the act, e.g. Aristoph. Plut. 1027, φράζε, καὶ πεπράξεται, "Speak, and it shall be done *on the spot*" (see Goodwin, § 79). A similar use of the future perfect is common in Latin. It is merely a more vigorous future, and its vigor is due to the fact that it disregards progress and deals only with accomplishment. The point I wish to emphasize in this connection is that Greek and Latin are acknowledged to have two distinct methods of presenting the same act both in the past and in the future, involving no real difference in the temporal relations of the act. The one presents it with special reference to its progress, the other presents it as a whole, and so necessarily involves and lays stress upon its final accomplishment.

Now the present indicative necessarily involves the idea of progress. In view of what we have found to be the different methods of expression in the past and the future, is it not likely that the Greek and the Latin would have sought some means by which an act in the *present* also might be presented, with the idea of progress left out? This, it seems to me, is the true function of the so-called gnomic aorist. General truths are commonly expressed by the present tense of the indicative. When the aorist is used, it is only because the speaker or writer wishes to emphasize the certainty, the promptness, or the suddenness of the act in question, or the readiness with which it is wont to be performed. For the purpose of doing this he presents it in a complete and accomplished form. In my paper on the Latin Prohibitives in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XV., I have shown very clearly that *ne feceris* differs from *ne facias* merely in being a more vigorous and emotional expression. And this, as I conceive it, is just the difference between the gnomic present and the gnomic aorist or perfect. This aorist or perfect may be illustrated, though imperfectly, in English by the following sentence, which might be used of a desperado whose aim was unerring: "Whenever he shoots, his victim is dead" instead of "dies" or "is wont to be killed." Cf. such expressions as "if you stir, *you are a dead man* (instead of "you will die"). If the gnomic aorist is looked upon as having this force, it will add much to the meaning of the passages in which it occurs. Apply this interpretation, for instance, to Hor. Od. 1, 34, 16 hinc apicem rapax Fortuna cum stridore acuto *sustulit*, hic *posuisse* gaudet. According to the common interpretation the gnomic perfect *sustulit* has come to mean "is wont to take away" only by implication from the idea that Fortune has done so in former times. The interpretation I suggest will make the sentence mean Fortune *takes away in the twinkling of an eye* the crown from one head and delights to *set it as suddenly* (*posuisse*) on another. If this theory is adopted in interpreting the instances of the gnomic aorist given by Goodwin in § 155, these passages will gain very distinctly in force and meaning. I would interpret the passages as follows: Il. 9, 320 Κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὅ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὅ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώς. Achilles uses these words in a very bitter speech prompted by what he looks upon as an insult. Val-

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iant deeds, he is convinced, bring with them no reward. The man of many deeds, as well as the man of none, passes away *and is gone and forgotten* (the words italicized representing the force of the aorist). The conception is that the result sets in so promptly that the progress of the act is not noticed. The position of the verb in this sentence seems also to indicate such emphasis. Il. 17, 177 Ὅστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην ῥηιδίως. Here Hector's blood has just been stirred by a charge of cowardice. He repels the charge. It was not, he says, the din of battle nor the tramp of horses that impelled him to flight, but Jove, "who terrifies even a valiant man and *snatches in a trice* his victory away." Pind. Pyth. 8, 15 βίᾳ καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ, "even the very boastful man *finds himself* at last by violence *o'erthrown*." Here the aorist is used not because the act is conceived of as sudden, but to emphasize the inevitability of its accomplishment. The present tense would connote the idea of progress without calling attention so particularly to the final result. The interpretation here suggested will be found equally suited to all of the other passages. It will be noticed, too, that apart from the verb, expressions are often used in these sentences, which seem to show that the speaker was bent on emphasizing just the idea which I have pointed out as inherent in the tense, *e.g.* ῥηδίως (with ἀφείλετο); μί' ἡμέρα (with καθεῖλεν); ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα (with ἅπαντα ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσεν); νῦν αὖριον (with ἐπλούτησε); ταχέως (with ἐπλούτησε).

Interesting in this connection is the conjecture of Brugmann (Griechische Syntax, p. 185) regarding the present and the future uses of the aorist, viz., "dass diese zeitlose und diese futurische Verwendung ursprünglich nur an die augmentlosen Formen geknüpft waren, also an die Injunctivformen des Aoriststammes, und dass erst das Schwanken zwischen augmentierter und nicht augmentierter Form in der Mittheilung vergangener Ereignisse dazu führte, dass man auch in jenen Fällen die augmentierte Form zuliess." With this conjecture should be compared the remarks of Thurneysen, regarding the injunctive, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 27, p. 173 — remarks endorsed by Brugmann in the note just referred to and by Delbrück on p. 360 of his *Altindische Syntax*.

29. A Critical Note on Euripides, *Ion* 1–3, by Mortimer Lamson Earle, Ph.D., of Barnard College.

Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις οὐρανὸν
θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον ἐκτρίβων θεῶν
μιᾶς ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, ἣ κτέ.

In these verses the following peculiarities have arrested the attention of critics: —

(1) The laboured rhythm of the first verse — particularly the violation of the Porsonian rule of the 'final cretic';

(2) The remarkable use of ἐκτρίβων;

(3) The occurrence of the word θεῶν at the beginning and end of vs. 2;

(4) The construction of simple genitive, instead of genitive with ἐκ, with ἔφυσε.

In order to get rid of the 'final cretic' in vs. 1, Badham suggested νώτοισιν πόλον, Nauck (followed by van Herwerden) νώτοισιν φέρων. Were we to adopt

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the latter reading, we should assume that *οὐρανὸν* was originally a gloss on *θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον*. If, however, we follow Hermann's view (as expounded in his *Elementa Doctrinae Metricae*, I. viii.), we shall regard Euripides as having employed an allowable license "in descriptione rei magni moliminis plenae," and treat vs. 1 as metrically sound.

Of *ἑκτρίβων θεῶν* Nauck says (in his annotatio critica, Teubner text-edition): "verba nondum emendata. sententiam si spectes, *ἐκ τῶν Ὠκεανίδων μιᾶς* requiritur." W. Dindorf (followed by van Herwerden) changes *ἑκτρίβων* to *ἐκ τριῶν*. Atlas had three wives. (See p. v. of Dindorf's preface to the Leipsic edition of his text of Sophocles, 1867.) But van Herwerden, in order to make Euripides' Hermes quite explicit (and, incidentally, to get rid of one of the *θεῶν*'s), not only transfers (with Dindorf, *loc. cit.*, p. vi.) *μιᾶς* to the close of vs. 2, but replaces it in vs. 3 by *ἀλόχων*. Thus the disputed passage runs in van Herwerden's text as follows: —

Ἄτλας, ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοισιν φέρων
θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον, ἐκ τριῶν μιᾶς
ἀλόχων ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, ἣ κτέ.

This, notwithstanding the *ἀλόχων*, is certainly better than Dindorf's

Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκόνωτος οὐρανὸν θεῶν
ὀχῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον ἐκ τριῶν μιᾶς
θεῶν ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, κτέ.

Let us turn now to the examination of a word that has thus far run the gauntlet, though to it, in my belief, is due, in great measure, the corruption of vs. 2. This is the word *οἶκον*. In vs. 15 the two MSS. of our play contain the same word in the same place (*γαστρὸς διήνεγκ' οἶκον*). This, as was seen long ago by Brodaeus (and it did not need much penetration to see it), is a corruption of *ὄγκον* (ΟΓΚΟΝ with carelessly written Γ misread and miscopied — perhaps partly under the influence of *οἴκοις* in vs. 16). Let us now substitute *ὄγκον* for *οἶκον* in vs. 2 and observe the result. Instead of an "ancient house" we have an "ancient mass," and *θεῶν* at the beginning of vs. 2 at once appears in the guise of an explanatory gloss on *παλαιὸν οἶκον* — an answer to the natural query: Whose "ancient house"? For *θεῶν* we readily substitute *φέρων*, comparing *διήνεγκ' ὄγκον* in vs. 15 (we need hardly think of Nauck's emendation of vs. 1). Thus we have Atlas described as "he that on brazen shoulders bears heaven, an ancient mass." This can hardly be right, unless (though it seems scarcely justifiable) we understand *ὄγκον* as precisely = *ἄχθος* ("his ancient burden"). I would, therefore, accepting Hermann's defence of the metre of vs. 1, make a slight change in the last word of that verse, and read *οὐρανοῦ*. It is then "he that on brazen shoulders bears heaven's ancient mass."

For *ἑκτρίβων* Dindorf's *ἐκ τριῶν* seems to be quite right. *ἑκτρίβων* is due, if my emendation of *οἶκον* be sound, to somebody's attempt to construe the passage after *θεῶν* had ousted *φέρων*.

There is no need of bringing *τριῶν* and *μιᾶς* together; for if it be urged that the contrast of *τριῶν* and *μιᾶς* makes it more natural that the two words stand side by side, we may answer that Euripides is hinting at what he conceived to be the etymology of *Μαῖα*; hence *μιᾶς ἔφυσε Μαῖαν*.

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The whole passage, then, I would read thus: —

> Ἄτλας, ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις οὐρανοῦ
> φέρων παλαιὸν ὄγκον, ἐκ τριῶν θεῶν
> μιᾶς ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, ἢ κτέ.

30. Crates of Mallos and the Beginnings of Philological Study at Rome, by Professor George L. Hendrickson, of the University of Wisconsin.

The author withholds an abstract of this paper on account of some modification of his results by additional material. The purpose of the paper was to point out some hitherto unobserved instances of the influence of Crates and the Pergamene school upon the earlier philological studies at Rome.

31. On the Meaning of *nauta* and *viator* in Horace, Sat. I. 5. 16, by Professor Sidney G. Ashmore, of Union College.

Remarks were made upon this paper (which may be found in the *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*) by Messrs. Warren, Knapp, Owen, and, in reply, by Professor Ashmore.

Adjourned about 1 P.M.

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[1] This list has been corrected up to December 1st, 1894; permanent addresses are given, as far as may be. Where the residence is left blank, the members in question are in Europe. The Secretary and the Publishers beg to be kept informed of all changes of address.

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Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.
Library of the University of Bonn.
Library of the University of Jena.
Library of the University of Königsberg.
Library of the University of Leipsic.
Library of the University of Tübingen.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

[Number of foreign institutions, 37.]

TO THE FOLLOWING FOREIGN JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS.

Academy, London.
Athenæum, London.
Classical Review, London.
Revue Critique, Paris.
Revue de Philologie, Paris.
Revue des Revues (Prof. J. Keelhoff, Tongres, Belgium).
Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.
Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, Berlin.
Indogermanische Forschungen (K. J. Trübner, Strassburg).
Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.
Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.

[Total (397 + 64 + 37 + 1 + 11)= 510].

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE I. — NAME AND OBJECT.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."

2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

ARTICLE II. — OFFICERS.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.

3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

ARTICLE III. — MEETINGS.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

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ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the volumes of Transactions thus far published: —

1869–1870. — Volume I.

Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.

Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with ὅπως and οὐ μή.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.

Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.

Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.

Van Name, A.: Contributions to Creole Grammar.

Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869), and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

1871. — Volume II.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.

Whitney, W. D.: Strictures on the views of August Schleicher respecting the nature of language and kindred subjects.

Hadley, J.: On English vowel quantity in the thirteenth century and in the nineteenth.

March, F. A.: Anglo-Saxon and Early English pronunciation.

Bristed, C. A.: Some notes on Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

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Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.

Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

1872. — Volume III.

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Trumbull, J. Hammond: Words derived from Indian languages of North America.

Hadley, J.: On the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century, as illustrated by a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Stevens, W. A.: On the substantive use of the Greek participle.

Bristed, C. A.: Erroneous and doubtful uses of the word *such*.

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Whitney, W. D.: On material and form in language.

March, F. A.: Is there an Anglo-Saxon language?

March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

1873. — Volume IV.

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Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

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Goodwin, W. W.: On the classification of conditional sentences in Greek syntax.

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Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

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March, F. A.: On dissimilated gemination.

Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

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Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

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Proceedings of the eleventh annual session, Newport, 1879.

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Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

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Warren, M.: On Latin Glossaries. Codex Sangallensis, No. 912.
Proceedings of the sixteenth annual session, Hanover, 1884.

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Proceedings of the seventeenth annual session, New Haven, 1885.

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The Philological Society, of England, and The American Philological Association: Joint List of Amended Spellings.
Proceedings of the eighteenth annual session, Ithaca, 1886.

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Sihler, E. G.: The tradition of Cæsar's Gallic Wars, from Cicero to Orosius.
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Wells, B. W.: The sounds *o* and *u* in English.
Smyth, H. W.: The Arcado-Cyprian dialect. — *Addenda.*

Proceedings of the nineteenth annual session, Burlington, 1887.

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Allen, W. F.: The *Lex Curiata de Imperio.*
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Whitney, J. E.: The "Continued Allegory" in the first book of the Fairy Queene.
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Brewer, F. P.: Register of new words.

Proceedings of the twentieth annual session, Amherst, 1888.

1889. — Volume XX.

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Cook, A. S.: Metrical observations on a Northumbrianized version of the Old English Judith.
Cook, A. S.: Stressed vowels in Ælfric's Homilies.

Proceedings of the twenty-first annual session, Easton, 1889.
Index of authors, and index of subjects, Vols. I.–XX.

1890. — Volume XXI.

Goodell, T. D.: The order of words in Greek.
Hunt, W. I.: Homeric wit and humor.
Leighton, R. F.: The Medicean Mss. of Cicero's letters.
Whitney, W. D.: Translation of the Kaṭha Upanishad.

Proceedings of the twenty-second annual session, Norwich, 1890.

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Capps, Edw.: The Greek Stage according to the Extant Dramas.
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Hale, W. G.: The Mode in the phrases *quod sciam*, etc.

Proceedings of the twenty-third annual session, Princeton, 1891.

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1892. — Volume XXIII.

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Muss-Arnolt, W.: On Semitic words in Greek and Latin.
Humphreys, M. W.: On the equivalence of rhythmical bars and metrical feet.
Scott, Charles P. G.: English words which hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by attraction.
Proceedings of the twenty-fourth session, Charlottesville, Va.

1893. — Volume XXIV.

Sonnenschein, E. A.: The scientific emendation of classical texts.
Bréal, M.: The canons of etymological investigation.
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Shorey, Paul: The implicit ethics and psychology of Thucydides.
Scott, C. P. G.: English words which hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by attraction (second paper).
Hale, W. G.: "Extended" and "remote" deliberatives in Greek.
Proceedings of the twenty-fifth session, Chicago, Ill.

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Knapp, Charles: Notes on the prepositions in Gellius.
Moore, F. G.: On *urbs aeterna* and *urbs sacra*.
Smith, Charles Forster: Some poetical constructions in Thucydides.
Scott, C. P. G.: English words which hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by attraction (third paper).
Gudeman, Alfred: Literary forgeries among the Romans.
Proceedings of the twenty-sixth session, Williamstown, Mass.

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1895.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1895.

I. — *On Professor Streitberg's Theory as to the Origin of Certain Indo-European Long Vowels.*

By Prof. M. BLOOMFIELD,

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

At the meeting of the American Philological Association in Chicago, July, 1893, Professor Streitberg presented a very interesting paper under the title 'Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe,' a long abstract of which was printed in vol. xxv of the Transactions of the Association. The subject was subsequently elaborated with great care and presented anew with exhaustive completeness in the third volume of the 'Indogermanische Forschungen,' pp. 305–416.[1] We have before us in these pages a concinnate theory regarding an important chapter in ancient Indo-European vowel history. It is written in a style strangely different from that which is ordinarily regarded as appropriate to the esoteric virtuosity supposed to be requisite for this particular phase of history. It is neither learnedly prolix, nor affectedly choppy and curt; his text need not, as is decidedly the case with some prominent writings on Comparative Grammar, frighten the philological layman: it does not at all bring with it that suspicion of a sneer which the average reader is tempted to see behind the unavoidable symbols in the reconstructed I.-E. start-forms

[1] The citations in the sequel are from this fuller treatise.

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(grundformen). On the contrary, the style is lucid and unprofessional; the writer is full of enthusiastic conviction, and his enthusiasm imparts to his presentation an almost romantic coloring, which envelops a little oddly questions such as what causes the *e* of Lat. *pēs* to be long, and that of *pĕdis* to be short.

The word 'dehnstufe' is defined as referring to the length, or the extreme length, that appears in words of a certain root-group, or stem-group, in the course of the vocalic variations. Thus the vowels *ē* and *ō* in the suffix of *πατήρ* and *δώτωρ* are regarded as the product of lengthening of the 'normal' *ĕ* and *ŏ* in *πατέρα* and *δώτορα*; these normal vowels may be reduced under certain conditions to zero, yielding the suffixal form *tr* in *πα-τρ-ός* and Sk. *dā-tr-ī́* 'she that gives.' Or, to take a case of a radical vowel, the 'normal' vowels of *πόδα* and *pĕdem* exhibit their long grade ('dehnstufe') in Doric *πῶς* (for **πώς*) and *pēs*, the reduced form being in evidence in Zend *fra-bd-a* 'fore-part of the foot.' It will be understood from this that the 'dehnstufe' deals with that particular class of long vowels which appear most saliently in the nominatives singular of third declension nouns, *i.e.* with those vowels which appear to the ordinary observer of a single I.-E. language as though they had been lengthened for the express purpose of accentuating the superior dignity of the subject-cases, or, at any rate, for the purpose of differentiating them from the oblique cases. The same lengthening occurs elsewhere, of course, but it will be well to remember this as the most characteristic seat of the 'dehnstufe,' especially as far as the classical and Teutonic languages are concerned.

Professor Streitberg is guided towards his propositions by observations that had cropped out in certain quarters of the more recent history of the I.-E. languages. It has been observed variously that a long vowel in a given syllable appears at times to be due to the loss of a short, low tone vowel in a syllable following immediately upon the long vowel. Thus Swedish *brinn* with musical and expiratory stress (something like *brîin*) from older *brinna;* Lithuanian *vémti* 'vomit' (i.e. *vêmti*): Sk. *vámiti;* Lith. *žélti* (i.e. *žėlti*) 'grow green': Sk.

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hárita, Obg. *zelenŭ*. Further, Professor Leskien had observed that, in his native dialect of Kiel, the tone quality varies according as the vowel preceding the lost vowel is originally short or long; thus *nìmt* from O.H.G. *nimit* with 'cut' (stossend) accent, but *stim̃t* from O.H.G. *stimmit*, with 'slurring' (schleifend) accent. These observations, which do not, according to any showing, point to a broad tendency in the physiology of sound, are embodied by Professor Streitberg into a prehistoric law, that must have concluded its operations at a period prior to the branching of the I.-E. tongues, since the individual languages on the one hand present the 'dehnstufe' as a *fait accompli*, on the other hand manifest the reverse of antipathy against the succession of an unaccented syllable after an accented one.

The law, as formulated by Professor Streitberg, is as follows: A short vowel after an accented vowel sometimes falls out. If it does, it compensates the preceding vowel by lengthening it, if itself short; by drawling or slurring its tone, if itself long. For the second of the two cases the examples are exceedingly scarce; there is, it seems, but one example which runs as a red thread through the discussion, and we may present this in illustration:

I.-E. **di̯ḗu̯o-s* with short accented vowel becomes *di̯ḗu-s* after losing its suffixal *o* and compensating the preceding vowel by adding a mora. I.-E. **nā́u̯o-s* with long accented vowel becomes *nā̃u-s* after losing its suffixal *o* and compensating the preceding vowel by adding a mora, rendering it tri-moric. Of this condition the slurring accent (circumflex) is supposed to give evidence.

The law thus stated and illustrated is then applied with rigid consistency and a manipulation of the materials which is always ingenious and skilful, and at times, to say the least, very suggestive. But it is nowhere convincing, and at times so obviously forced as to produce the wish that the writer had endeavored to prove with it a little, but prove that little well. Granted that certain prehistoric long vowels might have originated by lengthening in compensation for the loss of a vowel in a subsequent syllable, is it at all likely that

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every I.-E. *ē*, *ō*, and *ā* in correlation with I.-E. *e*, *o*, and *a*, should have thus originated? The author unconsciously relapses into a state of mind, prevalent in an earlier stage of Comparative Grammar, which viewed the earlier conditions of speech as preternaturally simple, and swayed by an automatic regularity denied the depraved children of later days. The result is startling: it sweeps away with one motion almost every monosyllable; there must have been a stage of I.-E. speech in which monosyllabic noun-forms were absolutely unused.

We may observe the rigidity of the view best of all in the author's application of it to the so-called lengthening (vṛddhi) of derivation in the Aryan languages. The Sanskrit and, in a lesser degree, the Avestan, present numerous instances of secondary nouns and adjectives which differ from the primary nouns by lengthening one or more vowels of the original stem. Ordinarily the first vowel is lengthened, and it is an especial characteristic of this type, which in Sanskrit has become indefinitely productive, that consonantal stems always add a suffix; thus *çāradá* 'autumnal' from *çarád* 'autumn'; *sámrājya* 'universal empire' from *samrā́j* 'universal ruler'; *vāíçya* 'people's caste' from *víç*, 'clan'; *pāúnsya* 'male' from *púms* 'man, vir,' etc. Similarly in Zend, where the type is less productive, *haomanaŋha* 'well-minded' from **humanaŋh* 'having a good mind' *dəušmanahya* 'evil-minded,' etc.[1] The type of formation existed almost unquestionably in proethnic times (cf. *ōvum*, Hesych. ὤβεον 'egg': *avis* 'bird'), and so our author assumes. It may be regarded as even more certain that the type was started by sparse instances of the co-existence of simpler and fuller stems, the latter tending towards an adjectival and abstract value. But by all means the fuller stem must have had a suffix. From the point of view of the Aryan languages, pairs like *pā́d*, *pād* 'foot' and *pā́da* 'foot,'[2] *vā́c*, *vāc* (Greek ὀπός) 'speech' and *vācya* 'to be spoken,' suggest themselves, but the general I.-E. instances

[1] Cf. Bartholomae, Vorgeschichte der Iranischen Sprachen, in the 'Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie,' p. 44.

[2] Cf. πῆδον 'rudder, blade of an oar'?

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of this derivative lengthening are too isolated to leave much room for hope that the nest in which the type was hatched will yet be found out. Professor Streitberg seems to have gone peculiarly far afield. On p. 380 he says: "Long-vowelled (dehnstufige) monosyllabic nouns are usually collective nouns in contradistinction from their radically related nouns. Cf. *vâc* 'speech' with *vácas* 'word,' *nâbh* 'gewölke, gathering of clouds,' with *nábhas* 'cloud,' etc. This contrast shows that in early times lengthening and collective function were in close correlation." In this manner *sāptam* 'a group of seven,' etc., are supposed to have propagated the type *vâc* by borrowing its collectively significant long vowel. The entire vṛddhi of derivation is thus derived by transfer from a few monosyllabic suffixless nouns, and yet the one characteristic feature *to which there is no exception in the entire history of the formation* is that there is not a single monosyllabic noun which is conceived of by any language of the family as a secondary derivative from another independent noun. Moreover, it has come to pass that something very human has overtaken the author. Namely, he seems at this stage to have forgotten that the very point of his dissertation is to show that there are no stems *vâc-* and *nâbh-*, but only stems *văc-* and *năbh-*, that the long vowel is justified only in the nominative singular, and that it is there a secondary contraction from a dissyllabic **u̯ŏqo-s*: every other case in the paradigm of these nouns is entitled originally according to his showing only to the short vowel (*u̯ŏq-* and *nŏbh-*, pp. 324, 334). Of this later on.

This same endeavor to constitute the theory into a cohesive chain whose links shall include all correlative facts — an endeavor altogether praiseworthy when carried on with extreme reserve and caution — leads the author to press his principle unduly in more than one instance of his treatment of the nominatives of consonantal (third declension) stems. Thus he derives I.-E. *ḱērd* 'heart,' and *sāld* 'salt' from **ḱ̂ḗrod* and **sâlod* (p. 346). These forms are not only bizarre, but also altogether uncalled for. There is not a trace of a dissyllabic root to be found anywhere; the assumption of two syllables is purely for the sake of the theory. The circumflex

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of Greek κῆρ is unfavorable, — the theory demands cut tone (κήρ), — and has to be explained as due to a transfer from the oblique cases, κῆρος, κῆρι, where, we must add, it is again secondary, since the old inflection in all probability was **k̂ér̥d, *k̂r̥d-ós* (Lat. *cordis*).

Another instance of undue pressure appears in the treatment of the *-nt*-stems, especially the active participles. Having assumed that the nominatives of consonantal stems which show proethnic lengthening owe their long vowel to a dissyllabic predecessor, the theory is extended to all consonantal stems, even where the lengthening is absent. For, it must be borne in mind, that Professor Streitberg posits I.-E. **bheroñts* and **dōnts* as the forms of the participle immediately preceding the historical nominatives. Now he further derives these from vocalic nominatives **bheróntos* and **dóntos*, and this ending *-óntos*, having a long vowel (by position) in the first syllable, must yield *-oñts* with drawling tone as the result. The rest is a chain of analogical disturbances which has resulted in eliminating this start-form without leaving a single undisturbed instance of it; the only dialect which has preserved the drawl-tone is the Lithuanian, e.g. *vežą̃s*, neuter *vežą̃* 'riding,' and here the vocalism is secondary, **vežą̃s, *vežą̃* being the forms demanded by the theory. The *a*-vowel is due to the oblique cases (accusative *vẽžantį̃*, etc.). Moreover, little faith is to be set upon the circumflex of these forms because other consonantal nominatives, *szų̃* 'dog,' *akmų̃* 'stone,' *moterẽ* 'wife (mother),' *sesų̃* 'sister,' all of them exhibit secondary drawl-tones. This is true without as well as with Professor Streitberg's theory [*e.g.* I.-E. *mātḗ(r)* from **mātḗro-s*]. Elsewhere the circumflex is wanting; the assumption that it was present in I.-E. times rests thus upon the most fragile basis imaginable. Equally or even more perplexing is the paroxytonesis of the start-form **bherónto-s*. Why not **bhéronto-s* (Greek φέρων, Sk. *bhárant*)? The author does not stop to quiet our misgivings. But further, the assumption of a vocalic nominative is justified by the existence of prehistoric stems in *-énto-*, *-ónto-*, *-u̯tó-* like Obg. *hliumund* 'leumund' = Ved. *çrómata*; ἀ-χείμαντος : Ved. *hemantás* 'winter,' etc. Because these

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exhibit an extension of an *n*-suffix by a secondary *-to*, he assumes that the participle suffix is without doubt ('es kann meines bedünkens nicht zweifelhaft sein,' p. 350) composite, being an *n*-suffix + *to-*. But these occasional extensions like *çromatá, hliumunt* prove only that at all times the adjective-participle suffix *-to* imparted a certain fluidity to stems, reviving, as it were, their congealed or decayed grammatical character. The *-to* of *çromatá-, hliumunt* proves no more for I.-E. times than the *-to* added at a later period in Latin to prehistoric *-u̯ent-*stems: *-ō(n)sus* [in *formō(n)sus*] for *-vent-to-s*. The author, in fact, throughout his work, neglects the historically secure transitions of consonantal stems to vocalic stems. As well might he have cited Pāli *gacchanto* 'going' nominative singular masculine; *guṇavanto* 'virtuous'; Prākrit *suṇanto* 'hearing'; Gothic *gibands*, Obg. *frijōnds*, in proof of the vocalic ending of the participle. In historical times the trend is from the so-called non-thematic to the thematic formations: *mi*-verbs become *ō*-verbs, and consonantal stems become vocalic far more frequently than vocalic stems turn consonantal. That there was at an early prehistoric period a consonantal participle of the type *bhéront-*, at a period prior to the glottogonic moment at which the author assumes his contractions, seems particularly likely on account of I.-E. *bhéronti* 'they carry' (Pindar φέροντι, Sk. *bháranti*, etc.). The connection, in some manner, of this word with the strong stem of the participle is nearly, if not quite, the clearest fact in the pre-history of I.-E. word-formation. And in the light of the singular forms *bhéresi, bhéreti*, the *i* can scarcely be regarded in any light but that of a formative element, and we are thus left with a genuine base *bhéront*, already consonantal in the dimmest past. There is positively, as far as we can detect, nothing in favor of a stem *bherónto-* except the theory which is to be proved by *bherónto-*.

Another very hazardous application of the theory, namely to the Sanskrit noun-compounds with a root-word ending in *t* in the second member, calls for brief comment. The author (pp. 337 ff.) derives Sk. compounds like *paçu-tŕ̥p* 'eager for cattle,' *madhu-kŕ̥t* 'preparing honey,' each from two vocalic

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stems, *pékṷo-terpo-* and *médhṷo-kerto-*. The rigidity of his preference for the second declension cannot be better illustrated. The stems *pékṷ-* (Sk. *páçu-*, Lat. *pecu-*, Goth. *faihu-*, etc.) and *médhu* (Sk. *mádhu-*, Gr. *μέθυ-*, etc.) are obviously prehistoric, and perfectly self-sufficient: there is no trace of either *pékṷo-* or *médhṷo-*. But the particular point we have in view is the identification of the *t* in the type *kṛ́t* 'making' with the suffix of the perfect passive participle in the type *kṛtó-* 'made.' The *t* of *-kṛt* is the so-called adscititious *t* which appears under certain circumstances at the end of roots in short *i*, *u*, and *ṛ*. Whatever its origin may be, it needs to be explained everywhere in the same way. Professor Streitberg, in deriving it from the same source as the perfect passive participle suffix *-to*, ignores completely the fact that the same extension of the root appears in the compound gerund in *-ya* (*-kṛ́tya*, *-jítya*, *-stútya*), the gerundives in *ya* (the same types), before the suffix *van* (*kṛ́tvan*, *jétvan*, *sútvan*),[1] and more sporadically in a variety of other formations. Would he derive *kṛ́tvan* from a stem **kértoṷeno-*, and the like? At any rate, some mention of these noun-classes was due in connection with an attempt to show that *-kṛ́t* 'making' is identical with *kṛtó* 'made.' One need but look at the compound *çrút-karṇa* (frequent in the Rig-Veda) 'having listening ears' to realize how different fundamentally the two types are: a word **çrutá-karṇa* could mean 'having famous ears' or the like, but under no circumstances 'having listening ears.' And this remains true notwithstanding the fact that the boundary between active and passive function is at times evanescent in noun-formations, especially in derivatives from the so-called neuter verbs.

We may abstain here from cataloguing the misgivings aroused by many more individual applications of the theory,[2]

[1] Cf. Avestan *kərəpwan* 'doer,' *stərəpwant* 'levelling,' *vī-bərəpwaṇt* 'divided, or transferred,' Jackson, Avestan Grammar, §§ 820–1.

[2] Let us merely note in passing that the stem *gavayá* 'bos gavaeus, a variety of the common bull' is not well chosen to prove the actual existence of a dissyllabic stem *goṷo-* (p. 321). The form is a noun from a denominal stem *gav-aya* 'be like a bull,' formed, doubtless, in specifically Hindu times. According to the author's own showing, it would have to appear as **gāvayá*, if it were a prehistoric formation (see p. 364 ff.).

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and turn rather to its central point, the hearth upon which it was kindled. The monosyllabic nominatives, such as *gōús* 'cow,' *dii̯ēús* 'sky,' *nāús* 'ship' (Streitberg *nāũs*), *bhṓrs* 'thief' (*φώρ*, *fūr*), *u̯ṓu̯s* 'voice,' etc., are obviously the kind of material that suggested the theory in the first instance. The three diphthongal stems for 'cow,' 'sky,' and 'ship,' especially, are the 'swell' examples, to which the author reverts repeatedly as the ideal realizations of the theory. He starts with a perfectly legitimate observation of Professor Wheeler, that these radical nouns are paralleled in very many instances by oxytone *o*-stems with similar function. Thus by the side of *κλώψ* we have *κλοπός*, by the side of *φώρ* we have *φορός*, and so quite a number of others. But these cases are by no means numerous, considering the broad scope of each formation taken by itself. And they are no more to be regarded as proof for the original identity of the two types than the functional similarity of the abstracts in *-os*, *-es* and those in *-mn̥*. Thus we have *ῥέϝος* and *ῥεῦμα*; *ζεῦγος* and *ζεῦγμα*; *κλέϝος* and Goth. *hliuma*, Sk. *çrómata*; Sk. *mánas* and *mánma*; *γένος*, Sk. *jánas* and *jánma*, and a host of others. Indeed, the absolute identity of the meaning of the types *κλώψ* and *κλοπός* is hardly certain. The radical forms are to our feeling personalized nouns, while the oxytone *ó*-types are true adjectives. They remind one of such couplets as Greek *στραβός* 'squinting' and *Στραβών* 'squinter ('squinty,' as it were), and many others. In general it may be regarded as hazardous to identify noun-forms because they come under common functional categories, such as nouns of agency, or nouns of action.

But curiously enough, Professor Streitberg's theory is not fulfilled by the type *κλοπός* at all, but on the contrary paroxytones are needed unto its satisfaction. He does not derive *κλώψ* from *κλοπός*, but from **κλόπος*. Now, one of the most luminous facts in the proethnic history of accentuation is, that in a considerable variety of oxytone and paroxytone couplets, the oxytones are nouns of agency, the paroxytones (or barytones) nouns of action, or medio-passives. Thus *φόρος* 'tribute,' Sk. *bhára-s* 'act of carrying, burden' : *φορός*

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'carrying.' Of *s*-stems ψεῦδος : ψευδής; Sk. *ápas*, Lat. *opus* 'work' : *apás* 'working.' Of *n*-stems, Sk. *dā́man* 'gift' : *dāmán* 'giver'; cf. χεῖμα : χειμών. The principle is keenly felt as well in proethnic times, as in the individual life of several languages of the family; cf. the same discrimination carried out secondarily in δόλιχος 'race-course' : δολιχός 'long'; ὦχρος 'pallor' : ὠχρός 'pale,' etc. He does not as much as stop to waive aside this distinction, but derives φώρ 'thief' from φόρος, not φορός. And this brings us to the final difficulty. Why does *bhóros* (φόρος) exist at all as a proethnic word, safely propagated through the language, if *bhóros* — another *bhóros*, or the same *bhóros*, we are not explicitly told — changed to *bhṓrs*? In fact, the author does not state at any time under what precise conditions his groups of two successive syllables contract to a long, or to a drawled monosyllable, under what conditions the post-tonic vowel is thrown out, compensating the tonic vowel by an additional mora. That is left — intentionally doubtless — an open question. The bearing of Professor Streitberg's theory upon the oblique cases of the radical consonantal declensions must not be overlooked. It works a curious result in two ways. First, they have one and all become heteroclitic. The nominatives singular are all of the second declension (of the classical grammars), all the rest of the cases are of the third declension. Secondly, the accentuation of the oblique cases *gou̯-ós diu̯-ós*, *pod-ós*, etc., which fairly clamor for a concomitant type with accent upon the root and correspondingly strong vocalism in the manner of *Foîδε* : *Fιδμέν*, of βῆ-ν : βα-τός; φῆ : φα-μεν and many others, is left without this necessary basis. The strong casus rectus, or casus recti, which alone can furnish a tangible background for weak-vowelled casus obliqui, are blown out of existence, one knows not whither, nor why.

With unfeigned regret, we acknowledge our inability to accept the author's ingenious and learned argument, in so far as it concerns the origin of the long vowels of the 'dehnstufe.' But one does not do justice to Professor Streitberg's investigation without adding that it contains, in detail, many captivating observations, destined to enrich permanently our

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stock of knowledge on the subject. As a specimen of what may be done by way of stimulating writing, and as an exhibition of the most refined knowledge of all the questions that enter into the discussion of the early history of the phonetics of Indo-European speech, the essay will remain memorable. And its amiable, conciliatory tone, its lucidity of thought and style, leave in the reader the impression that the stiffest themes in Comparative Grammar may be presented with the attractiveness that belongs by rights to every form of historical inquiry.

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II. — *On the Contributions of the Latin Inscriptions to the Study of the Latin Language and Literature.*[1]

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So diverse are the interests of modern life that it is to be feared that there are many people of ordinary culture who are indifferent or sadly skeptical as to classical studies making any real progress. To them the dead languages, so called, are as great, gloomy, silent catacombs, in which new passages, it may be, are now and then opened up, but which remain practically unchanged from generation to generation.

How often, when in search of a particular text in a second-hand book-store, have I been told by the omniscient proprietor, "Oh, sir, you know the texts themselves are always the same." And yet I find in two books printed only six years apart the same line of Varro written

psephístis dicite lábdeae et vivós contemnite vívi,[2]

and

ipseí scitis δὸς καὶ λάβ', id est: sivís contendite sívi,[3]

in which, although some letters are the same, no two words agree. I need perhaps hardly say that for the latter and later version or perversion of the MS. reading, Lucian Müller is responsible. Change, alas, is not always progress. Yet, if we turn our eyes back to the early years of the century, we can see that great progress has been made in the scientific treatment of Latin. In 1830 it was still possible for a patri-

[1] This paper was read on Friday, December 28, 1894, at the second Joint Session of the Philological Congress.

[2] See Bücheler's edition of Petronius, 1882, p. 167, frag. 48 of Varro's Menippeae.

[3] See L. Müller's edition of Nonius, 1888, p. 95, under *Anticipare.*

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otic German professor, Ernst Jäkel,[1] to discuss seriously in a book of two hundred and fifty pages the Germanic origin of the Latin language and the Roman people. The German *fenster*, for example, and the Latin *fenestra* are both derived from *finster*, and *oculus* is said to be a diminutive of *auge*, vulgarly pronounced *oge*.

Bopp, and Schleicher, and Brugmann, and Whitney have forever made the appearance of a book like this impossible. It is not, however, to the light thrown by comparative philology, but to the light shed from within, if I may so speak, to the help afforded by Latin inscriptions, that I wish to call your attention to-day.

Although many thousand inscriptions had been collected and used before the dawn of this century, Mommsen could still cry out in 1852, *Hodie iacent inscriptiones latinae confusae atque omni genere fraudis et erroris inquinatae.* In 1863 the first volume of the Corpus of Latin inscriptions appeared. To-day there are fifteen volumes, some of them in several parts and with supplements, while the total number of inscriptions edited exceeded several years ago a hundred thousand.

The work as originally planned is nearing its completion, and it is to be hoped that Mommsen, the great master, will live to see it finished. Finished, of course, in one sense it never really can be, and supplementary volumes will always be needed to include the new inscriptions constantly being found in every part of the vast Roman empire.

Three times in the last seventeen years Bücheler has published an article in the Rheinisches Museum with the heading "Aelteste lateinische Inschrift."[2] Let us hope that it is not the last time. The Numasios inscription, which some refer to the sixth century before Christ, now heads the list. May the next claimant to the title of "Älteste Inschrift" take us back to the reign of Numa.

The inscriptions published vary in length from a single letter to many hundred lines, but the shorter ones are by no

[1] Der Germanische Ursprung der lateinische Sprache und des römischen Volkes nachgewiesen von Ernst Jäkel, Breslau, 1830.

[2] Cf. Rhein. Museum 33, p. 486; 36, p. 235; and 42, p. 317.

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means the least interesting. To the classical master not too jaded to cherish a zest for longevity, it is gratifying to know that a Greek teacher in Spain lived to the age of ninety-seven years without a pain.[1] It is refreshing also to turn from the pages of Juvenal and read that a Roman Julia lived with one husband for thirty-seven years without a complaint.[2]

Even an inscription consisting of but a single letter may not be without value. Thus the Greek alpha found under the middle toe of the left foot of the bronze boxer discovered some ten years ago in Rome, proves by its shape that the work was cast, not in Rome, but in Greece, and at a comparatively early period.[3]

Time will not permit our even glancing at the great contributions which inscriptions have made to our knowledge of Roman history, laws, and institutions. I propose to show by some illustrations how they help us in orthography and pronunciation, in the matter of forms and vocabulary and dialectic differences, and finally to touch upon their contribution to our knowledge of individual authors and to the body of literature itself.

1. In our current editions of Shakespeare the spelling is modernized, but the Shakespearian scholar will wish to know the exact reading of the first folio. Something similar is true of Latin. It is not necessary or desirable that school editions should reproduce the vagaries in spelling of different writers and different periods, but it is desirable that a critical edition should approach as nearly as possible to the orthography of the writer himself, so far as it can be determined. Not even to-day is this sufficiently borne in mind.

If there were time I should like to indicate here how the great Ritschl edition of Plautus, begun in 1848 and only completed in this present year by his pupils, was made possible by the careful study of inscriptions, but I will use a briefer and fresher illustration.

[1] Cf. Corp. II. 4319.

[2] Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, 1890, p. 356. *Iuliae felicissimae dulcissimae coniugi, quae vixit mecum sine ulla querella annis xxxvii.*

[3] Cf. Lanciani, Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, p. 307.

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In the thirteenth letter of the first book of Cicero's letters to Atticus, all the editions including Tyrrell[2], 1885, and Boot[2], 1886, read *caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis*, but the first hand of the best MS., the Mediceus, has for *victimis* two words, *victum eis*, which some of the editors do not think it worth while to mention and which it is easy to call a corruption of the text. Not so! The letters are the very letters which Cicero wrote, only he wrote them as one word, and some later scribe, copying a MS. in capitals without division of words, recognizing in VICTVMEIS two well-known words, *victum* and *eis*, wrote them separately, but he copied faithfully the letters of his exemplar. I cannot give here in detail the evidence elsewhere found in MSS. for the spelling of *victuma* with *u* by Cicero[1] and other writers, but the important evidence is that it occurs in the Praenestine Fasti,[2] an inscription of excellent orthography, somewhat later than Cicero, while the derivative *victumarius*[3] with *u* occurs three times in inscriptions.

For *ei* used to represent long *i*, as in *victumeis*, abundant evidence could be cited from inscriptions and from the MSS. of Cicero's letters, and I have tried to show elsewhere[4] that in the Brutus of Cicero, § 191, where the editors all read *milium*, the reading of the MSS., *me illum*, points to the spelling MEILIVM, which is also found in inscriptions, I being read L as so often.

These things may seem trifles, but then scholarship is made up of trifles, and it is no trifle to vindicate character, even the character of a manuscript.

In Horace, Sat. 1, 5. 86, Wickham, with some of the other editors, spells the borrowed Gallic word for wagons *rhedis*, but the better manuscript authority is for *raedis*, which spell-

[1] For Plautus, see Pseud. 327 and 329. In Cicero's Philippic, xiv. 7 cod. Tegernseensis has *victumae*. *Victumae* is read in Seneca Controversiae, xxv. 28, and there is a trace of it in Pliny H. N. 28, 11, where V (Sillig) has *victum*.

[2] Cf. Corp. I[1], p. 312.

[3] Cf. Fabretti Glossarium Italicum, col. 1962.

[4] American Journal of Philology, Vol. xiv. p. 238.

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ing is confirmed by the curious epitaph of a dog found at Ricina, in Picenum, which runs thus:—[1]

> Raedarum custos numquam latravit inepte
> Nunc silet et cineres vindicat umbra suos.

2. It would be easy to cite hundreds of examples where the orthography of inscriptions, an accent placed over a vowel, an I longa, a consonant or vowel doubled, a consonant omitted or inserted, throw light upon the pronunciation of a period, a locality, or an individual. I shall content myself with one or two instances.

Lindsay, in his recent work on the Latin Language, states that from the beginning of the second century A.D. we commence to find *b* and *v* interchanged in inscriptions. He neglects to notice that in an inscription found some ten years ago at Tegea, in Arcadia,[2] of the year 50 A.D., we already find *lebare* for *levare*, showing at least a local tendency, due perhaps to Greek influence, to this interchange of *b* and *v*.

That the *a* of *pastor* was pronounced long is proved not only by *paastores*, Corpus, I. 551, but also by the apex in *pástóris*, Corpus, X. 827.

Some people will never be convinced that Cicero pronounced his name Kikero, despite the fact that Plutarch and other Greek authors transliterate it Κικέρων, and that the Albanian has borrowed *cicer* from the Latin, keeping the hard *k* sound.[3]

Now an inscription on a vase in Gaul, of the sixth century, which has *officina*[4] spelt OFIKINA, ought to convince us that C was at least not pronounced like S, and Gaston Paris[5] has recently declared that all the examples quoted for interchange of *c* before a narrow vowel (not in hiatus) with a sibilant,

[1] Cf. Corp. IX. 5785.

[2] Cf. Ephemeris Epigraphica, V. 187.

[3] Cf. Gustav Meyer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Albanesischen Sprache, p. 226.

[4] Cf. Revue Critique, 1890, p. 212.

[5] Cf. Acad. Insc. 1893; Comptes Rendus, XXI. p. 81; and Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 88.

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earlier than the sixth century in Southern Italy, the seventh century in Gaul, are illusory.

3. But nowhere have inscriptions rendered better service than in the preservation of forms which would otherwise be either unknown to us or only scantily represented in grammarians and literature. Let me illustrate this briefly from the oldest Latin inscription found in a grave at Praeneste in 1887, upon a gold fibula. The inscription, the writing of which is retrograde, contains only four words, *manios : med : fhe : fhaked*[1] *: numasioi.* In classical Latin this would be *Manius me fecit Numasio* (possibly *Numerio*). Nominative singulars, like *Manios*, of *o*-stems are numerous in early inscriptions. The accusative *med* can be paralleled from inscriptions and from Plautus, but this form shows how early the confusion between accusative *me* and ablative *med*, if confusion[2] it be, began. From the Oscan we might have divined that the early Latin had a reduplicated perfect of *facio*, but we should not know it except for *fhe-fhaked* in this inscription. This form also with its final *d*, in conjunction with other evidence, makes it probable that early Latin, like Oscan and Umbrian, differentiated the ending of the third person singular in primary and secondary tenses. The form, if retained in later Latin, would probably have become *fefici*, cf. *pepigi*, but it was displaced by *feci*. Finally *Numasioi* shows the original dative singular of *o*-stems, a form borne out by Oscan analogies, but supported in Latin only by the isolated notice of a grammarian[3] which had been discredited by some modern scholars.[4]

Great care is sometimes necessary to be sure that these old forms really do exist in inscriptions. In the older linguistic

[1] Some scholars prefer to represent this by *vhevhaked*. For the quantity of the *a* and for the proper name Numasius, see Buck, The Oscan-Umbrian Verb System, Studies in Classical Philology of the University of Chicago, Vol. I. p. 164, which has appeared since this paper was written.

[2] Johannes Schmidt, K.Z. 32, p. 407, scouts the idea of *mēd* being an original ablative and thinks it contains the suffix *id* seen in Vedic *svid*.

[3] Marius Victorinus, Keil, VI. 11 f.

[4] Jordan, Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache, Berlin, 1879, p. 241.

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manuals down to 1887 you will find a genitive singular *Prosepnais*, which is eagerly equated with a Sanskrit genitive in *-āyās*, but a minute inspection of the Cosan mirror now in the Louvre, on which the form was read, reveals the fact that the curve which was mistaken for an *S* is only a wanton lock of hair straying off from Proserpina's head.[1]

4. The number of new words which will accrue to our lexicons when the indices to the Corpus are completed will doubtless mount up into the thousands. The new epigraphical dictionary of Ruggiero, which has only advanced to CAT, although it includes only words relating to antiquities, has over fifty words not found in Harper's, some of them not in any Latin lexicon,[2] and of many words for which the dictionaries only cite single passages, the inscriptions offer several instances.

We should not know, except from inscriptions, that a maker of light clothing was called *vestiarius tenuiarius*,[3] and many names of trades and occupations, of fabrics and articles of commerce are only known from inscriptions.

From confining our attention too closely to classical Latin we probably underrate the facility of the popular Latin for forming compounds. Inscriptions preserve some very interesting compound adjectives, e.g. *silvicolens* (cf. *silvicola*, Vergil), Corpus, II. 2660; *altifrons* in same insc.; *florisapus*, C. VIII. 212; *frondicomus* (Prudentius), C. VIII. 7759; *raucisonus* (Lucretius, and Catullus), C. III. 6306; *canistrifer*,

[1] Cf. Schneider, Dialecti Latinae priscae et Faliscae exempla selecta, Leipzig, 1886, number 53. Corp. I. 57. Ritschl, Priscae Latinitatis monumenta epigraphica, Tabula XI M, and especially the article by Cholodniak, Rhein. Mus. XLII. p. 486.

[2] Cf. the articles on accomodator, acrolithum, adcumbitorium, adstator, adsumptus, aemobolium, aerumnator, agmia (= acmia, Harper), Agrippiastae, aluminarius, Ambisagrus, Ambrosiales, ambulativa, ampliator, anaglyptarius, anagnostria, anagones, analempsiaca, anatiarius, ancentus, Anigemius, annuculus, ansarium, antigradus, anularium, apparatorium, aptatura, aralia, arbitrix, archiater, archigybernes, archimysta, arensis, armamentarius, assidarius (= essedarius), assiforana, asturconarius, aviaticus, aulicocta, aureficina, auricaesor, aurificus, axearius, barcarius, baxearsi, blattosema, bucellarii, cacurius, calculatura, canistraria, cannophorus, caracteraria, carnaria.

[3] Cf. Georges, Lat. Wörterbuch, and Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, p. 166.

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C. III. 686; *sistriger*, C. VIII. 212, v. 84; *castificus*, C. III. 686.

The Latin folk-speech was rich in diminutives, and some of these are hidden away in inscriptions. Thus for little grand-daughter we find five different forms, *nepotula*, *nepotla*, *nepotilla*, *neptilla*, and *nepticula*.[1]

I have always thought that German, for poetical purposes, possessed a great advantage over English, in the freedom with which it coins diminutives. Who can translate "Röslein auf der Heiden" without missing something of its exquisite flavor? Did not the Romans coin *rosula?* Of course they did, but it is not found in classical literature, nor until the end of the fifth century in Dracontius,[2] and yet in an inscription in an out-of-the-way corner of Bulgaria, there peeps up a *roscida rosula*,[3] rose-bud wet with dew.

Less than a year ago there was found in Spain a bronze bell, now in the museum of Tarragona, which gives a new diminutive term for bell, *cacabulus*,[4] literally, little pot. With this the Spanish *cascabel* may have some connection.

Inscriptions also contain many words which are purely local. These are often of especial interest to Romance scholars. *Cacabulus*, just mentioned, is an example. Another Spanish inscription of Trajan's reign has the word *paramus*[5] used of a desert plateau, and in South America to-day the Spaniards speak of a *paramo*.

Only a beginning has as yet been made in tracing dialectic differences. As early as the time of Plautus,[6] the Praenestines, living only twenty miles away from Rome, were ridiculed for swallowing a part of their words, saying *conea* for *ciconia*, and inscriptions of that neighborhood illustrate

[1] Cf. Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, Bd. 145, p. 654.

[2] Cf. Dracontius, Hexaëm, II. 441, and De-Vit, Forcellini, s.v.

[3] Found at Nicopolis. Cf. Corp. III. 754.

[4] Cf. Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, Oct. 24, 1894, col. 1188 f.

[5] Cf. Corp. II. 2660. Also used by Julius Honorius. Cf. Riese, Geographi minores, p. 36.

[6] Cf. Plautus, Truculentus, 690.

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this tendency by such spellings as *Gminia*[1] for *Geminia*, *Ptronio*[2] for *Petronio*.

If the much vexed question of African latinity is ever settled, it will largely be by the aid of inscriptions, and a good beginning has been made here by Kübler[3] and other scholars. Let me call attention to a trifle. A German scholar, Richter,[4] has been at great pains to show that in Plautus and Terence the interjection *au* is used only by women. But in Africa a tradesman who has lost his wife does not hesitate to cry out in his grief,

Au miseram Carthago mihi eripuit sociam.[5]

6. In more than one way inscriptions throw light on Roman literature. We learn the names of poets and poetesses otherwise unknown to fame. We read that a certain Pomponius Bassulus,[6] toward the close of the first century, translated plays of Menander, and that in 106 a boy prodigy of twelve, named Valerius Pudens,[7] was crowned victor in the quinquennial poetical contest which had been instituted by Domitian, an honor for which the poet Statius vainly tried. We learn of a poetess, Pedana,[8] and a poet, Diadumenus.[9] An inscription found at Aquinum, the birthplace of Juvenal,[10] yields us important facts about that poet. A Greek inscription found at Melassa (Mylasa) a few years ago establishes the praenomen of Tacitus[11] as Publius, and tells us that he

[1] Cf. Ephem. Epigr. I. 72.

[2] Cf. Ephem. Epigr. I. 92, and Sittl, Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache, Erlangen, 1882, p. 22, for other examples. *misc sane*, for *miscē sane*, is also found. Cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 518.

[3] Cf. Archiv für Lat. Lexikographie, VIII. pp. 162–202.

[4] Studemund's Studien, I. 2, pp. 415–420.

[5] Corp. VIII. 152.

[6] Cf. Corp. IX. 1164, *Menandri paucas vorti scitas fabulas.*

[7] Cf. Insc. Neapol. 5252, and compare Teuffel, Romische Lit. Gesch. § 319. 3, for the poets Nardus, Q. Sulpicius Maximus, and C. Concordius Syriacus.

[8] Corp. VI. 17050.

[9] Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, p. 34, *Hic iaceo Diadumenus arte poeta.*

[10] Corp. X. 5382. I am aware, of course, that some scholars deny that the Juvenal mentioned in the inscription is the poet.

[11] Cf. Bulletin de corresp. Hellenique, 1890, p. 621.

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was proconsul of Asia probably about 112 A.D. Nothing made the younger Pliny so happy as to be named in the same breath with Tacitus. He notes with pleasure in one of his letters[1] that it was customary for them to be mentioned together in bequests, and, by a curious chance, considerable fragments are still extant of the will of Dasumius,[2] in which the names of Tacitus and Pliny stand side by side. Pliny himself, by reason of his benefactions to his native Comum, is mentioned in several inscriptions. But I must not linger longer over facts like these.

7. If the Romans hung 'odes upon hawthorns and elegies on brambles,' the hawthorns and the brambles have not survived to tell their story. Not so with the walls and stones. The number of iambics and trochaics, of hexameters and hendecasyllables which have survived the wreck of time is surprising. We have Saturnians that go back to the third century before Christ; we have bits of lyric that antedate Calvus and Catullus.[3] Some of the verses preserved might have been written by Ovid or Propertius; some of them would have earned an English school-boy a flogging for their slips of quantity. In general, however, the obituary verse does not fall below the standard of that to be found in certain Baltimore and Philadelphia papers. It may perhaps be noted here that in both the modern and the ancient verse, metrical correctness is sometimes sacrificed to secure exactness in the statement of facts. Thus in the following tribute quoted from a newspaper,

> God alone knows how we miss thee
> In our home, O daughter and sister dear,
> How for thee our hearts are yearning,
> How we long thy praise to hear.

the second line is made too long by the insertion of *and sister*, to correspond to the subscription 'by her mother and sisters.'

[1] VII. 20.
[2] Corp. VI. 10229.
[3] Cf. Bücheler in Rhein. Mus. 38, p. 474.

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So it is a good senarius if you read

quae dúm per annos bís decem vitám gerit,

but faulty if you read

quae dum per annos bis XVIII vita gerit.[1]

We find in these poetical inscriptions, quoted exactly or imitated with slight variations, verses from Lucretius, from all the works of Vergil, from Catullus, Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, Lucan, and other poets.[2]

A lady traveller in Egypt, in the reign of Trajan, inscribed on the pyramid at Ghizeh these touching lines: —

Vidi pyramidas sine te dulcissime frater
Et tibi, quod potui, lacrimas hic maesta profudi
Et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam.[3]

Editors are agreed that the last line contains a reminiscence of Horace, Od. 3. 11. 51 f.,

Omine et nostri memorem sepulcro
Scalpe querellam,

where some MSS. read *sculpe.*

To the music of Horace's verse and the rare felicity of his language some critics have been strangely cold, and his claim to the title of lyric poet has not passed unchallenged. In 1891 a vivacious Dutch scholar, Hartmann,[4] went so far as to

[1] This line actually occurs with *vita* for *vitam* in Corp. VIII. 10828. See Bücheler, Carmina Epigraphica Fasc. 1, Leipzig, 1895, no. 110, p. 62. This excellent work, forming a part of the Anthologia Latina, was published after the reading of my paper. It contains only the Saturnian, iambic, trochaic, and hexameter poems. Another part is still to appear.

[2] The opening words of Lucretius, *Aeneadum genetrix*, are found in a Pompeian inscription. The opening of the Aeneid, *Arma virumque cano*, is found in three Pompeian inscriptions and upon a tile near Seville. The beginning of the second book, *conticuere omnes*, is also found in Pompeii. The first two lines of the seventh book of Lucan are found upon an inscription in Trier. Sometimes the quotations or imitations are valuable for text-criticism. The subject might be illustrated indefinitely. See the notes in the ed. of Bücheler already referred to, and a subsequent treatment based upon this edition by Hosius, Römische Dichter auf Inschriften, Rheinisches Museum, L. pp. 286–300.

[3] Corp. III. 21.

[4] J. J. Hartmann, De Horatio poeta, Lugduni Batavorum, 1891.

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deny that Horace's odes enjoyed any considerable reputation immediately after his death. As if to resent this affront, only a few months later there came to light in a modest house in Pompeii[1] two medallion portraits, one of Vergil, the other of Horace. Before Vergil is a volume of Homer; before Horace a volume inscribed with the name of Sappho, showing that long before Juvenal wrote his seventh satire, these two poets were associated in the minds of the people as the great epic and the great lyric poet of Rome. I need not here recount the story of the finding in 1890 of the long inscription containing the official record of the celebration of the secular games, which incidentally throws much light on the Carmen Saeculare itself. The simple statement, *Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*, gives us, to be sure, no new information, but in its official setting, it emphasizes the fact that the poet who was to become the master of Tennyson's youth, and the solace of Gladstone's old age, was in the year 17 B.C. the acknowledged poet laureate of Rome.

[1] Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, January, 1892, p. 28.

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III. — *Some Spartan Families under the Empire.*

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THE Spartan inscriptions are not in themselves a very interesting subject for study. Belonging for the most part to the time of the empire, they consist chiefly of lists of magistrates or the eulogies engraved on the bases of honorary statues, of which the erection seems to have been authorized by the city, while the expense was borne by the relatives of the distinguished man. Naturally in such inscriptions chronological indications are seldom found; for although the lists of magistrates are regularly dated by the names of the Patronomus Eponymus, but few of these can be placed with precise accuracy. In the first volume of the Corpus,[1] Boeckh gave a list of the Eponymi, and so far as his material allowed, endeavored to point out their succession and approximate time, and this work has been supplemented by Foucart in the notes to the Laconian inscriptions collected by Le Bas.[2] However, the chronology of the Spartan magistrates of the empire is still in a very uncertain condition, nor is it likely to be placed on a secure basis until our stock of inscriptions is very much increased. Perhaps something may be gained by a still further extension of the methods employed by Boeckh and Foucart, especially when their material is supplemented by new inscriptions, in some cases found outside of Laconia.

A starting-point in defining the time is furnished by the occasional mention of an emperor, while the succession of the Eponymi is sometimes determined by inscriptions containing the *cursus honorum* of distinguished Spartans with the year in which each office was held. Though such indi-

[1] C. I. G. I. p. 606.
[2] Le Bas, *Voy. Arch., Explic. des Inscr.*, Pt. II. p. 109.

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cations as these must of course form the foundation of any chronology, they are applicable to a very small proportion of the inscriptions, and further help must be sought from the names occurring in the lists. As the father's name is regularly added, it is often possible to trace successive generations through these texts, and thus obtain at least a tolerable certainty as to their order. Such family groups have been indicated by both Boeckh and Foucart, and freely used by them in their study of the inscriptions, but it was no part of their work to combine these groups into more extensive family trees, nor was the material at their disposal sufficient for such a combination. Using their work as a basis and incorporating more recently discovered inscriptions, it seems possible to trace the history of some Spartan families through several generations, while these genealogies in turn may serve to throw some light upon the chronology. It is true this method is far from absolutely certain, and in some cases it is impossible to come to a positive decision. P. Aelius Alkandridas, the son of Damokratidas, is certainly closely connected with P. Aelius Damokratidas, son of Alkandridas,[1] but is he father or son of the latter? Such a question can only be answered by the aid of other names occurring in these inscriptions, and sometimes this help is lacking. Still, without resorting to violent conjectures it is possible to make quite extensive combinations, and when these are followed out through all the inscriptions, the results must tend to clear away some of the obscurities previously existing. It is my object in this paper to trace the history, or rather the genealogy, — for the account is only a bare list of names, — of two families, whose members seem to have been prominent in Sparta through several generations.

Of the first family, one branch is known to us through literature as well as through the monuments, and its history has been so thoroughly discussed by R. Weil,[2] that it is unnecessary to do more than briefly summarize his results, with some additions from inscriptions unknown to him. Plutarch[3]

[1] C. I. G. 1364 *a* and *b*. [2] *Athen. Mittheil.* VI. p. 10.
[3] Plut. *Anton.* 67.

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tells us that after the battle of Actium, Eurykles the Laconian pursued Antonius in revenge for the death of his father Lachares, who had been executed by the triumvir on a charge of piracy. Evidently Augustus valued the assistance thus received, for Strabo[1] says that in his time Eurykles was the ruler of Laconia, and that the island of Kythera was part of his private possessions. His rule, however, led to complaints on the part of his subjects,[2] so that he lost the favor of the emperor before his death, while at the time Strabo wrote (not later than 19 A.D.), his son was evidently in disgrace. Thus much we are able to gather from the literature; for the remainder of our information we are indebted to the inscriptions. These show that C. Iulius Eurykles, the son of Lachares,[3] had two sons, C. Iulius Deximachos,[4] of whom only the name is known, and C. Iulius Lakon,[5] who later obtained such favor with the emperor, that under Claudius he ruled Laconia.[6] About 68 A.D. an inscription was erected on the Acropolis of Athens, in honor of C. Iulius Spartiatikos,[7] whose father's name is not given, but who is high-priest of the divine emperors and their family, an office belonging to the family of Eurykles, as is shown by a later inscription.[8] Weil had already suspected some relationship to Eurykles, and this is made almost certain by an inscription from Epidauros,[9] which reads Γ. Ἰούλιος Λάκωνος υἱὸς Σπαρτιατικός There seems to be no trace of the descendants of Spartiatikos, but an inscription of Gythion[10] mentions C. Iulius Eurykles Herklanos, son of C. Iulius Lakon, descendant (ἔκγονος) of Eurykles, 37th priest descended from the Dioscuri, etc. The same name probably occurred on a stone brought from Kythera and once forming part of the collection Nanni, but which seems now to have disappeared.[11] This inscription can be positively dated as not earlier than 116 A.D.,

[1] Strabo, pp. 363 and 366.
[2] Cf. Ioseph. *Antiq.* XVI. 10; *Bell. Iud.* I. 26, 4.
[3] C. I. A. III. 801 *b*. [4] C. I. A. III. 801 *a*. [5] C. I. G. 1389.
[6] *Coins of British Museum*, Peloponnesus, Pl. xxv. 12.
[7] C. I. A. III. 805. [8] Le Bas-Foucart, II. 245 *b*.
[9] Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, No. 197. [10] Le Bas-Foucart, II. 245 *b*.
[11] C. I. G. 1306; Le Bas-Foucart, II. p. 130.

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and may possibly be later than 117 A.D., as in it Trajan is called *θεός*. It has been usually assumed that this Eurykles Herklanos was grandson of the great Eurykles, and consequently son of Lakon and brother of Spartiatikos, but there seems a serious chronological difficulty in this view, involving as it does the supposition of only two generations covering a period of one hundred years, from the death of Eurykles in 15 A.D. to the end of the reign of Trajan. It seems, therefore, more probable that Lakon, son of Eurykles, had himself a son Lakon, who was the father of Eurykles Herklanos. The latter was evidently a prominent man, for he had been quaestor, tribune, praetor, legate of Hispania Baetica, and legate of the 3d legion, so that it is not improbable that his father had resided in Rome, and hence is not noticed in his native land.[1] The son of Eurykles Herklanos is probably the C. Iulius Lakon, who was Eponymus for the second time during the reign of Hadrian.[2] Here the family tree of Eurykles comes to an end, but certain other inscriptions make it clear that part of the honors, of which Herklanos was so proud, belonged to his family only through marriage, and that his branch is but part of a much larger stem.

We have seen that Herklanos is 37th priest in descent from the Dioscuri, and it is natural to seek some connection with the other priests of these deities. The clue seems to be furnished by an inscription,[3] which has been often discussed. It is a list engraved under a relief representing the Dioscuri standing, one on each side of a xoanon-like female figure, and evidently contains the names of those who took part in the worship of these Spartan divinities. It belongs to a class of inscriptions which seems to precede the Roman period, or at least the time of the empire, for Roman *nomina* and *praenomina* are entirely lacking. For us the interest of the inscription is found in a group of five names, Εὐρυβά-

[1] That Eurykles was a person of importance at Rome, or at least well known there, seems clear from the fact that among the numerous names borne by Pliny's friend, Q. Pompeius Falco, as recorded in C. I. L. X. 6321, we find Iulius Eurykles Herklanos.

[2] C. I. G. 1347. [3] Le Bas-Foucart, II. 163 *a*, especially lines 2–5 and 11.

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νασσα Σιδέκτα, *Τυνδάρης Σιδέκτα ἱερεύς*, *Δεξίμαχος Πρατόλα*, *Σιδέκτας Πρατόλα*, and *Πρατόλας Δεξιμάχου*. Obviously we have here a family group, in which the names Sidektas, Pratolas, and Deximachos are hereditary, and which is closely connected with the worship of the Dioscuri; if, therefore, we find in the later inscriptions these same names among the hereditary priests of the Dioscuri, a direct connection may fairly be assumed. Now a son of Eurykles bore the name C. Iulius Deximachos, and in an inscription,[1] which must fall between 18 B.C. and 14 B.C., we hear of C. Iulius Deximachos, the son of Pratolaos. The inference that Eurykles married the daughter of this Deximachos is plain, and has already been made by Weil, nor is there anything improbable in the supposition that the father of Deximachos is the *Πρατόλας Δεξιμάχου* mentioned in line 11 of the inscription in Le Bas; at any rate, it can scarcely be doubted that he belonged to the same family. We have thus a complete genealogical tree extending from about the middle of the first century B.C. until the time of Hadrian; and while at this time the direct descendants of C. Iulius Deximachos disappear, the line can be carried further in a collateral branch.

Among the inscriptions of Epidauros there is a group[2] referring to the family of a certain T. Statilius Timokrates, the son of Lamprias. Statues appear to have been set up in honor of this man and almost all his relations, but the most important documents are those relating to the statues erected by Athens and Sparta in honor of his son, T. Statilius Lamprias, who died in early youth. The Athenian decrees enable us to date this event between 66 A.D. and 68 A.D., while the Spartan decree, which is unfortunately very poorly preserved, gives some valuable information as to the connection of this Argive family with Laconia. It appears from this that Timokrates married Timosthenis, the daughter of Diylos, a Lacedaemonian, that her brother Aristokrates lived in Sparta, and further that the daughter of Timokrates and Timosthenis, Pasichareia, married a Spartan, Pratolaos. With

[1] C. I. G. 1299.

[2] Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, Nos. 202–211.

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this information it is possible to restore an inscription,[1] of which Boeckh had an imperfect copy. It was on a monument erected to Memmia Timosthenis by her parents, P. Pratolas and Memmia Pasichareia. Boeckh read Pasikleia, but the text shows X, and the Epidaurian inscription makes the restoration certain. The only objection that can be urged is that the daughter of Statilius Timokrates ought to be Statilia and not Memmia Pasichareia. The Epidaurian inscriptions show, however, that Timokrates assumed the name T. Statilius after he had already attained some prominence. If now his daughter was married before this time, she would probably take the name of her husband's family. I have not found when a T. Statilius was active in Greece, but P. Memmius Regulus was governor of Achaia, Macedonia, and Moesia under Caligula and Claudius, and it does not seem a violent assumption that the father of Pratolas owed his *civitas* to him.

In an inscription[2] which probably dates from the time of Antoninus Pius, occurs the name of P. Memmius Pratolaos, son of Deximachos. The time agrees very well, and in this man it is easy to recognize the grandson of the husband of Pasichareia. That this family is descended from the same source as Iulius Deximachos becomes clear when we find[3] that P. Memmius Deximachos, son of Pratolaos, is the 42d hereditary priest of the Dioscuri in Sparta. Evidently since the time of Eurykles Herklanos this priesthood had passed over to the younger branch. This priest had two sons, Mnason and Pratolaos, but with them the family seems to end. Another branch of this family held prominent offices in Sparta during the second century of our era, but their exact connection with those already discussed is not yet clear. [P. Memmius] Sidektas (again a name that occurs in the early list of the family) was Eponymus at the time of Hadrian's visit to Sparta[4] (126 A.D. according to Dürr[5]), and he had a son, P. Memmius Damares,[6] whose son, P. Memmius Pratolaos Aristokles, is mentioned in two inscriptions,[7] which

[1] C. I. G. 1441; cf. Vol. I. p. 922. [2] C. I. G. 1240. [3] C. I. G. 1340.
[4] C. I. G. 1241. [5] Dürr, *Reisen d. Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 59.
[6] C. I. G. 1352. [7] C. I. G. 1341, 1342.

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cannot be earlier than the time of M. Aurelius. The period is clearly defined, but the relationship between P. Memmius Pratolaos, son of Deximachos, and his apparently somewhat older contemporary P. Memmius Sidektas, is nowhere indicated, unless Boeckh's restoration of a very fragmentary inscription[1] can be accepted, according to which Sidektas also is the son of Deximachos. The inscription, however, is far too mutilated to give any certainty to this reading, probable though it appears, so that I prefer to leave it out of account. Other members of this family seem to be Memmia Ageta, daughter of Pratolas,[2] Memmia Damokratia, wife of L. Volusenus Damares,[3] Memmia Eurybanassa, wife of C. Iulius Seimedes,[4] and Memmia Xenokratia, daughter of Deximachos,[5] but so far as I can see, there is no clue to their exact position in the genealogy.

The other family is somewhat less complicated and the relationships less confused than in the one which has just been discussed. Plutarch[6] tells a story of an embassy to Rome to protest against the tyranny of Eurykles, which was headed by a descendant of the great Brasidas. It is therefore not surprising that we meet with this name several times in the later inscriptions, nor that the Roman name of the family in which it occurs is Tiberius Claudius.[7] In three inscriptions of the time of Hadrian,[8] there appears a certain Ti. Claudius Harmoneikos, who is once called son of Pleistoxenos, and who is probably the father of the Pleistoxenos and Xenophanes, who appear in another inscription,[9] which is referred on other grounds to the reign of Antoninus. Another Ti. Claudius Harmoneikos, son of Brasidas, appears in an inscription,[10] which probably belongs to the early part of the reign of M. Aurelius. It seems almost certain therefore that Brasidas is a third son of the first Ti. Claudius Harmo-

[1] C. I. G. 1250. [2] C. I. G. 1437. [3] C. I. G. 1438.
[4] C. I. G. 1372. [5] C. I. G. 1439.
[6] Plut. *Apoph. Reg. et Imper.*, *Aug.* 14.
[7] Cf. Sueton. *Tib.* 6 for the connection of the Claudii with Laconia.
[8] C. I. G. 1346, 1347; Le Bas-Foucart, II. 173 *a*.
[9] C. I. G. 1249, IV. [10] Le Bas-Foucart, II. 176.

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neikos. This Ti. Claudius Brasidas, father of Harmoneikos, does not himself appear in any inscription, unless he is the Eponymus mentioned in C. I. G. 1259, or the Brasidas whose statue, with its inscribed base, is now in the Museum at Sparta.[1] He seems to have had three sons, Harmoneikos, Brasidas,[2] and Pratolaos.[3] The latter had a daughter, Claudia Damostheneia,[4] who married Ti. Claudius Eudamos,[5] the son of Spartiatikos. This Spartiatikos is possibly the father of Chareision,[6] and almost certainly the father of Ti. Claudius Aristoteles,[7] who lived during the reign of Caracalla. Aristoteles married Julia Etymokledeia,[8] the daughter of C. Iulius Agathokles, son of Hippothales.[9] They had one daughter, Claudia Philokratia; but the names of women occur chiefly on funeral monuments or the dedications of statues, and I have not been able to follow this branch further.

The other branch, however, which is descended from Eudamos and Damostheneia, can be traced easily for more than one generation. Two daughters are known, Claudia Damastheneia,[10] and Claudia Polla, the wife of Aristeas, and mother of Pomponia Kallistonike, whose long list of priestly offices is set forth in C. I. G. 1444. That in this family many priestly functions were hereditary was already clear from the inscription[11] in honor of the elder Damostheneia, but Kallistonike enjoys quite a different list of titles, and one of these gives a clue to the source of her dignities. She is priestess of the Dioscuri, and, as has been said, daughter of Pomponius Aristeas. This points to a family well known from an earlier group of inscriptions. Alkastos, son of Timokritos, was senator under Hadrian.[12] One of his sons, C. Pomponius Agis, is mentioned in a number of inscriptions,[13] which can thus be dated as falling approximately in the reign of Anto-

[1] *Athen. Mittheil.* II. 363.
[2] C. I. G. 1329.
[3] C. I. G. 1243, 1426; *Eph. Arch.* 1892, 19, 2.
[4] *Eph. Arch.* 1892, 19, 2; C. I. G. 1446.
[5] C. I. G. 1445.
[6] C. I. G. 1409.
[7] C. I. G. 1349, 1353.
[8] C. I. G. 1448.
[9] C. I. G. 1259, 1360.
[10] C. I. G. 1445.
[11] C. I. G. 1446.
[12] C. I. G. 1241; Le Bas-Foucart, II. 173 *a*.
[13] C. I. G. 1239, 1240, 1249 II., 1266.

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ninus, and this emperor seems to be mentioned in an inscription[1] relating to another son of Alkastos, C. Pomponius Aristeas, who claims descent from Herakles and the Dioscuri. His son, C. Pomponius Alkastos, lived under M. Aurelius,[2] and it does not seem extravagant to see in the father of Pomponia Kallistonike a son of this Alkastos.

It remains to consider two inscriptions on bases found near Amyklai,[3] which throw further light on the descendants of Claudius Pratolaos. The first is in honor of Pompeia Polla, daughter of Theoxenos, whose statue was erected by her ἔκγονοι, Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratolaos Damokratidas and Claudia Damostheneia. Sextus Pompeius Theoxenos is known from an inscription,[4] which shows that he was honored by a statue erected at the expense of his three children, Sextus Pompeius Theoxenos, Menophanes, and Polla, who now herself receives the same honor. The second base contains the inscription relating to Ti. Claudius Pratolaos, son of Brasidas, to which reference has already been made. This statue also was set up by the city at the expense of his παῖδες, Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratolaos Damokratidas, who here adds to his name a long list of priestly titles, and Claudia Damostheneia. The obvious explanation is that the two children have erected the statues of their father and grandmother. Polla is therefore the wife of Ti. Claudius Brasidas and mother of Pratolaos, or else mother of the wife of Pratolaos. I prefer the latter, for we have seen that of the three sons of Brasidas one was named for his paternal grandfather, and one for his father, so that it is not unlikely that the third, according to a common Spartan custom, should be named for his maternal grandfather, and that Brasidas had married the daughter of a Pratolaos, perhaps one of the Memmii already discussed. If this is true, Polla must be the mother of the wife of Pratolaos.

There is, however, one apparent difficulty in considering Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratolaos Damokratidas as brother of the elder Claudia Damostheneia. It is found in the inscription[5]

[1] Le Bas-Foucart, II. 174.
[2] C. I. G. 1242, 1247, 1253, 1351.
[3] *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, 19, 1, 2.
[4] C. I. G. 1369.
[5] C. I. G. 1446.

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belonging to the statue of this very Claudia Damostheneia, daughter of Pratolaos, for here she is given all the titles, which in the new inscription belong to Pratolaos Damokratidas, while the expense is borne by her son, Ti. Claudius Pratolaos Damokratidas, son of Eudamos. Are, then, the first two statues erected by mother and son to the grandmother and the father of the former? This seems very hard to believe, for the Spartan inscriptions usually mark the relationship very carefully. The alternative seems to be that Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratolaos Damokratidas and Ti. Claudius Pratolaos Damokratidas are uncle and nephew; and I find in the presence of the Aelius in the former name an additional indication that the two are not identical. It can scarcely be a mere coincidence that in an inscription, which cannot well be earlier than M. Aurelius, we have mention of P. Aelius Alkandridas, son of Damokratidas, and in other inscriptions, which cannot be exactly dated, P. Aelius Damokratidas, son of Alkandridas. If this man is the father of the first-mentioned Alkandridas, it is quite possible that Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratolaos Damokratidas was the adopted son of Alkandridas, and that the nephew received his uncle's names without the additional gentile designation.

The limits originally assigned to this paper forbade any discussion of the scattered fragments of genealogies which may be traced in other Spartan inscriptions, and further study has not led me to believe that they would lend themselves to any such extensive reconstructions as have been possible in these two families. Nor until this material has been worked over, does it seem wise to complete the inquiry by applying the results already obtained to the determination of the succession of the Eponymi, although I hope at another time to show that something has been gained in this direction also.

NOTE. — In the following tables the results of this discussion are combined in the form of genealogical trees, in which those relationships, which, although very probable, yet lack the direct testimony of the inscriptions, are indicated by dots, while those which seem distinctly proved are shown by heavy lines.

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TABLE I.

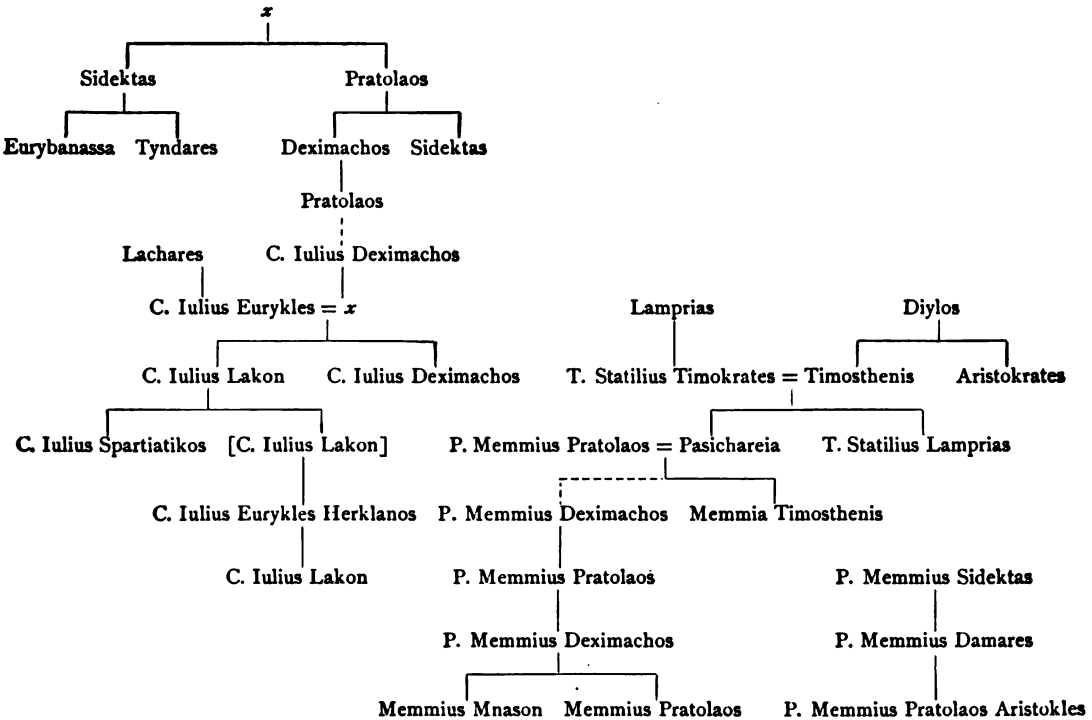

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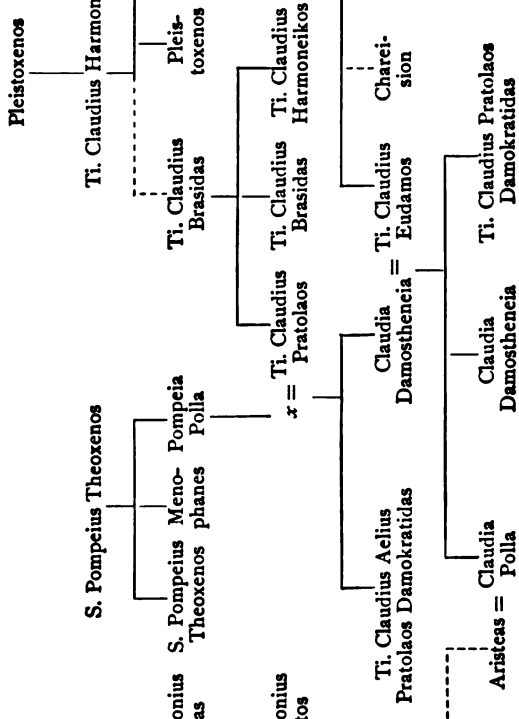
TABLE II.



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IV. — *On Ancient Superstition.*

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I.

The Greek word for superstition is *δεισιδαιμονία*, literally, "fear of demons," and, as such, superstition is regarded by those who specially dealt with it during antiquity.[1] While the noun apparently does not occur before Theophrastos, the corresponding adjective *δεισιδαίμων* is found as early as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*,[2] although there it applies to the zealous worshipper of the gods, and not to the superstitious man in the more recent sense of the word. But we may safely assume that the word acquired its special meaning at a considerably earlier time, for we see Menander harping on this string in a comedy to which he gave the title *Δεισιδαίμων*.[3] In fact, the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries seem to have been especially favorable to the development of the idea conveyed by the special use of the word. For, at this period, the Orphic doctrine, which had existed for centuries, seems to have gained a stronger hold on the masses. Through Herodotos[4] we first hear of the various Orphic rites; the *πολλὰ γράμματα* of the sect attracted Euripides'[5] attention, and Plato,[6] in his *Republic*, mentions their *ὅμαδος βίβλων*. Rohde,[7] I think, has abundantly proved that Orpheus' followers were among the chief promulgators of purifications and charms against evil spirits.

[1] Theophr. *Charact.* 16; Plut. *de Super.* 2; cp. 4.: to the *δεισιδαίμων* the *ἀρχὴ θεῶν* is a tyrannis. See also Babick, *de Deisidaemonia apud Veteres*, diss. Lips.

[2] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* III. 3, 58.

[3] Kock, *F. C. A.* III. 32 ff.

[4] Herod. II. 81.

[5] Eurip. *Hippol.* 954.

[6] Plat. *Rep.* II. 364 E.

[7] Erwin Rohde, *Psyche*, 398. Theophr. also mentions particularly the *Ὀρφεοτελεσταί*.

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I believe, therefore, that this period of great intellectual struggles and religious changes was well adapted for coining the word δεισιδαίμων, by which it stamped the adherents of a faith which just then began to die out and fall an easy prey to derision.[1]

The Latin *superstitio* would seem to be a late product; it is not found before Cicero.[2] But its derivative, *superstitiosus*, appears as early as Plautus.[3] Here, indeed, we meet with the same difficulty as in Greek. For in Plautus the word seems to denote a man gifted with prophetic power rather than superstitious. I have elsewhere[4] derived the word from *superstes* and interpreted it as "survival."[5] I do not, by any means, consider this etymology as certain, but in lack of something better, I still venture to adhere to it. From this meaning, the different usages of *superstitiosus* as religious, prophetic, and superstitious, may be derived without too great a strain.[6]

It is only natural, however, that in course of time the signification of both words should have undergone changes. In fact, the very perspicuity of the Greek δεισιδαιμονία must have affected the word in accordance with the changes which the conception of a demon (δαίμων) underwent in later periods.[7] As for the Romans, the use of *superstitio* for any foreign religion, and especially for the Jewish and Christian faiths,[8] sufficiently shows the change.

[1] I have no doubt that the manifold influences of the sophists and of Anaxagoras must have affected wider strata of the population. The occurrences during the pestilence (Thukyd. II. 47, 52) and the Hermocopidae distinctly show this altered spirit. Nor is a tenacious clinging to the old beliefs in some circles, like that of Nikias, inconsistent with so radical a change. N. himself was decidedly δεισιδαίμων (Plut. *de Sup.* 8).

[2] Cic. *Nat. Deor.* I. 117 a.o.

[3] Plaut. *Amphitruo*, 323; Rudens, 1139; Curculio, 397.

[4] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, I. 29.

[5] Superstitio — superstes = natio — natus.

[6] The superstitious man clings to the survivals (religious), even after they fall into contempt (superstitious), and, inasmuch as the divination it refers to is low and ridiculous, it would even acquire the meaning of prophetic.

[7] Heinze, *Xenocrates.*

[8] Pliny the younger, *Epist.* X. 97, 9; Tac. *Hist.* V. 13. Plutarch also speaks of the Jewish δεισιδαιμονία, referring, it is true, to the strict observation of the Sabbath only: *de Sup.* 8.

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But the principal question is: may these definitions influence our investigation?

It will certainly be necessary to state what has been considered to be superstitious during the different periods of antiquity; and perhaps such statistics might even show the course of thought which caused this continuous repudiation and reception of beliefs. But our final aim demands a still deeper insight. Why not, therefore, abandon the ancient definitions and start from those now prevailing? Unfortunately, we are here in a real *embarras de richesse.* To the scientist, every irrational belief not founded on careful observation would be superstition, and thither he would unhesitatingly relegate most of the tales told by the ancient naturalists.[1] On the other hand, from the orthodox standpoint of a revealed religion, the whole religious life of antiquity is superstitious. It is in this sense we find the fathers of the Church terming heathendom a superstition, thus avenging the taunt inflicted upon Christianity by Pliny and his contemporaries.

We must reject both of these views as too sweeping. Modern mythological research, more especially on Teutonic mythology,[2] has established beyond doubt the value of superstitious customs and practices in preserving an earlier stage of religious feeling, otherwise lost; and the same has been shown in the case of modern Greek Folk Lore.[3] The great number of instances where such an attempt has met with success seems to me to raise this observation to the rank of a law which ought to be applied to antiquity itself. In this light, the inquiry into superstition becomes a branch of the history of religion, equal perhaps to the value of archaeology in what the Germans call "Kunstmythologie."

This task of tracing the development of superstition from its religious origin to its crudest and most senile aspects

[1] This, for instance, is the side taken by Brehm, in his celebrated *Thierleben.*

[2] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie;* F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde;* Mannhardt, *Feld und Waldkulte;* Frazer, *The Golden Bough.*

[3] Esp. C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen;* B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen.*

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would be easy if we had to deal with one uninterrupted movement. We should only have to follow the ancient traditions according to their age. But this unbroken development does not exist. In the history of literature and art, the impossibility of showing any such continuous flow has been duly recognized in our century. And the recent researches into soul-worship and into an early animal-worship of the Greeks teach us the same lesson in the field of ancient religion.[1] No doubt an Athenian of the fifth century smiled at Hesiod's firm belief in the pollution of the sun by the exposures of human excrements.[2] Yet his burial-laws prove him to have held the same belief with regard to corpses.[3] The follower of the Stoa might not believe in the picture of Hades' wild mother, madly rushing through the air with the souls of the dead, so familiar to Athens that Aeschylos needs but one word to recall her image.[4] Still, Folk Lore shows this conception so firmly rooted in popular belief that a later period shaped Death itself after this model.[5] If we think of this unceasing fluctuation, how a religious belief is now being pushed back into oblivion, only to break forth again with redoubled power, we cannot help recognizing the existence of certain laws which regulate these movements as the eternal and unvarying rules of the conception of the supernatural. This shows clearly the insufficiency of the so-called historical method of stating the extent of superstitions at different periods, which method does not take into account that a late superstition may in its growth and origin be even older than a Homeric one.

The question, however, is how far does the nature of our sources enable us to follow this supposed fluctuation? With a few exceptions, the remnants of Greek literature which have come down to us are the works of men who were the very best and most enlightened of their own ages. It is as perilous to adopt their opinions on superstition and religion,

[1] E. Rohde, *Psyche.* A. B. Cook, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894, 81 ff.; cp. Loeschcke, *Athen. Mitt.* XIX. 519, and Noack, ibid. 480.

[2] Hesiod, *Works*, 727.

[3] E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 207, i.

[4] Aesch. *Agam.* 1189.

[5] B. Schmidt, *Volksleben s. Charos.*

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as it would be to accept Kant's and Goethe's views on the religious feeling of the eighteenth century. All the more, because neither in Greece nor in Rome was there any dogmatically established doctrine which could set us our standard in the way Christianity does in dealing with modern superstitions.

II.

It is true, we have two treatises solely devoted to superstitions: Plutarch's *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας* and Theophrastos' *δεισιδαίμων*. But Plutarch's booklet, being a *προτρεπτικός*, dwells mostly on the baseness and the dangers of being superstitious. There is scarcely one fact in it of which we may make use. Moreover, he deals with the superstitions of a late age, corrupted, as it were, by a long familiarity with foreign sectarian beliefs. Theophrastos' admirable sketch, on the other hand, abounds in facts. Yet, if we carefully consider his information, very little of it is of value for us. For, although his work is based on actual life, taken from the comedy, his standpoint is too exalted, so that among the features of his *δεισιδαίμων* he includes beliefs which no doubt simply belonged to the every-day religion of the people.[1]

Our search will extend chiefly to the humbler regions of literature. In the first line, to the writers on natural history, medicine, *παράδοξα*, and *θαυμάσια*. Here the palm is due to Pliny, who, notwithstanding his fervent protestations, has preserved with unmistakable pleasure the "frauds of the magicians" and with them much valuable information. Even more reliable knowledge may be gathered from his incidental mention of miraculous powers ascribed to natural objects or of queer customs which he sets forth to illustrate his doctrines.

[1] As superstitions proper, I can only accept the "angang" of the *weasel* and the *owl*, the spitting at the sight of a maniac or an epileptic, and perhaps the unlucky foreboding of the nibbled grain-bag. The beliefs concerning the snake, the purificatory rites in the morning, and the consultation of the *Ὀρφεοτελεστής* once a month belong to the sphere of popular religion, as well as the fear of uncleanliness caused by the touch of tombs and women in confinement. Even these form that proper religious basis underlying superstition which we are trying to find.

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His work is, indeed, an inexhaustible storehouse. Moreover, he stands *unus pro multis*, as the excerptor of so many authors lost to us. This, however, renders it difficult to make the proper use of his information, as we must in every case trace back his statements to their sources, at the same time guarding against the numerous misunderstandings to which the very method of his work made him open.[1] Of other authors it may suffice to mention Aelian, Alexander of Tralles, Paulus Aegineta, Marcellus of Bordeaux. As a rule, however, the later an author's period, the less is the value of his information, despite its growing quantity, and the more is it derived from second-hand or third-hand sources. The much scantier facts given by Galen, Theophrastos, Aristotle, and Hippokrates are much more valuable.[2]

The conservative character of agricultural customs has made them the richest field of superstitions in modern Folk Lore. This rule holds good for antiquity also. The Geoponica delight in narrating such things. Their sad state, however, due partly to our manuscripts, partly to the unconscientiousness of their Byzantine compilers, renders it necessary to deal with this treatise with extreme care. The efforts of Gemoll[3] and Oder[4] seem to have been almost in vain; and confusion here reigns supreme.[5] The condition of the Roman agricultural writers is slightly better. But Columella and his follower Palladius embodied too much of the young and fabulous traditions of later Alexandrinism. Fortunately we possess Cato, whose work in its simplicity is brimful of important reports on superstitions of his own period.

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* I. 29 ff. passim. As to misunderstandings, cp. p. 58, 63 (radish and cabbage).

[2] F. i. Galen on amulets (f. i. *Simpl. Med.* X. 18); Theophrastos on the κύμινον (*H. P.* VII. 3, 3); Aristotle on the male principle in the egg (π. ζῴων γεν. III. 27); Hippokrates on charms (π. ἱερ. νούσ. VI. 354 Littré).

[3] *Berl. Stud.* 1883.

[4] *Rhein. Mus.* XLV. 58 ff.; XLVIII. 1 ff.

[5] No doubt Oder was right in spurning Gemoll's confidence in the lemmata, though his own deductions and conclusions do not seem much safer. But even if he should be right, our present purpose will not be much furthered. For these sources are for the most part themselves of a fabulous nature and of a comparatively late age.

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Third, come the magical papyri.[1] Though as products of a secret science they do not properly belong here, still they contain much popular lore. As yet this has been much neglected, while the greatest care has been bestowed on the theological parts of their contents. This neglect is partly due to the difficulty of severing the property of Greece from the thick cobwebs of Oriental superstition in which it is entangled, and which necessitate the constant help of the Egyptologist and Semitist. The chief fault in what has already been done is the endeavor to attribute too much to real Greek antiquity.[2]

Another source, rich in superstitious traditions, is formed by the authors of the patristic literature, more especially by such men as Origenes,[3] Clemens of Alexandria[4] and Hippolytos[5] in the field of Hellenism, and by Arnobius, Lactantius, Tertullianus, and St. Augustine in the western world. Their writings are valuable on account of the good and reliable authors they used. But we must take care not to be misled by their custom to transfer such information to their own ages, nor, on the other hand, to ascribe with them to a high antiquity beliefs fostered by a later and syncretistically infected period.[6]

In comparison with these four main sources all our other

[1] Parthey, *Abhand. d. Berl. Akad.* 1865; Leemans, *Pap. Mus. Aeg. Leyd.* II. 1885; Wessely, *Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.* 1888; 1893 = Kenyon, *Greek Pap. in the B. M.* 1893; Dieterich, *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl.* XVI. Abraxas.

[2] This is especially true of Dieterich, who, in his excellent "Abraxas," indulges in exaggerating the influence of Orphicism, while he is severely handicapped by an insufficient knowledge of Hebrew and Egyptian. Cp. his entirely unwarranted treatment of the Essenes, 137–147, and of the Apocalypse, 117 ff. Lagarde, on the other hand, despaired too soon of the possibility of disentangling the Ephesia grammata. F. i. Pap. Par. (Wessely, 1888) 196, is merely an anagram of the Hebrew words: תִּרְאֶה תּוֹרָה בִּנְעִימֶהָ; and ibid. 1291, *οθηνωρηλιε* is *ὁ* תֵּן אוֹר *ἥλιε*, Sun, the giver of light.

[3] *Contra Celsum.*

[4] *Στρωματεῖς*; esp. VII. 712 A — 714 C Sylb.

[5] Hippolytos (Ps.-Origenes) *κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων* IV.

[6] A good example is offered by Clem. Al. His statements, at the place quoted, are apparently all taken from some cynical treatise. On the other hand, he draws on his often-used catalogue of *εὑρεταί* and ascribes the *εὕρημα δεισιδαιμονίας* to Dardanos, Eetion, Midas, and so on (*προτρεπτικός* 10 B Sylb).

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information is insignificant in extent, if we except the Greek novels and the writings of Lucian and Alkiphron in Greece, of Petronius and the satirists in Rome. All these are comparatively late and their value is much impaired by their second-hand character.[1] To a certain degree, we may ourselves explore the storehouse of their knowledge. For they are chiefly indebted to the Athenian comedy of the fifth and the following centuries. Titles like Δεισιδαίμων and Φαρμακοπῶλοι show how much superstition incited the wit of the comedy-writers, with whom we may class here Epicharmos, closely followed, as we know, by Theokritos. But in quantity the yield of a research in this field is scanty; although, of course, this evidence is invaluable in ascertaining the higher age of late superstitions. The further we go back, the thinner our information grows. Tragic literature and the Lyrics cannot be expected to be rich. It is Hesiod who forms an exception, concerned as he is with rural and everyday life. He justifies our implicit confidence in the conservatism of agricultural traditions; the more so if we compare his poems with the Homeric epos. The Ionian court life, for which this epos was conceived and to which it had to appeal, exercised a destructive influence on the conservation of the homely beliefs of the tiller of the soil in Homer.[2]

[1] This is especially true of Alkiphron and the Roman satirists. But it holds good of Lucian as well. It was not only in style that he indulged in an imitation of the Athenian comedy (cp. Kock, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIII. 26 ff.), and even of Petronius (notwithstanding A. Collignon's restrictions in his *Étude sur Pétrone*, 312 ff.).

[2] Traces of superstitious beliefs in this period undoubtedly exist, but they are scarcer than is usually conceded. To my mind, neither the speaking horse, nor Circe with her rod, nor the herb μῶλυ, nor, finally, Odysseus' descent into Hades, can be classed with superstitions or even with magics. Xanthos and Balios are of godly descent, and the other alleged instances belong to the sphere of fairy tales which, it is true, may be closely connected with a lost mythology, but must not be dubbed superstitions. Who would call the "Sleeping Beauty" an evidence of superstitious beliefs? The only distinctly superstitious feature is the cure of wounds by charm-songs. But even this need not be called superstition in our sense, as it seems then to have been a living popular belief. These ἐπαοιδαί seem still to be on the same scale with prayer, which in its origin was itself a charm-song, and has preserved this character not only in Homeric poetry, but as late as Aeschylos (as I shall show elsewhere). This testifies to the existence of a

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So much for literature. At the first glance the monumental evidence might seem likely to become our chief mine of information, richer on account of its daily increase, more valuable on account of the directness of its testimony. But at the present stage of archaeology, I must forbear to make use of the evidence derived from the monuments. For we want close observation and accurate recording of facts, two things which only lately have been recognized as necessary. We possess, indeed, a series of such records in the Italian "Notizie degli Scavi,"[1] but Greek archaeology has scarcely begun to realize their importance.[2] As for the treasures of our museums, their state is much too motley. Here again the Roman "Museo Papa Giulio," containing the finds of Falerii, sets the example by strictly keeping together the contents of each tomb, regardless of their material. Elsewhere, one has patiently to work through the museum journals, very often without the expected result, especially when the object in question has come from a dealer, or if it is artistically insignificant, as amulets (which chiefly interest us) are for the most part. I think, however, that, even under altered circumstances, literature will still retain its prominence. For symbols cannot be explained without explicit testimony. It is impossible, for instance, to tell from finds, whether the axe is meant as a useful implement in the life beyond, or as an amulet to protect the soul against evil spirits on its way to Hades, or, lastly, if it was worn as an amulet by the possessor in his lifetime.

Inscriptions, of course, are more explicit. Yet it is in the very nature of superstition to conceal itself from the daylight

stratum of crude, primitive beliefs in the Homeric age, which at a later time became obsolete superstitions, but form in this period the really popular religion, as the fetishism of the savage does to-day.

[1] The educational value of such reports is splendidly brought home in Orsi's invaluable papers on his Sicilian excavations: *Bull. paletnol. Ital.*, 1891, 53 ff. *Mon. Antichi* I. and in Halbherr's excavations at the cave of Zeus in Crete, ibid.

[2] Accurate reports on Greek cemeteries and their contents date, to my knowledge, from 1890 only: *Athen. Mitt.* 1890: ὁ ἐν Βουρβᾷ τύμβος. The first trustworthy report on Athenian tombs, which covers any length of time, is that of Brueckner and Pernice, *Athen. Mitt.* 1893: "Ein Athenischer Friedhof."

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as far as possible. It cannot surprise us, therefore, to find that this part of antiquity has yielded only very unsatisfactory results.[1]

There remains, finally, the modern Greek and Italian Folk Lore, which of late has assumed so important a part. But I think it helps our purposes very little. While it is invaluable as the preserver of ancient *religion*, it is very barren as to ancient *superstition*. It is true, we find often enough surprising survivals. But in every case we must ask if this is not due to learned tradition, a very important, yet too often ignored, factor in medieval and modern superstitions. I must here utter my decided protest against the exaggerations to which Folk Lore is driven in our days.[2] We must not ascribe to a remote age a particular superstition simply because there are others that really reach so far back. Analogies, at the best, prove only probability, and we should refrain from using modern beliefs, except where their historical connection with antiquity can be plainly demonstrated.[3]

III.

We must now say a word about the method of our work.

The first thing is to collect the material. This must comprise the whole range of ancient literature, always carefully weighing the nature of the evidence, so as to reject mere autoschediasms.[4] We must not, however, be too scrupulous. For a given superstition might originate with a foreign people, be carried into Greece by trade, and here, blending with analogous ideas, finally become the recognized property

[1] This remark intentionally ignores the "devotiones." These do not fall under the view of inscriptions taken above. Neither are they of considerable value for the history and the development of superstition. Their chief importance is in the light they throw on syncretism. See the abstract, in this volume, of a paper by Professor Battle, on *devotiones* on leaden tablets.

[2] See *e.g.* H. Gaidoz' remarks on the *ἐριὸς καμψίκους*, Mélusine, VI. 172; VII. 39 ff.

[3] As is the case with the superstitions connected with Charos, above, p. 43.

[4] For example, the inventions of Ptolemaeos Chennos or of Fulgentius.

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of Greek Lore.[1] After this, the monumental evidence must be gathered, especially from vase and mural paintings and from amulets. Very little has as yet been done in this direction. The best way seems to be that begun in the Folk Lore Journal,[2] viz. to compile indexes to the different authors. This could be accomplished with comparative ease by dividing the work among different scholars.

This *thesaurus superstitionum* should then be sifted. We shall have to compare all the testimonies bearing on the same subject, in order to reject the secondary evidence. This, however, is not a mechanical task, but requires a careful examination of the respective writers' character; for a fact may be borrowed from an earlier author and still be valid for the compiler's own period.[3] After this, we once more sift our material with regard to its origin. We must try to sever it from foreign importations, assign to these their different nationalities, and, if possible, state when and by whom they have been added. One impediment here is the surprising analogy of superstitions throughout the world.[4] From the outset, we may naturally exclude all beliefs connected with exotic animals, plants, and stones. We shall further reject foreign gods and demons. But even these rules have their exceptions.[5] For there is, especially among the writers of Utopias, a tendency to transfer Greek beliefs to foreign nations,[6] which seems to rest upon a natural impulse. In the history of the evil eye, for example, we are able to show that a belief originating among the Greeks was

[1] Cato's praise of the brassica may serve as an illustration. The seven good qualities which he ascribes to it have been taken from Pythagorean doctrine (Woelfflin, *Arch. f. Lex.* IX. 343). To the same source one might refer Horat. *Sat.* II. 6, 63–65. The circumstances, however, which connect this passage with Ovid, *Fasti* VI. 181 ff. (below p. 54 ff.) show that the cabbage has found its way into popular belief, as, indeed, it had probably already in Cato's age.

[2] *Folk Lore Journ.* I. 115 ff.: "The Folk Lore in Horace," by A. B. Cook.

[3] This is the case with many of Lucian's statements; cp. *Philopseudes*, c. 29, with Rohde, *Psyche*, 654, 1; 32, 3.

[4] Of this Tylor (*Primitive Culture*) and A. Lang (*Myth and Ritual*) have given ample proofs.

[5] Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* 32.

[6] E. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*, 194 ff.

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ascribed to foreigners, supported by analogous beliefs among these, and thence went on travelling to the ends of the earth with the extension of a more accurate geographical knowledge.[1] Moreover, it is not every superstition, attached to exotic objects, that has its origin in the foreign country itself. For granted a superficial acquaintance with some foreign beliefs, the laws of superstitious reasoning would naturally set to work about the new object. It will certainly be safer to accept even doubtful evidence than to omit things of a possible value.

The superstitions remaining after this double sifting must now be followed back to the time when they first appear. But we cannot permit ourselves to halt here. We must proceed to the labor of interpreting and explaining. Here we shall chiefly make use of Folk Lore. For those cases are exceedingly scarce where we can show the religious origin of a Greek superstition in Greek religion itself.[2] Generally the key is found in a stage of culture much more primitive than that here preserved. I desire to emphasize, however, my belief that Folk Lore should not be applied in a purely psychological sense.[3] We should always prefer Aryan Lore. For the conservatism of ritual and superstition makes it very probable that analogies of related tribes may enable us to find the common racial origin, albeit in a pre-Grecian period.[4] I am, indeed, fully aware of the dangers which beset this path. But in a work of such an extent, and, as I hope to have sufficiently shown, of no mean importance to the history of religious thinking, it might be worth while to run even the risk of much fruitless searching and some hypothetical conclusions: *dies diem docebit.*

[1] The double pupil, as characteristic of the person possessing the evil eye, must have been an aboriginal Greek belief, found, however, among other nations as well (Tuchmann, *La Fascination*, Mélusine IV. 33). It is afterwards in turn ascribed to the Triballi, the Illyrii, the Bitiae in Scythia, and the Thibii in Pontus (O. Jahn, *über den Aberglauben vom bösen Blick*, Sitzgsber. Leipz. Akad., 1855, 35). Modern analogies prove the origin of this migration to have been as sketched above.

[2] Some examples are given, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIX. 177 ff.

[3] This tendency I consider to be the chief shortcoming of Rohde's *Psyche*.

[4] See below, example 2.

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Finally, after all this has been done, one more duty remains to fulfil the ideal requirements of such a research. After we have shown the religious origin and the gradual deterioration of a number of beliefs, we must try to recognize and to clearly define the laws according to which this development is proceeding; and, inasmuch as to us superstition and religion spring from the same source, to further on our part the research into the origin of religion itself.

IV.

Let us now consider a few examples where superstitions may still be traced back to their probable origin.

In the papyrus XLVI. of the Brit. Mus. 71–96, there is a charm for the detection of a thief. From the wood of the gallows a hammer is manufactured under certain ceremonies. With this the sorcerer beats his ear, while reciting a charm-song. Its end is: *πόσον κρούω τὸ οὐάτιον σφύρῃ ταύτῃ, ὁ τοῦ κλέπτου ὀφθαλμὸς κρουέσθω καὶ φλεγμαινέσθω, ἄχρι οὗ αὐτὸν μηνύσῃ.* A similar procedure was practised during the seventeenth century in Holstein.[1] This might be ascribed to learned tradition. But another testimony leads us far away from magic. A vase from southern Italy, approximately of the sixth century,[2] bears the following inscription: *Ταταίης εἰμὶ λήκυθος ὃς δ' ἄν με κλέψῃ, θυφλὸς ἔσται.* Here, for once, the idea which underlies the charm is clearly expressed and, moreover, raised from the sphere of superstition. For it is only the belief in the power of the curse which protects the vessel from being stolen. Separated by more than six centuries we see the same idea still prevailing, although considerably altered and added to. Nor can there be any doubt as to its root. It is closely connected with the evil eye. For theft is only the actual acquiring of an envied property. In the same way in our days the milk of the "overlooked" cow is drawn into the pail of the witch. The same thought is expressed on the mosaic of the Villa Casali,[3] where we see

[1] G. Freytag, *Bilder a. d. deutschen Vergangenheit*, IV. 50 ff.

[2] *C. I. G.* I. 865.

[3] *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 285 ff. (Bienkowski).

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the evil eye pierced and blinded by a spear-thrust, and in the inscription *C. I. L.* VIII. 11863: *hoc vide, vide et vide, ut possis plura videre.*[1]

Pliny says[2] that, if a woman with child passed over a viper or an amphisbaena she was sure to miscarry. The same happened if she ate a raven's egg or passed over it.[3] The reason for this lies in the connection of these animals with the nether world. The snake, we know, is one of the many shapes of the dead. Whoever comes in contact with the dead will die himself. It cannot surprise us, to find the same belief in India. "In the Mahabhâratâ, the girl Pramadvarâ falls to the ground dead, having inadvertently pressed a serpent with her foot on the way."[4]

The possible escape of the mother in the Greek belief is only a partial mitigation of the original form. As for the raven, in the absence of express statements,[5] it must suffice to remember that Aristeas' soul left his body under this disguise.[6] But we may perhaps go still farther. The snake is not only the soul, but probably death itself. At least, if I am right in connecting Pliny's information with Aelian's. Pliny tells us[7]: the stick that was used to rescue a frog from the mouth of a snake is of particular virtue in facilitating delivery in childbirth, while we learn from Aelian[8] that the bite of the asp is most difficult to cure after it has devoured a frog. That the frog itself was a shape of the soul can be inferred from the German fairy tale of the prince frog[9] and, maybe, also from its being used as an amulet against the evil eye.[10] It can be easily understood that death doubles its power after once having exercised it, and it is, on the other hand, very natural that the stick which deprived death of its prey should itself acquire a life-giving power.

[1] Ibid. 292, 2.
[2] Plin. *N. H.* XXIX. 71.
[3] Plin. *N. H.* X. 32; XXX. 130.
[4] Gubernatis, *Zool. Mythol.* II. 401.
[5] Bienkowski, *Eran. Vind.* 292.
[6] Plin. *N. H.* VII. 174.
[7] Plin. *N. H.* XXX. 129.
[8] Aelian, *N. A.* IX. 15.
[9] Grimm's *Maerchen: der treue Heinrich.*
[10] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 309 ff.

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In his *Fasti*[1] Ovid tells us that it was customary to eat pork, beans, and grits on the first of June, to guard against diseases of the bowels: *ne laedantur viscera.* This ridiculous remedy assumes another aspect when we turn to German beliefs. During the "twelfths," at Christmas-time, Berchtha roams on the earth with her pageant, inspecting the spinning-wheels and slashing the bellies of her despisers. She cuts them open, fills them with chaff, and patches them, using a ploughshare as needle and an iron chain by way of thread.[2] She spares only those who have eaten gruel and fish.[3] The aim of this food is apparently to grease the skin in order that the knife may slide off. In spite of the surprising resemblance, the difference of the seasons may cause some doubt. Now we must remember that June is the month of the summer solstice, as the twelfths are that of the winter. It is the month of Juno, who in some respects seems to correspond to Berchtha, and who may even be suspected to have some connection with the nether world. We may at least safely assume that on this day she was believed to be present on earth. But how came pork, beans, and grit to be endowed with these protective faculties? For the "grease-theory" seems to be only secondary. Horace[4] compares the quiet and ease of rural life to the bustle of the city. Verses 63–65, kindly pointed out to me by Professor Usener, praise "the bean of Pythagoras together with cabbage and fat pork": *O noctes cenaeque deum*, he exclaims. So pork, beans, and cabbage are the food of the gods themselves. The cabbage was highly praised by Cato,[5] and seems to have been a sacred plant in Greece also.[6] The grits are not mentioned, but as they are found in the German belief, and as we think of the importance of *mola salsa*, we may safely see in them, too, the food of the gods. It is easy to see why this food will protect man against the noxious inroad of the gods. By partaking of their food we become gods ourselves: to taste of ambrosia renders immortal. The chthonic character of pork and beans

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, VI. 181 ff.
[2] Grimm, *Teuton. Mythol.* I. 276.
[3] Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksabergl.*[2] § 25.
[4] *Sat.* II. 6.
[5] See above, note 1, p. 50.
[6] Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 903.

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may confirm our suspicion of a chthonic element in Juno herself. The Lemures, however, were already appeased in May. But perhaps they were once more at large in Juno's month, whose first half was considered unlucky for marriages, perhaps for the same reason as May.[1] This, however, remains doubtful.

[1] *Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait:* Ovid, *Fasti*, V. 489. Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* I. 46, 7 ff.

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V. — *Genesis and Growth of an Alexander-myth.*

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The career of Alexander the Great was so rapid and so dazzling that the imaginations of his contemporaries could not keep pace with it. Up to the death of Darius in 330 B.C., our best Alexander-tradition rests upon the history of Kallisthenes, the official chronicler of Alexander's campaigns, and is reasonably secure. But from 330 B.C. until the time when Ptolemy and Aristoboulos, late in life, and nearly two generations after the premature death of Alexander, put into writing their contemporary witness to the great events of his career, that career reached the knowledge of the world laden with large accretions of oral tradition. Athenian political life was smothered by the Macedonian conquest, and all the mental energies of this gifted people found vent in literary expression. Schools of rhetoric and philosophy flourished, the new comedy reached its acme, and the literature of pure romance began. But there was as yet no such recognized channel for the flow of pure fancy and invention as is afforded now by professedly fictitious narrative. Fancy and invention therefore found scope in the realm of what should have been historical narrative. These great faculties were especially attracted by the meteoric career of Alexander. They revelled in the vague and vast details of that career. The surpassing romance of its reality challenged and begat the romance of invention, and the reality was so incredible that invention could not seem more incredible. The great history of Kleitarchos was the rhetorical and dramatic combination of all this highly colored and romantic oral tradition with the severer outlines and more authentic details furnished by such contemporary witnesses as Kallis-

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thenes, Eumenes, Chares, and possibly also Aristoboulos. It played fast and loose with the names and exploits even of veteran companions of Alexander who still survived, so that Ptolemy Lagus, having securely founded his great dynasty in Egypt, devoted the leisure of the peaceful close of his magnificent career to the elaboration of his memoirs. The outlines and main contents of these memoirs are happily preserved for us in Arrian's *Anabasis*, and we see that the old veteran corrected the versions of romance, even at the expense of his own glory, in the interests of truth. It was not he, as he assures us, who saved Alexander's life in the great battle with the Malli; he was not even there at all, but absent on a distant expedition.[1] For the romantic version of Kleitarchos, however, Ptolemy's name had sounded better as an Alexander-savior than one which had disappeared from history.

With our outlines and main contents of Ptolemy's memoirs, then, for the whole of Alexander's career, and our fragments of Kallisthenes' contemporary history down to 330 B.C., we are able to control in some measure the mass of romantic invention which was passed on by Kleitarchos to Diodoros, Justin, Curtius, and Plutarch. And we find, among many other curious traits, that the oral and imaginative tradition of Alexander's career which sprang rapidly into being after his death in 323, and crystallized two generations later in the popular work of Kleitarchos, failed, as a rule, to observe the enormous changes which were rapidly produced in Alexander himself during the short thirteen years of his marvellous achievements. The Alexander who razed Thebes to the ground in 335 B.C. was a very different man from that Alexander who, in 336 B.C., contended for a dubious succession to the throne of a father who had practically disinherited him. The Alexander who loosed the Gordian knot in 333 B.C. was master of Asia Minor as well as of European Hellas, and a different man from the Alexander who had razed Thebes. At the temple of Ammon in 332, all lands border-

[1] Arrian, *An.* vi. 11, 8.

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ing on the eastern Mediterranean had become subject to him, with their fleets. The dreams of Isokrates had been more than realized. After Gaugamela and the death of Darius in 330 B.C. there was nothing left for a Hellenic ambition to achieve. Henceforth Alexander gradually discarded Macedonian control and precedent, and became rapidly an Oriental. He developed unsuspected oriental traits and ambitions; and after five years more of romantic exploration and conquest, during which his nature suffered just such deterioration from the mere habit of conquest as did the noble nature of Trajan four centuries later on the same arena, he returned to his great oriental cities, half believing that he was, and half believed to be, a god.

We find, now, that romantic tradition as it crystallized in Kleitarchos, was prone to find, and if necessary to invent, in the earlier periods of Alexander's brief career, illustrations of a spirit, a temper, and of ambitions which prevailed in him only during the last or oriental period of his career. The Alexander-anecdote must always be tested on this principle. To have the boy of twenty already warned by his mother that his father was not Philip but Zeus-Ammon, is only one among many such flagrantly anachronistic stories.

A large group of anecdotes clusters about the name of Hephaistion. This favorite of Alexander is not mentioned in genuine tradition until the battle of Gaugamela, 331 B.C. Thereafter he gradually becomes prominent, but only during the oriental period of Alexander's life. And that romantic attachment in which the two friends were delighted to pose as Achilles and Patroklos, evidently dates from the last years of this period. But romantic tradition confidently, and in a very telling way, transposes this relation to the earlier periods. When Alexander, just after crossing the Hellespont, put a wreath upon the tomb of Achilles at Ilios, romantic tradition has Hephaistion also adorn the tomb of Patroklos. It is a beautiful but a false detail. The charming story of Alexander's visiting with Hephaistion the tent of the captive Persian women after the battle of Issos, of Sisygambis' prostrating herself before Hephaistion because she mistook

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him for the king, and of Alexander's reassuring her gently, declaring that Hephaistion *was* Alexander, is another instance of this anachronistic transfer of relations.

When Hephaistion died, barely two years before the death of Alexander himself, this romantic friendship was broken. As Arrian confronts the mass of tradition, genuine and romantic, which had come down to him concerning Alexander's behavior on this occasion,[1] he very shrewdly observes that writers inimical to, or jealous of Hephaistion, among whom may well have been Ptolemy, minimize the grief of Alexander; while writers inimical to Alexander magnify it, and invent the most absurd details of the manner in which Alexander expressed it. Among the details, however, which Arrian accepts as authentic, are three which show a conscious imitation by Alexander of Achilles' expressions of sorrow for Patroklos, as given in the *Iliad*. These are: a protracted abstinence from food and drink; the placing locks of his hair in the folded hands of his dead friend; and the burning of the body on a costly funeral pyre.[2]

In the closing years of the oriental period of Alexander's career, upon Hephaistion's death, we have, then, the best of testimony that Alexander consciously and ostentatiously imitated distinct acts of the Homeric Achilles. He had always admired the character of Achilles,[3] and romantic tradition does not tire of the theme of Alexander's devotion to the *Iliad*. And now romantic tradition, bent on illustrating maliciously this late phase of Alexander's character — this willingness to imitate distinct acts of Achilles — perpetrates another anachronistic anecdote, which has, unhappily, hardly a redeeming feature.

Homer has the raging Achilles, after slaying Hektor, drag the dead body at the tail of his chariot to the Achaean camp,[4] and, after the funeral rites of Patroklos, for several days in like manner thrice round the tomb of his dead friend.[5]

[1] *An.* vii. 14, 2 ff. [2] *Il.* xxiii. 141 ff.

[3] Arr. *An.* vii. 14, 4, κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὅντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν.

[4] *Il.* xxii. 395–405, 464 f. [5] *Il.* xxiv. *ad init.*

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There was no conquered foe at hand to serve Alexander in the same manner at the tomb of Hephaistion, and the lack invited invention. The invention was carried back to the nearest possible point where malicious feelings toward Alexander could well be gratified in this way, and this point was the siege and capture of Gaza in 332 B.C. A Hektor was found in the heroic defender of this fortress, the faithful eunuch of Darius, by name Batis. The resistance of the fortress, protracted for two months, and following the seven months' delay in the siege of Tyre, had inflamed the Macedonians. Alexander himself had been severely wounded in the early part of the siege. At the final storming of the city, contemporary and genuine tradition had the brave defenders, still fighting to the last, slain to a man.[1] But Batis was reserved by romantic invention to be dragged alive at the chariot of Alexander, as Hektor's body was dragged at the chariot of Achilles. There were not points of resemblance enough to make the invention a very plausible one. Batis had slain no Patroklos. He had simply served his king to the death. But he was perhaps the only foe of Alexander who could in any measure meet the demands of the case, for the invention must be made at all hazards. It gained what little credence it gained by playing upon the well-known irritation of Alexander at the needless delay before Gaza, and by transferring the oriental spirit of Alexander's later years to this earlier and purer stage of his rapid development.

The earliest form which the story took is probably the one which Dionysios of Halikarnassos gives us in brief outline (*τὸ πρᾶγμα*). This great rhetorician (*floruit* 29 B.C.–7 A.D.) stands in the front rank of ancient critics, though as a historian, in his Roman archaeology, he is clearly more rhetorical than scientific. He holds a brief for Rome. But his thorough acquaintance with ancient literature is unquestioned. In his first published work — *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* — *de compositione verborum* (V. pp. 120 ff., Reiske = Müller, *Script. de rebus Alex. frag.*, p. 141), he quotes Hegesias of Magnesia as

[1] Arr. *An.* ii. 27 *fin.* *καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν*, in words which he means to be *controversial*.

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the most frightful example possible of studied badness in style. The particular episode which he cites *verbatim* from Hegesias, he first gives in a brief outline of his own, and then in the turgid words of Hegesias. His outline is as follows: "Alexander, besieging Gaza, a stronghold of Syria, was wounded in an assault, and took the place only after long delay. In a rage he ordered all the defenders slain without quarter, and when he got the commander of the fortress in his power, a man of dignity, and rank, and presence, he ordered him to be fastened alive to his chariot car, drove his horses off at full speed, and so destroyed his enemy in the sight of the whole army." "One could not have," Dionysios says, "more dreadful sufferings nor a more fearful sight to describe." But Hegesias does it ταπεινῶς καὶ καταγελάστως — "meanly and ridiculously." Then follows the version of Hegesias: "The king himself, however, viz. Batis, Leonnatos and Philotas brought to Alexander alive. And when Alexander saw him, — corpulent and huge, of most repulsive presence, inasmuch as he was black, — he was filled with rage because of his treachery and his unseemly looks, and ordered that his feet be pierced with bronze hoops and that *he be dragged round and round naked.* Tortured with pain, the victim uttered harsh cries. This was just what pleased the crowd. As his anguish increased he shouted out with barbarian accent the word δεσπότης in suppliant tone. His awkward pronunciation made everybody laugh. The bulk of his fat and the size of his paunch made him look like a big Babylonian beast. So the crowd kept up its railing, insulting with true soldiers' insolence their repulsive and helpless foe."

It is clear from the context that Dionysios is mercilessly chastising above all things the vicious rhetoric of the passage. But the fault of this rhetoric is not confined to the invention of sickening details. It extends also to the perversion of essential features in a well-known story, the object being rhetorical effect and not historical fidelity. Comparison of the version of Hegesias with the outline of Dionysios which precedes it, makes it clear that Hegesias does not invent the story outright, as is commonly assumed. He merely loads a

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current story with sensational incident, actually obscuring, if not perverting, the essential features. The simple story, as Dionysios gives it in outline, must therefore have been a part of current Alexander tradition, oral or written, when Hegesias wrote his history, and there is nothing in the way of assigning it to Kleitarchos, the first and greatest registrar of the accumulated romantic traditions of Alexander.

Of Hegesias very little is known, but all that little is bad. He was probably contemporaneous, like Kleitarchos, with the last days of Ptolemy Lagus. No one mentions but to denounce him. Dionysios waxes almost profane as he declares that Hegesias did not leave a single decent page. Best known is the verdict of the amiable Plutarch on his saying that the great temple of the Ephesian Artemis burned down because the goddess was obliged to be absent on that night at the birth of Alexander, — a saying frigid enough, says Plutarch, to have extinguished the conflagration.[1] But Hegesias is not only a writer of atrocious taste and style; he is also, as writers straining for effect are apt to be, a perverter of history.

Back of Kleitarchos the legend of Alexander's hectoring Batis cannot be traced. No primary source — neither Kallisthenes, nor Aristoboulos, nor Ptolemy, the companions of Alexander at Gaza, mention it. Of Kleitarchos, the fountain-head of the great stream of romantic literary Alexander-tradition, Quintilian says that he had great *ingenium* but no *fides*. He wrote to please, and succeeded so well that he fixed upon the world, till Arrian wrote, a false conception of Alexander. For Diodoros and Justin and Curtius Rufus and Plutarch all draw most fully from him. But neither Diodoros nor Justin nor Plutarch, with all their lack of critical spirit and with all their appetite for the piquant, accept or even mention this Batis outrage. Curtius alone, the most discursively rhetorical, the most anti-Alexandrian, the most sensational of them all, admits the malicious invention into his record. He not only admits it, he amplifies it,

[1] Plut. *Alex.* iii. = Müller, *Script. de rebus Alex. frag.*, p. 139.

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till, though in an opposite trend of hatred for Alexander, he outdoes Hegesias. He adapts the legend carefully to Roman palates by putting in a Vergilian for the original Homeric shading. His account of the immediate episode is this:[1]

"Betis, exhausted by a long and brave fight, and by many wounds, was at last abandoned by his men. Nevertheless, he maintained the hopeless struggle no less zealously, — his armor slippery with his own blood and that of his enemies. But at last, as missiles rained in from every side, his strength failed, and he was taken alive. Led into Alexander's presence, that youth, filled with haughty joy, though at other times an admirer of bravery even in an enemy, said, 'Thou shalt not die as thou hast wished, but whatever most cruel torture can be devised against a captive, believe me, thou shalt suffer.' The captive fixed upon the king a gaze that showed not only no fear but even defiance. Then Alexander cried: 'Do ye see how bent he is on silence? hath he bowed the knee? hath he uttered one suppliant word? But I'll conquer his silence, and, if nothing else, I'll wring from him at least a groan.' His wrath became frenzy, his very nature now changing with his fortunes. Through the heels of the living captive thongs were passed, and, fastened to a chariot, he was dragged *round the city* by the horses of the king, who boasted that he took his vengeance on a foe in imitation of Achilles, from whom he sprang."

It seems to me clear that Curtius has used, not Hegesias at all, as is usually assumed, but the current romantic version of Kleitarchos, given in outline by Dionysios. Batis is the hero in both, and Alexander the degenerate imitator of a noble sire, whereas the purpose of Hegesias was clearly to exalt Alexander at the expense of Batis. The Alexandrian history of Hegesias was adulatory. The dramatic speeches of Alexander are in the usual manner of Curtius, his own rhetorical embellishments. In Homer, Achilles drags Hektor round the tomb of Patroklos. In Kleitarchos and Hegesias, Alexander drags Batis vaguely *around*. But in Vergil,[2] one

[1] iv. 6, 25 ff.

[2] *Aen.* i. 483 f.

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of Dido's palace frescoes represented how

> Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros,
> Exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles —

and so Curtius has Alexander drag Batis thrice round the walls of Gaza.

Strange to say, it is this last and most egregious of all the versions of the Batis-outrage, the version of Curtius, which has become most firmly fixed in English histories of Alexander. Probably Rollin's history was the one most familiar to English readers before the days of Mitford. The English translation runs as follows:[1]

"When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, Alexander, instead of using him kindly, as his valor and fidelity justly merited, this young monarch, who otherwise esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: 'Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desirest. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which revenge can invent.' Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but an haughty air, did not make the least reply to these menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his disdainful silence, 'Observe,' said he, 'I beseech you, that dumb arrogance! Has he bended the knee? Has he spoke but even so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else.' At last Alexander's anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortunes. Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when, a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his soldiers to drag Betis *round the city* till he died. He boasted his having imitated on this occasion Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer (sic!) relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the same manner round the walls of Troy; as if a man ought ever to pride

[1] Vol. v. p. 74 (Amer. ed.).

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himself for having imitated so ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more so, in causing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had entrusted him; a fidelity that ought to have been admired and even rewarded by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner."

It is plain, without consulting his citation of authorities, that Rollin has here simply translated Curtius. The variation of Alexander's ordering the outrage to be performed by his soldiers is merely a semi-pardonable misunderstanding of Curtius' language on that point, and cannot prove recourse to Hegesias. Rollin even makes his own the common error of having Homer represent Achilles as dragging Hektor's body round the *walls of Troy*.

Mitford does not so much as mention the legend, but reproduces Arrian's brief, and as I think controversial statement, that every man of the defenders died fighting at his post.

Thirlwall, it hardly needs saying, also utterly ignores the legend. Nothing else would be expected of so judicial a historian.

Grote, who is at his worst in his history of Alexander, is at his worst even as a historian of Alexander in his treatment of the Batis-legend:[1] "One prisoner alone was reserved for special treatment — the prince or governor himself, the eunuch Batis; who, having manifested the greatest energy and valor, was taken severely wounded, yet still alive. In this condition he was brought by Leonnatus and Philôtas into the presence of Alexander, who cast upon him looks of vengeance and fury. The Macedonian prince had undertaken the siege mainly in order to prove to the world that he could overcome difficulties insuperable to others. But he had incurred so much loss, spent so much time and labor, and undergone so many repulses before he succeeded, that the palm of honor belonged rather to the minority vanquished

[1] x. 91 ff. (Eng. ed.).

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than to the multitude of victors. To such disappointment, which would sting Alexander in the tenderest point, is to be added the fact, that he had himself incurred great personal risk, received a severe wound, besides his narrow escape from the dagger of the pretended Arabian deserter [romantic invention]. Here was ample ground for violent anger; which was moreover still farther exasperated by the appearance of Batis — an eunuch — a black man — tall and robust, but at the same time fat and lumpish — and doubtless at the moment covered with blood and dirt. Such visible circumstances, repulsive to eyes familiar with Grecian gymnastics, contributed to kindle the wrath of Alexander to its highest pitch. After the siege of Tyre, his indignation had been satiated by the hanging of the 2000 surviving combatants [romantic tradition]; here, to discharge the pressure of a still stronger feeling, there remained only the single captive, upon whom, therefore, he resolved to inflict a punishment as novel as it was cruel. He directed the feet of Batis to be bored, and brazen rings to be passed through them; after which the naked body of this brave man, yet surviving, was tied with cords to the tail of a chariot driven by Alexander himself, and dragged at full speed amidst the triumphant jeers and shouts of the army. Herein Alexander, emulous even from childhood of the exploits of his legendary ancestor Achilles, copied the ignominious treatment described in the *Iliad* as inflicted on the dead body of Hector. This proceeding of Alexander, the product of Homeric reminiscences operating upon an infuriated and vindictive temperament, stands out in respect of barbarity from all that we read respecting the treatment of conquered towns in antiquity. *His remaining measures were conformable to received usage.*" Grote has here actually combined Hegesias with Curtius, an adulatory with a defamatory version of the legend, culling from each such details as can be made to tell in any way against the character of Alexander, and omitting all those features which either palliate the conduct of Alexander or reveal the untrustworthiness of the authorities for the outrage. "The bad taste of Hegesias as a writer does not diminish his credi-

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bility as a witness," Grote concludes in a note. It is not the bad taste of Hegesias which leads us to reject his witness, but his utter lack of authority and respect among ancient critics, and the fact that, in this instance, he is merely recounting, with manifest perversions, an episode of romantic and sensational invention.

It is doubtless due to the influence of Rollin and Grote that this language finds a place in such an excellent manual as Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History:*[1] "Homer was his [Alexander's] delight, and in Homer he took Agamemnon [Achilles?] for his model; but the direst act of cruelty done by Achilles — that of dragging Hector after his chariot, he exceeded, when he dragged Batis, a general who had opposed him, at the tail of his chariot *through the streets of Gaza.*"

The last edition of Oman's *History of Greece*, on the whole the best brief school history of Greece, at any rate the one now winning most favor from the general public, adds a new chapter to include Alexander's career. In this chapter is the following paragraph:[2] "When the place fell, the king determined to imitate his ancestor Achilles in the least praiseworthy of his actions: he had Batis bound to the tail of his chariot, and *dragged him along till he died*, because Achilles had dealt in the same way with the corpse of Hector."

No German historian of note admits the legend into his text. Droysen, in a foot-note, says:[3] "Curtius or his immediate source has borrowed much material for his account of this siege from Hegesias. This is of no historical worth, particularly the attempted assassination of Alexander by an Arabian deserter, and the vengeance taken on Batis after his capture by Philotas and Leonnatos. Curtius omits these two names because he has already located Philotas in Tyre."

Holm, in a brief note, makes Hegesias the sole (ultimate) authority for the legend.[4] "Grote accepts it," he says, "Droysen does not. A rhetorician is not a good source."

[1] p. 113. [2] p. 533.
[3] *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, i. 301.
[4] *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. 383.

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Niese, also in a foot-note, refers to Curtius' version of the legend, adding:[1] "This is invention, which is first given in characteristic fashion by the famous Hegesias."

The story of Alexander's outraging Batis *is* 'Erdichtung' — invention, pure and simple. The purpose of this paper is to show how it came to be invented, and when, and then how the invention grew and waxed strong till it disfigures the pages of so great a historian as Grote. Whether Hegesias be the ultimate source for the story, or romantic tradition crystallizing in Kleitarchos, as this paper maintains, does not affect the main point. There is no reputable authority for the grotesque incident. The memory of Alexander has well-authenticated crimes and follies enough to support without being loaded with any of romantic invention.

[1] *Geschichte der griech. und makedon. Staaten*, i. p. 82.

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VI. — *The Acta ludorum saecularium quintorum and the Carmen Saeculare of Horace.*

By Prof. M. S. SLAUGHTER,

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In one of the rooms of the National Museum, in Rome, is now to be found the inscription containing the *Acta ludorum saecularium quintorum*, for which Horace composed the *Carmen Saeculare.* The story of the discovery of this inscription by Italian workmen engaged in constructing a sewer on the left bank of the Tiber, near the Ponte San Angelo, in September, 1890, is familiar to every one.[1]

The fragments of the stone bearing the inscription have been set up on a square pillar resembling the marble column on which the account was first cut, soon after the occurrence of the festival in 17 B.C. The pillar is between nine and ten feet high, and is three and a half feet wide. The inscription consists of 168 lines in majuscule type, and is very clear and easy to read.

Mommsen's edition of the inscription, undertaken at the request of the Italian government, appeared first in the Monumenti Antichi publicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Vol. I, 1891. A reprint was published in the Ephemeris Epigraphica for 1892 (pp. 225–274), though the copy was not ready for distribution until some months later. With the Ephemeris copy in hand, I made a study of the inscription while in Rome in the spring of 1894. The fragments of the stone have evidently been set up in their present position since Mommsen's reading was made. His brackets, showing breaks in the stone and consequent omissions of words or letters, include in at least twenty-five instances too few letters, showing that the stone has been rather roughly handled in the setting up.

[1] Cf. Lanciani, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1892.

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A graver fault, however, in the Ephemeris copy, is the number of mistakes in the text, due doubtless in most instances to careless proof-reading. Since many students make use of the Ephemeris to the exclusion of other publications, it seems best to call attention to the mistakes in the copy.

Line 30, — read *collegio*, not *colle*[*g*]*io*. The word corresponds exactly to the word *collegio* in l. 40.

L. 34, — read *censuerunt*, not *censerunt*.

L. 54, — after *propter* the stone shows no long vacant space.

L. 54, — read *atqui*, not *atqu*[*e*]. The *i* is doubtless the stonecutter's mistake, since *atque* is called for by the context.

L. 91, — read *eodem*, not *eoi*[ ]. A piece of stone has been added, bearing the letters *em*. The word now corresponds exactly to *eodem*, l. 109.

L. 99, — read *XV virum*, not *XV virorum*, an evident confusion with *XV virorum* two lines below. The long form of this genitive is used but once in the inscription (l. 101); the short form is found twice (ll. 97 and 99).

L. 114, — read *ed*[*ic*]*tum*, not *edictum*. The line may have been broken in moving.

L. 115, — A confusion is caused by using brackets where there is no break in the stone to show omission of the first letter of the word *Ilithyis*. The stonecutter has again made a mistake in omitting this first letter, as there is no break in the stone nor space left for the letter.

L. 151, — read *Arruntius*, not *Arruntins*.

Attention should be called to the strange form *atallam* in l. 107, which Mommsen fails to mention in his notes on p. 273.

My chief interest in the inscription, however, has been in the added light that it throws upon the interpretation of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. It is true that previous to the discovery of the *Acta* we had much information regarding the festival at which the *Carmen* was sung, mainly in Phlegon's and Zosimus' account of the Sibylline oracles, the best edition[1] of which appeared but a few months before the

[1] Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890.

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discovery of the *Acta*. The third of these oracles, which relates to the secular games given by Augustus, and the official programme arranged for the occasion by Ateius Capito and preserved in Zosimus II, 5, should, however, be interpreted and corrected according to the official report of the celebration found in the inscription. The articles on the *ludi saeculares* in the various encyclopaedias and dictionaries are misleading, especially in what they say of the ritual order of the games. This is true of Wissowa's edition of Pauly and of the Nettleship-Sandys edition of Seyffert. These authorities have clearly been misled by following Zosimus. Besides the Sibylline oracles there are minor references in various authorities, all cited by Mommsen in the Ephemeris edition of the inscription (p. 225).

The discovery of the *Acta* is of great importance for the commentary on the *Carmen Saeculare*, substituting positive and accurate statement for conjecture. Even so good an editor as Gesner could cite authorities who imagined that there was presented at this festival a sort of Horatian drama in five acts made up of selected odes and sung at various times and places during the celebration. The discovery of the *Acta* has made such vagaries impossible. One editor has already taken advantage of this discovery and incorporated into his edition the results of Mommsen's labors, to the great improvement of the commentary. I refer to the recent edition of the Odes and Epodes by Mr. Smith,[1] whose very satisfactory introduction to the *Carmen Saeculare* makes it possible for me to omit further reference to the *ludi saeculares* or to the contents of the inscription.

In December of 1891, soon after the publication of the inscription, Mommsen sent a communication to the Berlin weekly paper, *Die Nation*, in which he took occasion to criticise the *Carmen Saeculare* from an artistic point of view, finding it faulty in conception and in execution. He claimed that a greater poet than Horace would have made better use of the magnificent opportunity presented by the splendid

[1] Smith, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*, Ginn and Company, 1894.

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array of gods celebrated in the festival. Both in this article and in his edition of the inscription (p. 256) he states his belief that the *Carmen Saeculare* is a Processionslied, a conclusion which, he thinks, the *Acta* force upon us and the poem corroborates. To his arguments and conclusions Professor Vahlen replied in a paper read before the Berlin Academy and published in the proceedings for November 24, 1892.

Let us examine the arguments, first as to whether the poem was intended to be sung in procession, and second as to whether the poet has blundered in its execution.

From the *Acta* (ll. 148–150), *sacrificio perfecto puer. XXVII quibus denuntiatum erat patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem carmen cecinerunt; eodemque modo in Capitolio Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*, it is evident that the words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* refer to a singing of the *Carmen*, in whole or in part, on the Capitoline. From the poem, Mommsen thinks that it must have been sung in part only on the Capitoline, because it would be foolish (*ineptum*), he says, to have Jupiter and Juno mentioned neither at the beginning nor ending of a hymn that was to be sung in its entirety before their temple. But since Jupiter and Juno are called upon in the middle strophes of the hymn and not in the beginning or end, he concludes at once that the hymn is a Processionslied, the first strophes being sung on the Palatine to Apollo and Diana, the middle strophes on the Capitoline to Jupiter and Juno, and the final strophes on the Palatine again to Apollo and Diana. *Eodemque modo in Capitolio* refers, then, according to his interpretation, to this partial singing of the hymn on the Capitoline.

But can the words bear this interpretation? Aside from the internal evidence in the poem, which belongs to another part of the discussion, it seems clear from the plain meaning of the words that *eodemque modo in Capitolio* refers to the singing of the hymn in its entirety. Moreover, in two other places in the *Acta* (ll. 82 and 109), we find the expression *eodem modo* referring to the whole of a certain performance that has just been mentioned:

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L. 82, — eodem modo fruges acceperunt.
L. 109, — eodemque modo sellisternia matres familiae habuerunt.

Vahlen believes that the success of the hymn was so great that an encore was immediately called for, and that for the convenience of the immense crowd of hearers, the Capitoline was chosen for its delivery; in other words, that the second singing was an extra performance, having no connection whatever with the festival proper, and therefore making any special recognition of the Capitoline deities, Jupiter and Juno, unnecessary.

Smith, in the edition of the Odes and Epodes referred to above, not accepting the Processionslied theory of Mommsen, thinks that the ceremonies of the Palatine in their main features, including the singing of the hymn, were repeated on the Capitoline; for, he says, the words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* do not appear to refer to the hymn alone.

This is impossible, for how could the sacrifices to Apollo and Diana (*i.e.* the ceremonies of the Palatine) be performed on the Capitoline, or anywhere except at the temple of Apollo and Diana? And the position of the words in the sentence quoted from the *Acta*, coming, as they do, between the statement as to the number of the singers of the hymn and the name of its composer, would naturally confine the reference to the *Carmen*. The ceremonies of the third day could not have been repeated on the Capitoline, and it is out of the question that the ceremonies of the first and second day should be repeated, since the sacrifices to Jupiter are two days past, those to Juno one day past, and their altars long since dead.

In support of an encore, Vahlen cites a second performance of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes and of the *Eunuchus* of Terence, given on the same day because of the great success of the first performance. But I find that both of these illustrations must be called into question. Koch in his last edition of the *Frogs* (Einleitung, s. 17) does not say that the *Frogs* was repeated on the same day, but does say that it was repeated without alteration in the same year. The proof

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for the repetition of the *Eunuchus* rests upon a corrupt passage in Suetonius (Roth, p. 292): *Eunuchus quidem bis die acta est*, where the old editors omit *die* and Ritschl reads *deinceps* (Reifferscheid, p. 29).

To me it seems more probable that the hymn was sung a second time, not because the ceremonies of the Palatine were repeated on the Capitoline, nor as an encore, but as a prearranged part of the regular programme, and that the Capitoline was chosen by Augustus for the second singing, because, besides being a central position, it was the chief seat of the worship of the gods of the religion of the old state, and he was not ready to break entirely with the past. The words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* came in naturally, therefore, in the account of the festival inscribed on the column, and needed no emphasis and caused no confusion. Moreover, the silence of the *Acta* in regard to a reason for its repetition argues against its having been an encore.

Lanciani, who agrees with Mommsen, thinks the *Carmen* too long to have been sung twice on the same day. This might be true had not the arrangement for its second singing been made beforehand, and time allowed for it in the regular programme. For a repetition under such conditions, less time would be necessary than for the solemn procession contemplated in Mommsen's view.

So much for the proof from the *Acta* alone. Let us consider Mommsen's further point that the hymn itself sustains his theory. He interprets strophes 10–13 (ll. 37–52) as referring to Jupiter and Juno, citing line 49, — *quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis* — as proof, and sustaining his point by a reference to the *Acta*, where it is stated (ll. 103 and 122) that oxen were sacrificed to Jupiter and Juno on this occasion, and cakes (l. 140) to Apollo and Diana.

We admit, with Vahlen, that the *Acta* sustain Mommsen's conclusion so far as the thirteenth strophe is concerned; that *bobus albis* (l. 49) must be associated with the Capitoline deities. This is a point which, before the discovery of the *Acta*, editors have not granted, having, as a rule, referred all of strophes 10–13 to Apollo and Diana (cf. Nauck and Kiessling).

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Though it be admitted that the thirteenth strophe refers to Jupiter and Juno, there seems no reason to think that the admission carries with it Mommsen's conclusion that strophes 10–12 also refer to Jupiter and Juno. Vahlen shows by a comparison with the sixth ode of the fourth book that strophes 10–12 of the *Carmen Saeculare* must of necessity refer to Apollo and Diana. In this sixth ode, written after the composition of the *Carmen Saeculare*, but before its rendition, Horace calls upon Apollo and Diana as the gods that rescued Rome from the ashes of Troy, and the reference to Troy in these strophes of the *Carmen Saeculare* points to a similar close connection between Apollo and Diana and the founding of Rome. *Roma si vestrum est opus* (*C. S.* 37), and *Romulae genti date* (*C. S.* 47) must, in the light of Book IV, 6, refer to none other than Apollo and Diana. This prayer is analyzed by Vahlen in order to show that Horace consciously maintains a fixed proportion in his requests of Apollo and Diana and of Jupiter and Juno; the first openly favorable to the descendant of the Trojan race, to whom he says simply, *Roma si vestrum est opus* (the word *si* connoting "of course it is"); the second known as the old enemy of the Trojan race, whom he approaches hesitatingly after stating reasons and offering proofs of good will.

If then strophes 10–12 refer to Apollo and Diana, there seems to be no reason for continuing to believe in the Processionslied theory. If but one strophe refers to Jupiter and Juno, Mommsen's argument from the poem falls to the ground. Jupiter and Juno find a place in the poem for the same reason that the deities of the three nights are mentioned, for the sake of completeness. The *Carmen Saeculare* is the final performance of the festival, and in it the poet has undertaken to sum up in a sense the whole celebration.

Mommsen's objection that the poem is badly constructed because in strophes 10–13 (ll. 37–52) the poet confuses the hearer by seeming to refer to Apollo and Diana at first, but really meaning Jupiter and Juno, as *bobus albis* (49) shows, has been answered by the argument given above, namely that Apollo and Diana are referred to in strophes 10–12.

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The *Di* in strophe 12 (ll. 45–46) is general and inclusive, as was *dis* in line 7, and as *cunctos deos* at the end of the hymn. In strophes 10–13 we first find Apollo and Diana referred to, then the general reference in *Di*, and last the particular reference in line 49 to Jupiter and Juno. The *Di* looks back and includes Apollo and Diana, and at the same time looks forward and includes Jupiter and Juno. The omission of the names of Jupiter and Juno in this place is intentional and deliberate on the part of the poet. The sacrifices made to Jupiter and Juno had been an important part of the first two days of the celebration, and the memory of them would be fresh in the mind of every auditor on the third day of the festival.

Granting that the points made above are well taken, it remains to see if Horace had a well-defined plan in his mind or if his order of mentioning the gods is loose, meaningless, and void of ideal significance, as Mommsen claims.

The hymn is first of all dedicated to Apollo and Diana, and all other deities are subordinated to them throughout the poem, but closely connected with this worship of Apollo and Diana is a strong undertone in praise and honor of Augustus, the giver of the celebration. Ever since the battle of Actium, Augustus had claimed Apollo as his special deity. He enlarged the old temple of Apollo on the promontory of Actium, and dedicated a magnificent temple to his worship on the Palatine (Propertius III, 31), and was desirous, as far as it seemed politic, of raising Apollo and Diana above all other gods as the special protectors of the new state. We see from the *Acta* that they are assigned the most important day of the festival, and from the *Carmen Saeculare* we see that it is from them that the greatest blessings are asked for the Roman race; the good morals of youth, the quiet of old age, wealth and children and every honor (ll. 45–48, reading the genitive and not the dative in lines 45 and 46).

It was a part of Augustus' plan that the new régime should be typified in this celebration, and to this end a complete break was made with the old manner of celebrating the *ludi saeculares;* instead of a three nights' festival, we find the

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celebration continuing through three days and three nights; instead of Dis and Proserpina, gods of the underworld, worshipped with fear and trembling, we find at the night sacrifices the Ilithyiae, the Parcae, and Ceres, kindly intentioned deities worshipped with confidence; and in addition to these we find a group of the greater gods worshipped at the day sacrifices, the place of special honor in this group being given to Apollo and Diana, with avowed purpose on the part of Augustus, whose preference Horace makes the *Carmen Saeculare* serve; Apollo and Diana, the new gods of the Roman state, stand for new life and healing power, the new strength that under the protection of these favoring gods Augustus has imparted to the state.

The cycle is changed from one hundred to one hundred and ten years, and even the sacrifices are changed throughout; black lambs and goats for the Parcae, a black sow for Ceres, and cakes for the Ilithyiae take the place in the night offerings of a black bull and a black cow to Dis and Proserpina; Jupiter and Juno receive white oxen, the customary sacrifice of the greater gods, while an entirely new offering, cakes, is given Apollo and Diana, the same as to the Ilithyiae. This last seems to me to be a connecting link between the night and the day sacrifices, and to have been intentional and meant to be typical of the new order of things; to the Ilithyiae was entrusted Augustus' new legislation (*C. S.* 17–20), to Apollo and Diana Augustus' new state, and Horace very cleverly makes use of this design of Augustus.

The *Carmen Saeculare* divides itself into two separate prayers, aside from the invocations of the deities; the first includes strophes 3–8, closely and skilfully joined together, as may be seen on analysis; the second includes strophes 10–18 (ll. 37–72), which, besides naming the gods of the three days' sacrifices in such a way as to subordinate Jupiter and Juno to Apollo and Diana, allude to Augustus' connection with the Julian line, and consequently support his claim to be one of the race of Anchises. And it should be noted how hesitatingly the prayer (l. 51) is addressed to Juno

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for a descendant of the hated Trojan race; the confident *date* is dropped for the more modest *inpetret*, and proofs of Augustus' worth are offered; he is *bellante prior* and *iacentem lenis in hostem*. This reference to his prowess furnishes the connection with the rest of the prayer, which consists in relating the benefits of his rule.

Mommsen seems to lose sight of all these facts when he condemns the poem as he does and accuses the poet of having blundered in its execution. Possessed with the theory that the hymn was sung in procession, he finds difficulty in knowing where to make divisions and finds confusion in the references to the deities and looseness in the order of naming them. But giving full significance to the fact that a new order is being ushered in with Apollo and Diana at its head and with Augustus as their earthly representative and special care, and interpreting the references to the gods as has been done in this paper, it must be granted that the *Carmen Saeculare* is one of the most carefully wrought out poems of a poet whose skill and cleverness are evident in the smoothness and finish of a large number of poems that have never been surpassed.

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VII. — *The Devil and his Imps: an Etymological Inquisition.*

By CHARLES P. G. SCOTT.

In writing a paper on "English Words which hav Gaind or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction," which has been publisht in three successiv parts in the TRANSACTIONS for 1892, 1893, and 1894, I had occasion to deal, among other classes of words, with three classes of familiar household names, *Ned, Nan, Nell,* etc., *Hick, Hob, Hobbin, Hodge,* etc., *Dick, Dob, Dobbin,* etc., these three classes being derived by different kinds of Attraction, which I explaind, from a fourth class, *Ed, Ann, Ell,* etc., *Rick, Rob, Robin, Rodge,* etc., and these being in turn derived, when not original, by mere curtation from the full names *Edward, Ellen,* etc., *Richard, Robert, Roger,* etc.

Some of these short names and their diminutivs, *Hick, Hichcock, Hob, Hobby, Hodge,* etc., *Dick, Dobbin, Dobby,* etc., wer shown to be also used as common appellativs for a person markt by some physical or mental peculiarity, an awkward, clumsy man, a stupid fellow, a simpleton, a fool. See the paper mentiond (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 231–236; xxiv. 113–120, 128–134; xxv. 118, 130–131).

Connected with these last uses there is a series of names of similar form applied to "the Devil and his Imps," the Devil himself, the devils his "flaming ministers," household goblins, rural demons, bogles, sprites, and fairies of all sorts. Tho some of these names ar clearly identical with some of those treated in the paper, and might hav been used in support of the etymologies I proposed, it seemd best, for lack of room and other reasons, to put these devil names aside. Indeed, it was clear that they should be treated by themselves; for I perceivd that the etymologies which I had to suggest depended in part for their proof and acceptance on the peculiar atmosphere in which the names in question grew up and developt — an atmosphere of popular tradition,

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superstition, humor, shrewdness, goodnatured ignorance, and ill-assimilated instruction, all complext, which only the systematic arrangement of the names, with abundant citation of historical proofs and literary quotations, could even partly reproduce, and in which alone my etymological inquisitions could be carried on to the conviction of others.

With this view, having recently felt moved to take the matter up, sooner than I expected when I laid it aside, I began to write up the Devil and his Imps, placing at first no limit on their number. I had no sooner thrown open the doors than the air was darkend by a grisly flight of black-wingd demons, and the ground was coverd by a trooping host of uncanny creatures of vague unseemly forms and unassorted sizes. Devils, Devilets, Devilings, Dablets, and other Imps, Black Angels, Black Men, Black Bears, Black Bulls, Black Dogs, Bogles and Bogies and Boggards, Bollies and Boodies, Bugs, Bugaboos, and Bugbears, Bullbears, Bull-beggars, Barghests and Boghests, Boggleboes and Boboggles, Boocows and Boomen, Churchgrims, Demons, Dobbies, Doolies, Gallybeggars, Galliments, Goblins, Hobs, Hob-Goblins, Hob-Thursts, Hob-Thrusts, Hob-Thrushes, Hodge-Pokers, Lobs, Padfoots, Pokers, Pookas, Pucks, Puckles, Pugs, Thurses, Urchins, Woodwoses, Banshees, Cluricaunes, Leprechauns, Logherimans, Mermaids, Mermen, Merrows, Kelpies, Necks, Nicks, Nickers, Nixes, Nixies, Niogles, Shagfoals, Shocks, Shucks, the family of Ghosts, Specters, Spooks, Vampires, Fetches, Swarths, Warths, Waiths, Wraiths, the half-saved tribes of Elves, Fairies, Fays, Brownies, Buccas, Spriggans, Knockers, Nisses, Piskies, Pixies, Colepixies, Drows and Trolls, with Jack with the Lantern, Kit with the Candlestick, and Will with the Wisp lighting their darker kinsmen, and the Shoopiltie, the Shellycoat, the Ganfir, the Bwbach and his Welsh brethren in the background; the Deuce, the Devil, the Dickens; Ragamuffin, Ruffin, Humdudgeon, and Tantrabobus, and all their company; the neglected family of Scarecrows and Wussets — all these came up for an historical and etymological review. I might hav been appald by the troop of dark and yelling demons and bogles, or by the task of

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explaining their denominations; but it is wel known that in the stil air of etymology no passions, either of fear or hate or joy, can exist, and that etymologists, indeed, consider it their duty to feel no emotions, unless it be gratification at finding their work improved and their errors rectified, by an other and a better etymologist. This sometimes happens.

My course was simple. I detaind my visitors until I had taken their names and had drawn up as wel as I might their interesting and sometimes venerable pedigrees, with extracts from their records; and then I laid the manuscript aside, taking out only those portions which relate to the names of the kind I hav specially mentiond, and which form the subject of this paper; namely, names of the Devil or of devils, demons, goblins, sprites, which ar derived from or ar connected with household English names, as *Dick*, *Hob*, *Jack*, *Kit*, *Tom*, *Will*, or involv the constant epithet *Old* (to which *Dick* and *Dobby* owe their initial), or otherwise tend to throw light upon the etymological and psychological history of the principal names treated.

I need not say that my purpose in these dealings with the Devil and his Imps is entirely etymological and literary, and that my remarks ar entirely serious. I hope this collection wil be of service to writers of folklore, compilers of fairy-books, and theological commentators, as wel as to the etymologists on whose ensanguind altars I lay these shrinking lambs of opinion and fact.

Any one who knows in what a desperate state of etymology the Devil and his Imps hav been weltering these many generations, must applaud even the feeblest attempt to mitigate their forlorn condition. I need not therefore apologize for my subject, since etymology is my object. If I mention the Devil more than once, I beg the reader to observ that it is the only way to get him before the public. I might of course call him by other names — indeed I shal do so presently; but until my present task is ended, it is of no use to beat the Devil about the bush. Indeed, there is no reason to scruple about naming what the race has not scrupled to invent.

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I must apologize for some deficiencies in my orthography. Conservativ instincts would lead me of course to prefer the longest and most awkward and erroneous forms of spelling, but out of deference to the declared opinions and recommendations of the Philological Association I allow the use of some shorter spellings, like *definit, derivativ, exprest.* Conservativ readers wil find the orthodox forms in any safe dictionary; many wil no dout be able to conjecture the meaning of the words even in their alterd form.

My text wil be found in a striking passage in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, publisht in 1584 (reprinted 1886; second edition 1651). In this great work, a work which does immortal honor to the man who stood almost alone to speak with boldness the words of truth and reason in the face of bitter and bloody superstition, the whole mass of popular delusion, from the harmless pleasantries of Robin Goodfellow to the horrible cruelties of the human demons who proved thereby the possibility of what they profest to believ, is examind, in a singularly rational manner, and the superstitions exposed, disproved, and flouted, with the most refreshing candor and courage.

It is not my purpose to enter into the intent of the work. My numerous citations from it ar merely to illustrate the lighter phases of the subject. The passage which servs me as a text mentions the Devil and his Imps in a comprehensiv way, and wil suggest the general contents of this paper, tho many of the Imps mentiond ar excluded from my present limits.

> It is a common saieng; A lion feareth no bugs. But in our childhood our mothers maids have so terrified us with an ouglie divell having hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in his breech, eies like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a beare, a skin like a Niger, and a voice roring like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crie Bough: and they have so fraied us with bull beggers, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens [read syrens], kit with the cansticke, tritons, centaures, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changelings, Incubus, Robin good-fellow, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell waine, the fierdrake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob gobblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shadowes; in so much that some never fear the divell, but in a darke night.
>
> 1584 R. Scot, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (repr. 1886, p. 122; ed. 1651, p. 112).

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I began my inquisition with the Devil himself, as is his due; and set forth the history and forms of his principal name — *Devil, Divel, Deevil, Deyvil, Deal, Deil, Dool, Dowl;* with innumerable forms in other languages, chasing them even into the isles of the sea; but the record is too long to find a place here. I can giv only some of his particular names, and some particular names of his Imps, as bearing upon the original etymological purpose.

I arrange the names in alphabetic order, but alter the sequence in particular groups to suit my purposes. The quotations ar selected from a much larger number in the original manuscript. They ar all taken directly from the original sources having the titles and dates specified, except when a secondary source is expressly mentiond after the original signature. Two or three facsimile reprints ar treated as originals. The quotations hav been carefully verified. As a rule the earliest available quotation is given, but this is not to be presumed unless the fact is asserted. The aim has been to support each form by at least one verified quotation. Owing to the "profane and common life" which many of the terms hav led, early records ar sometimes lacking, and names certainly centuries old must be supported only by recent examples.

1. **Dick,** a familiar name used as the individual appellation of certain devils, and also applied to a goblin.

The origin of *Dick* I hav explaind in the paper before mentiond. See TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 126–128. It arose from *Old Hick,* with the *d* attracted as in *Dob, Dobby,* etc.

Dick seems to hav been little used as name for a devil or goblin, but its derivativ *dickens* has become very familiar in that function. See DICKENS, following. Traces of *Dick* in this use, however, exist. "Lusty *Dick*" was the name of one of the devils "cast out" by the priests whose performances wer exposed by Harsnet. *Dick a Tuesday* is a spirit to be mentiond hereafter; and *Melsh Dick,* a silvan spirit, is the protector of hazel-nuts.

Lusty *Dick* [name of a devil].
1603 HARSNET, *A declaration of egregious popish impostures,* ch. 10 (*N. & Q.* 1859, 2d ser. 7: 144).

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Melsh-*Dick*. A sylvan goblin, the protector of hazel-nuts from the depredations of mischievous boys. *North*. 1847 HALLIWELL.

The meaning of *melsh* here is not clear.

Dick is also found as a common appellativ of a dwarf or pigmy; and dwarfs wer regarded as dubious Christians, if not as imps of Satan. The following lines refer to one "of perſon as pretty as a Pigmey":

In bodies deft of dapper *Dicks*
Great vertue ofte doth dwell.
1577 KENDALL, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (Spenser Soc., 1874, p. 222).

"A queer *Dick*" is a queer fellow, one odd in appearance, or eccentric in conduct.

Dick also appears in some obscure slang or cant phrases, where it may be the attenuated ghost of some former diabolic allusion. "Up to *Dick*" means 'up to the mark,' 'in good condition.' "It is all *dicky* with him" means 'it is all up with him.'

Dick. In the phrase up to *Dick*, meaning up to the mark, in good form. I suppose this is connected with the ordinary slang word *Dickens*.
1891 CHOPE, *Dial. of Hartland* (E.D.S.), p. 40.

2. **Dick a Tuesday** occurs once as the name, it seems, of some goblin; why 'of Tuesday' must be left to conjecture. According to the Rabbins quoted by Reginald Scot, all goblins and 'bugs' were created, imperfectly, on Friday.

Ghosts, hobgoblins, Will-with-wispe, or *Dicke-a-Tuesday*.
1636 SAMPSON, *Vow breaker* (Nares, 1858, p. 238).

3. **Dicken**, the Devil. The right of *Dicken*, judging by the records alone, to be a devil and with the devils stand, is unhappily very slender. But his title, tho it can not be read clear, can be read. The only direct testimony must be rejected, for it seems to be a misprint; but the indirect evidence is strong, and I am willing, at least on Sunday, to admit *Dicken* the Devil, like other lovers of "personal liberty," to his appropriate place, by the side door.

The direct testimony for *Dicken*, the Devil, is in Halliwell:

Dicken. The devil. Var. dial. *Odds dickens*, a kind of petty oath.
1846 HALLIWELL. (Hence 1857 WRIGHT.)

But *Dicken*, tho ascribed to "various dialects," does not appear in any dialect glossary within my reach, and Halliwell's own additions, including a reference to Heywood (see the quotation below), indicate that he meant to print *Dickens*.

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The indirect evidence for *Dicken* the Devil consists in the familiar use of the later form *Dickens*, in a restricted way, as a name for the same being (as explaind in the next article), and in the limited use of *Dick* as a name for a devil and a goblin. See DICK and DICK-A-TUESDAY, before.

Was it accident, or Sir Walter Scott's fine instinct for the nomenclature appropriate to goblins, that led him to call the mischievous "imp" who figures in "Kenilworth" as the familiar of Wayland Smith, by the name of *Dick*, *Dickie*, *Dickon* — his surname being at least suspicious, *Sludge*, and his other alias being openly diabolic, from the "foul fiend" *Flibbertigibbet*?

> Little *Dickie* . . . *Dickie* Sludge . . . *Ricarde!*
> 1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 9 (1863, p. 81–83). [First mention.]
> If I give thee not a Rowland for thine Oliver, my name is not *Dickon* Sludge. 1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 24 (1863, p. 216).

I explain *Dicken* the Devil (and hence *Dickens* the Devil, which is treated, like the Devil himself, below), as simply a familiar use of the once common household name *Dicken*, *Dickon*. It means just 'little Dick,' or 'Dickie.' We hav seen *Dick* itself used as the name of a devil and a goblin, and we shal see how *Dobby* and *Hob* and *Hobby* and *Hodge* and *Harry* and *Jack* and *Kit* and *Robert* and *Robin* and *Roger* and *Sam* and *Tom* ar used in the same familiar manner.

The household name *Dicken*, *Dickon* I hav explaind, I think for the first time, as originally *Old Hickon*, or, what comes to the same thing, a diminutiv of *Dick*, which was originally *Old Hick*; the *d* of *old* being attracted to the following word, and *old* subsequently omitted. See TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 128–134.

The probability of this explanation is greatly increast by the fact that *old* appears in a great many familiar names for the devil. The very form *Old Harry* is conspicuous among them, and the regretted absence of *Old Hick* and *Old Tom* is soothed by the presence of *Dick a Tuesday* and *Tom Poker* as names of devils, and of *Old Roger*, *Old Sam*, *Old Boy*, *Old Clootie*, *Old Lad*, *Old Scratch*, and many other names with *old*, as nominations of the Devil. See the list in this paper, p. 145.

4. **Dickens**, the Devil. The etymology of *dickens* has been the object of much guessing, to little purpose. The etymology is very simple when one takes note of *Dicken*. *Dicken* I hav just explaind. *Dickens*, also spelt *dickons*, ought strictly to be written with a capital. It is a variant of *Dicken*, with an added *-s*, which is to be regarded

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as a vague addition of emphasis, the plural or perhaps the possessiv suffix *-s* with all meaning washt out. It is similar in status to other juratory forms, *fackins*, *facks*, *ifackins*, for 'in faith' or 'by my faith,' and *maskins*, *mackins*, *by the mackins*, for 'by the mass.' It wil be noticed that in one of my quotations, from an obscure source hitherto overlookt, *Dickens* in the juratory form *By Dickens*, occurs in immediate connection with *maskins*. It is to be observd that *Dickens* comes into use just as *Dicken*, *Dickon* as a common name goes out.

The surname *Dickens* is in origin the possessiv case of *Dicken*, *Dickon*, and means 'Dicken's son.' The full form remains in the surnames *Dickenson*, *Dickinson* (see TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 128), also *Dickerson* for *Dickenson* (compare *Nickerson* for *Nicolson*, p. 122). How far the surname *Dickens* affected the use of *dickens* as a name for the Devil, I can not undertake to say.

There hav been several false etymologies of *dickens* thrown on the dump of conjecture:

(1) It was said to be a contraction of *devilkins*, 'little devils.'

> *Dickens* (q. d. *Devilkins*, i.e. little devils).
> 1721 BAILEY, *Univ. etym. Eng. dict.* (1733).
> *Dickens* (prob. a contraction of *devilkins*, *deelkins*, *dickens*, i.e. little devils). 1755 BAILEY, *New univ. etym. Eng. dict.*, ed. J. N. Scott, 4to.

But to say nothing of the kind of contraction implied, *devilkins* was never in any familiar use. In one passage cited to support it —

> What devilkyns draper, sayd Litell Much, Thynkyst thou to be?
> *c* 1500 *A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode*, l. 292 (Child, *Ballads*, v. 57).

there is no *devilkins* at all. The line should be printed "What devil kyns draper," etc. It means 'What kind of a draper,' etc., or, literally, 'A draper of what kind,' etc., *kyns* being the old genitiv of *kin*, 'kind,' and *devil* an interpolated word of emphasis. See my explanation in TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 149.

(2) Jamieson (1825) under the word *daikins*, which he identifies with *dickens* (see below, p. 88), explains *dickens* as derived from *God's bodikins*. Yet in his personal conduct he was an exemplary man.

(3) Oliphant, referring to Shakespeare's use of *dickens*, says, "Here the strange word is said to be akin to the Dutch" (1886 *The New English*, 2: 24). This alludes, I suppose, to the L.G. *düker* cited in the discussion of *deuce*. See the *Bremen dictionary* (1767, s.v.).

The earliest instances of the use of *dickens* which I hav noted occur at nearly the same time, 1600 and 1602, in plays, in the speech

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of coarse common life. It is in the exclamation *the dickens*, used just like *the deuce*.

> *Hobs.* By my hood, ye make me laugh. What the *dickens?* is it love that makes ye prate to me so fondly?
> 1600 HEYWOOD, *King Edward the Fourth*, first part (Shakespeare Soc., 1842, p. 40).
> *M. Pa.* I cannot tell what (*the dickens*) his name is my husband had him of. 1602 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* 3. 1. (1623, F¹ p. 49).

The dickons, so spelt, is common in "Tim Bobbin":

> Odds mee, Meary! whooa *the dickons* wou'd o thowt o' leeting o thee here so soyne this morning?
> 1750 COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN") *Lanc. Dial.* (first sentence) (1823), p. 5.
> Hoo cou'd na opp'n hur meawth t' sey 'eugh or now; boh simpurt un sed iss; (*the dickons* iss ur un him too) sed I.
> 1750 COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN") *Lanc. dial.* (1823), p. 10. [*The dickons* also on p. 28, 29; the *dickens* in *Works* (1862), p. 326.]
> "Where *the dickens* is she?" he continued.
> 1847 C. BRONTË, *Jane Eyre*, ch. 1. (18.., p. 11).

Insted of *the dickens* is sometimes found *a dickens;* but it is all one. The definit article *a* is not commonly recognized, but it exists. It is a worn form of *the*.

> What *a dickens* does he mean by a trivial sum? (*Aside*) But han't you found it, Sir? 1687 CONGREVE, *Old Bachelor*, ii. 1. (Works, 1710, 1: 24).
> "Name!" said Lance; "why, what *a dickens* should it be but Robin Round — honest Robin of Redham."
> 1823 SCOTT, *Peveril of the Peak*, ch. 25 (1866, p. 222).

All the quotations given above present *dickens* with the definit article; a use which equates it with *the deuce* as an equivalent with *the devil*. But I find an other construction, *By Dickens* (1645). This is a slight piece of evidence for the original use of the term without the article, and therefore as a mere "Christian" name, as my etymology proposes.

> . . . Mincing their oaths as if God would not espy them when as man may, as '*By Dickens*, maskins, s'lid, barlady's foot,' &c.
> 1645 POWELL, *Summons for swearers* (Sternberg, *Northampt. gloss.* 1851, p. 66).

The word appears in the eighteenth century combined with the minced profanity of *ods, odds*, as a diluted oath. But this does not bear on the etymology. The addition is meaningless, like Bob Acres's "*odds* triggers and bullets."

> *Dickens* . . . a fort of oath, as *Ods Dickens.*
> 1721 BAILEY, *Univ. etym. Eng. dict.* (1733).
> *Dickens* . . . As, *Ods dickens* . . .
> 1755 BAILEY, *New univ. etym. Eng. dict.*, ed. J. N. Scott, 4to.

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Dictionary mention of *dickens* begins with Bailey 1721, as cited.

> *ickens.* A kind of adverbial exclamation, importing, as it ſeems, much the ſame with the devil; but I know not whence derived. 1755 JOHNSON.
> *Dickens* (s. used only in looſe and droll ſtyle). A kind of adverbial exclamation, the devil. 1775 ASH, *Dict. Eng. lang.*
> Odds *dickens*, Sall, we'll hev a spree, Me heart's as light as ony feather.
> *a* 1846 JOHN BROWN, *Neddy and Sally, a Lincolnshire Tale* (in Halliwell, pref., p. 24).
> Odds *dickens*, a kind of petty oath. 1847 HALLIWELL.

The dickens is stil in familiar use in the United States as a mere emphatic, expressiv of impatience.

> Well, Brinkly, supposin' it is. Who in the *dickence* said it weren't ?
> 1871 R. M. JOHNSTON ("PHILEMON PERCH"), *Dukesborough Tales*, p. 5.

Here the word is spelt *dickence*, indicating the proper sound of *s*. In one dialect at least the word *dickens* appears in the form *diggens*, spelt in the quotation *digence, diggunce*. This is an other point in favor of the etymology which finds the source in the personal name *Dicken, Dickon;* for the personal name *Dicken, Dickon* has a variant *Diggen, Diggon*. See TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 128.

> *Dig'ence, s.* [*g* hard] [ed. 1869 adds *diggunce*]. The evil one; the devil. ☞ In some modern publication, which I have lately seen, this word is spelled *Dickens;* why, I do not know.
> 1825 JENNINGS, *Dialects of the West of England* (Somerset), p. xiv.

Jamieson identifies with *dickens* a rare Galloway term *daikins:*

> *Daikins*, interj. An exclamation or kind of oath. Galloway. 1825 JAMIESON (1880).
> As Jocky passed through the slap —
> Ilk lass cock'd up her silken cap,
> Saying, *Daikins!* here's the fellow
> For them, that day.
> 1789 DAVIDSON, *Seasons*, p. 76 (1825 Jamieson, 1880, 2 : 7).

This seems to be an isolated instance. I think *daikins* has nothing to do with *dickens*.

5. Dob. Of the use of the simple *Dob*, like *Dobby* in the next article, as a name of a goblin, no evidence appears; but there seems to be an indication of it in the following title of an old "sensational" pamphlet:

> Strange and Wonderful News from Oundle in Northamptonshire; giving an impartial Relation of the Drumming Well, commonly called *Dobse's Well.* 1692 (title). (Lowndes, 1834, 3 : 1381.)

"Dobse's Well" may represent **Dob's Well*, equivalent to **Hob's Well*, a well or pit haunted by a hob or goblin; a "drumming well"

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would of course be supposed to be haunted. *Hob's Cave*, *Hob-hole*, *Thurse-hole*, *Thurse-well*, names of similar haunts, ar mentiond under HOB and THURSE. For *Dob* as a man's name, see TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 129.

6. Dobby, a goblin, a domestic spirit.

This *dobby*, spelt also *dobbie*, I take to be a familiar use of *Dobby*, a personal name which I hav before explaind as originally *Old Hobby*, a pet name of *Hobby* or *Hob* (see TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 130). So *Dob* from *Old Hob;* see above. *Hob* is also applied, as we shal see, to a goblin of the same kind: as well as to the Imp otherwise cald *Jack with the lantern;* and *Hobby* also recurs in the latter use. *Dobby*, a stupid person (Halliwell), is an other use of the same personal name.

That this etymology is probable wil appear not only from a comparison of the uses of *Hob* and *Hobby*, but also from a comparison of the uses of *Dick*, *Dicken*, *Dickens*, similarly related to *old*, and of the numerous names of the devil beginning with that adjectiv.

> The ideas respecting '*dobbies*' are the same as are held in Scotland with respect to 'brownies.' Though naturally lazy, they are said to make, in cases of trouble and difficulty, incredible exertions for the advantage of the family; as, to stack all the hay, or house the whole crop of corn, in one night. The farmers' horses are left to rest, and stags, or other wild animals, are supposed to fulfil the orders of the demon. Some of the *dobbies* are contented to stay in outhouses with the cattle, but others will only dwell among human beings. The latter are thought to be fond of heat, but when the hearth cools, it is said, they frisk and racket about the house, greatly disturbing the inmates. If the family should remove with the expectation of finding a more peaceable mansion, their hopes would be frustrated, for we are informed that the *dobby*, being attached to the persons, not to place, would remove also, and commence his revels in the new habitation.
>
> The *dobbies* residing in lone granges, or barns, and near antiquated towers, bridges, &c., have a character imputed to them different from that of the house-demons. Benighted travellers are thought to be much endangered by passing their haunts: for, as grave legends assure us, an angry sprite will sometimes jump behind a horseman, and compress him so tightly that he either perishes before he can reach his home, or falls into some lingering and direful malady.
>
> 1811 WILLAN, *Ancient Words used in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Archæologia*, 1814, 17 : 138–167 (E.D.S., 1873, p. 80; also Sternberg, *Dialect and Folk-lore of Northamptonshire*, p. 193).

A pleasant description of the *dobbies* is given by Irving. It is not an American subject, but then Irving, as Englishmen used to say, in order to explain the phenomenon of an agreeable style in an American writer, was merely an Englishman who happend to be born in America.

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The parson assures me that many of the peasantry believe in household goblins called *Dobbies*, which live about particular farms and houses, in the same way that Robin Good Fellow did of old. Sometimes they haunt the barns and outhouses; and now and then will assist the farmer wonderfully, by getting in all his hay and corn in a single night. In general, however, they prefer to live within doors, and are fond of keeping about the great hearths, and basking at night, after the family have gone to bed, by the glowing embers. . . . But besides these household *Dobbies*, there are others of a more gloomy and unsocial nature; that keep about lonely barns, at a distance from any dwelling house; or about ruins, and old bridges. These are full of mischievous and often malignant tricks; and are fond of playing pranks upon benighted travelers. . . . Of the household *Dobbies* . . . it is remarked that they keep with certain families, and follow them wherever they remove. 1822 IRVING, *Bracebridge Hall*, ii. 86–88.

The Craven *dobbies* resemble the Northamptonshire fairies in the custom of visiting the cottage hearth.
1851 STERNBERG, *Dialect and Folk-lore of Northamptonshire*, p. 193.

Ghosts! Eigh, me lad, we've hed plenty on 'em i' Forness, but we'd anudder neeàm for 'em; we've ol'as co'd em *dobbies* or freetnins. Here about U'ston we'd t' Plunton Ho' *dobby*, Swartmoor Ho' *dobby*, Ald Ho' *dobby*, Lebby Beck *dobby*, t' Swing Gate *dobby*, an' we had t' King's Arms *dobby*, tu. 1867 J. P. MORRIS, *T' Lebby Beck Dobby*, p. 3 (1875 Nodal and Milner, *Lanc. Gloss.*, E.D.S., p. 107).

Dobby, a ghost; lit. a stupid. See *Dobbie* in Jamieson's Scottish Dict.
1875 NODAL and MILNER, *Lans. Gloss.*, E.D.S., p. 107.

In mere literary mention or allusion *dobby* does not often appear.

He understood Greek, Latin and Hebrew; and therefore, according to the apprehension, and in the phrase of his brother Wilfred, needed not to care for ghaist or barghaist, devil or *dobbie*.
1818 SCOTT, *Rob Roy*, ch. 14 (1863, p. 107).

7. Friar. "The Friar" is Friar Rush; Milton givs him a lantern, as if he were Jack with the lantern. See JACK WITH THE LANTERN.

She was pincht and pull'd, she sed,
And he by *Friar's lantern* led;
Tell how the drudging Goblin sweat
To earn his Cream Bowl duly set.
1645 MILTON, *L'Allegro* (1891), l. 103–6.

8. Friar Rush. The history of Friar Rush is or was wel known. It was told in quarto in 1620, and in other styles before. Friar Rush was a "merry devil," of the kindred of Robin Goodfellow and Puck.

Frier Rush was for all the world such another fellow as this Hudgin, and brought up even in the same schoole; to wit, in a kitchen; in so much as the selfe same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skullian, which is said to have been slaine, &c. For the reading whereof I referre you to *Frier Rush* his storie, or else to John Wierus, *De præstigiis dæmonum*.
1584 R. SCOT, *Discourse upon divels and spirits*, ch. 21 (app. to *Discoverie of witchcraft*, repr. 1886, p. 438; ed. 1651, p. 374).

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9. (1) **Gill Burnt-tail,** an other name for the Will of the wisp or Jack with the lantern. Jack and Gill wer old companions.

> Will with the wispe, or *Gyl burnt tayle.*
> 1654 GAYTON, *Festivous Notes,* p. 97 (Nares, 1858, p. 362).

10. (2) **Gillian a Burnt-tail,** the same as *Gill Burnt-tail.*

> An ignis fatuus, an exhalation and *Gillion a burnt taile,* or Will with the wispe. 1654 GAYTON, *Festivous Notes,* p. 268 (Nares, 1858, p. 362).

11. **Goblin,** a demon, often of a friendly disposition.

Goblin, formerly also *gobblin, gobline, gobling,* M.E. *gobelin, gobelyn,* from O.F. *gobelin,* F. *gobelin, goblin,* perversely *goguelin;* Bret. *gobilin* (1851 Corblet, *Glossaire du patois picard,* p. 427; 1851 Diefenbach, *Goth. wörterbuch,* 1 : 150); M.L. reflex *gobelinus.*

> This ludicrous fairy [the Welsh Bwbach] is in France represented by the *gobelin.* Mothers threaten children with him. 'Le *gobelin* vous mangera, le *gobelin* vous emportera.' 1880 SIKES, *British Goblins,* p. 32.
> Dæmon enim, quem de Dianæ fano expulit, adhuc in eadem urbe degit, & in variis frequenter formis apparens, neminem ledit. Hunc vulgus *Gobelinum* appellat.
> *a* 1141 ORDERICUS VITALIS, *Historia* (in Ducange, 1762, 2 : 499).

The origin of *goblin,* or of its Old French original, has been variously stated:

(1) From M.L. *cobālus, covālus,* Gr. κόβᾱλος, a malignant spirit, a rogue. So Scheler (1888). This implies a derivativ **cobālinus,* alterd through Rom. to *gobelinus.* Wharton (*Etyma Graeca,* 1890, p. 71) associates *goblin* with Gr. "κόβᾱλος, rogue," as well as with Eng. *gabble, gibberish, gibe, jabber.*

(2) From G. *kobold* (whether this be derived from M.L. *cobālus,* as Scheler and others say, or from an other source). So Minsheu, 1617 (inter alia); Keightley, *Fairy mythology,* 2 : 297, *n.* To get O.F. *gobelin* from *kobold,* M.H.G. *kobolt,* requires sustaind effort.

(3) From W. *coblyn,* a "sprite, goblin" (1866 Spurrell, p. 78). But W. *coblyn* is also, and apparently first, a "thumper, pecker"; compare "*coblyn y coed,* woodpecker"; connected with *cobio,* "to thump" (Spurrell, *l.c.*; similarly, Owen, 1793). The sense 'goblin' may be due to confusion with the English word, and the legend of the mine-goblins called 'Knockers.'

(4) From F. *gober,* devour.

> *Goblin,* G. *Gobelin,* ex *gobèr,* i. glutire: quòd faciebant credere pueris & infantibus eos ab ipſis malignis deuorari: because they made children beleeve that theſe Goblins would devoure them.
> 1617 MINSHEU, lines 1–3 (Sim. Skinner, 1671, *Etym. ling. Angl.*).

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(5) From the *Ghibellines* of medieval Italy. From the *Guelfs* came the *elves*. Grown men entertaind this fancy.

> *Goblin*, G. *Gobelin* . . . Aut potius vt placet Thomaſio in ſua animaduerſione de Italia: vbi dicit hoc vocabulum *Goblin* prouenire ex Guibellinis & Guelfis, duabus Italiæ factionibus: quarum ſolum nominando pauor incutiebatur pueris, &c. M. Thomas ſaith, that this word *Goblin* comes from that famous faction of the Guibellines and Guelfes of Italie, the names whereof strooke a terrour into their children, as the name of Goblin and Hobgoblin among English Infants. Vi. *Hobgoblin*.
> 1617 MINSHEU, lines 3–8.
>
> *Goblins* . . . Elves and *Goblins*, q. d. Guelfs and Ghibelins, quibus olim terribiliſſimis nominibus infantes territare ſolebant nutrices: Sic Præceptor meus, ſed eſt mera conjectura.
> 1671 SKINNER, *Etym. ling. Anglicanæ*.

(6) From *Oberon*. The *g* was prefixt, as Skinner would say, "propter euphoniam." We shal find *Oberon* lugd in also to explain *Hob*.

> *Goblins* . . . Minshew . . . deflectit à verbo Fr. G. *Gober* . . . vel *ab Oberone*, Dæmonum terreſtrium (i.e.) Dryadum, Oreadum & Faunorum, nobis Fayriorum, Rege. 1671 SKINNER, *Etym. ling. Anglicanæ*.

But Minsheu (1617) does not propound the etymology *ab Oberone*.

(7) From *goblet* — because the goblin shakes 'em.

> Père l'Abbé intimates that the goblin gets his name from "shaking the goblets and other vessels."
> 1828 T. K[EIGHTLEY], *Fairy Mythology*, 2. 297.

Goblin occurs, but not often, in M.E. I find three examples:

> Sathanas huere syre Seyde on his sawe
> *Gobelyn* made his gerner Of gromene mawe.
> *c* 1300 *Political songs of England*, ed. Wright, Camden Soc., 1839, p. 238.
>
> Of an arowe fliynge in the dai, of a [om. in 1 ms.] *gobelyn* goynge in derknessis [*earlier text* fro the nede goende in dercnessis thur3]; of a sailing, and a myddai ſeend. *c* 1388 WICLIF, *Ps.* 90: 6 (Purv.).

This in translation of the Vulgate:

> A sagitta volante in die, *a negotio perambulante in tenebris:* ab incursu, et daemonio meridiano.
> *Biblia sacra vulg. Ps.* 90: 6, *ed. Romæ*, 1861, p. 369.

In the English version of 1605:

> Nor of the pestilence that walketh in darkenes, nor of the plague that destroyeth at noone day. *Ps.* 91: 6.

Goblin occurs once in the M.E. glosses.

> Ravus, a thrusse, a *gobelyne*.
> *c* 1460 *Medulla grammatice* (in Way, *Prompt. Parv.* 1865, p. 491, note).

The only description of goblins I hav found in M.E. is the following. They ar placed in the land of Poitou.

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We haue thenne herd sey and telle of our auncyents, that in manye partes of the sayd land of Poytow haue ben shewed vnto many oon right famylerly many manyeres of things the which som called *Gobelyns*, the other Fayrees, and the other bonnes dames or good ladyes; and they goo by nyght tyme and entre within the houses without opnyng or brekyng of ony doore, and take & bere somtyme with them the children out of their cradelles, and somtyme they turne them out of theyre wit, and somtyme they brenne & Roste them before þe fyre, and whan they departe fro them they leue them as hoole as they were before, and som̃ gyvu grette happe & Fortune in this world.

c 1500 *Chronicle of Melusine*, ms. quoted by Skeat, Pref. to *Rom. of Partenay* (E.E.T.S. 1866), p. xiii.

Larua . . . a *goblin* . . . 1565 COOPER, *Thesaurus*.

Goe, charge my *Goblins* that they grinde their ioynts
With dry Convultions; ſhorten vp their ſinewes
With aged Cramps.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Tempest*, 4 : 1 (F¹ p. 16).

Shakespeare uses *goblin* also in the sense of a ghost, that is, 'the spirit of one ded.'

Be thou a Spirit of health, or *Goblin* damn'd . . .
Be thy euents [intents] wicked or charitable . . .

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, 1 : 4 (F¹ p. 257).

Goblines. Siet *Hobgoblines*. 1648 HEXHAM, *Eng.-Netherdutch Dict.*

A *goblin* which manifests itself to the human eye, it seems to me, becomes natural, by bowing before the natural laws which rule in optics.

1880 SIKES, *British Goblins*, p. 248.

But it is the mind's eye — we wil call it mind — to which goblins manifest themselvs. See HOB GOBLIN.

12. **Goggie,** usually cald *Old Goggie*, a goblin of woods and orchards, invoked to deter children from stealing the fruit. The same function was performd by *Melsh Dick* (see DICK).

Goggie (gaog·i); *Awd Goggie*, W., a hobgoblin, who haunts woods and orchards, and is made use of as a protector of the fruit, children being told that if they go near such a tree 'Awd Goggie is seer to get em.'

1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 68.

13. **Good Fellow,** written also *good-fellow* and *goodfellow* (in *Robin Goodfellow*), a friendly or euphemistic name for a goblin of the house, such as *Lob Lie-by-the-fire*, or the spirit cald especially *Robin Goodfellow*. For further remarks and additional quotations, see ROBIN GOODFELLOW.

The following quotation alludes to the household goblin who works while the family is asleep:

Cornelius Tacitus [marg. *Cor. Tac.*, l. 12] telles a merry tale . . . of a *good-fellow*-like Hercules, whom the Parthians worſhipped. This kind-hearted god warned his Prieſts in a dreame, that neere to his Temple they ſhould ſet horſes ready furniſhed for hunting, which they doe,

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lading them with quiuers full of arrowes. Theſe after much running vp and downe the forreſt, returne home at night blowing and breathleſſe, their quiuers being emptied. And Hercules (no nigard of his veniſon) acquainteth the Prieſts at night by another viſion with all his diſport, what woods he hath raunged, and the places of his game. They ſearching the places, find the ſlain beaſts.

1613 PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, IV. iii. 299.

Hercules as Robin Goodfellow! This is not at all the usual "Ercles vein."

The following quotation refers to *Lob Lie-by-the-fire.*

And John Broom's curiosity was never quenched about the rough hairy *Good-fellow* who worked at night that others might be idle by day, and who was sometimes caught at his hard-earned nap lying, "like a great hurgin bear," where the boy loved to lie himself, before the fire on this very hearth.

1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire* (18.., n. d.), p. 50.

The sometimes sinister subaudition in the term *Good Fellow* may be perceivd by the following:

Showing what base and unclean acts have been committed . . . by one Popham, well knowen to be a *good fellow.*

1648 GAGE, *New Survey of the West-Indias*, p. 203.

14. **Guytrash**, a goblin or specter.

This singular word is given, usually in the spelling *gytrash*, as a provincial term for "a spirit, or ghost" (Halliwell).

Guy-trash. An evil spirit, a ghost, a pad-foot.

1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss.* 1: 202.

Gytrash. A spirit, or ghost. *Craven.*

1846 HALLIWELL. (Whence in 1857 Wright.)

The word is in literature; for "Jane Eyre" is so regarded:

The din was on the causeway. A horse was coming . . . As this horse approached, and as I watched for it to appear through the dusk, I remembered certain of Bessie's tales, wherein figured a North-of-England spirit, called a "*Gytrash*," which, in the form of horse, mule, or large dog, haunted solitary ways, and sometimes came upon belated travellers, as this horse was now coming upon me. It was very near, but not yet in sight; when, in addition to the tramp, tramp, I heard a rush under the hedge, and close down by the hazel stems glided a great dog, whose black and white color made him a distinct object against the trees. It was exactly one mask of Bessie's *Gytrash* — a lion-like creature with long hair and a huge head; it passed me, however, quietly enough, not staying to look up, with strange pretercanine eyes, in my face, as I half expected it would. The horse followed — a tall steed and on its back a rider. The man, the human being, broke the spell at once. Nobody ever rode the *Gytrash.* It was always alone; and goblins, to my notions, though they might tenant the dumb carcases of beasts, could scarcely covet shelter in the commonplace human form. No *Gytrash* was this, — only a traveller taking the short cut to Millcote.

1847 C. BRONTË, *Jane Eyre*, ch. 12 (18.., p. 124).

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No one, so far as I know, has recorded any views as to the origin of this word. Yet one need not go far for a view. One of the most ingenious methods in etymology is to take the word as it stands to stand for what it professes. Apply this method to *guytrash* or *gytrash*. It is evidently a compound. Of what? Of *Guy* or *Gy*, in M.E. *Gy*, and *trash*. What *trash?* There ar several words of this form in the dictionaries, but none apply. But in this paper an other *trash* is recorded for an other reason; and it applies. *Trash* is the name of a particular kind of specter. It is a variant of *trush* for *thrush*, and that is a variant of *thurse*, a goblin; as is fully set forth in this paper under THURSE. Hence *guytrash*, *gytrash*, is *Guy-Trash*, parallel to *Hob-Trush*, *Hob-Thrush* for *Hob-Thurse*, as I explain under these forms.

But what is this spirit cald *Guy* or *Gy?* I was at a loss to tel, until I lighted upon a mention by Dunbar and Lyndesay, Scottish poets of the 16th century, of "the spreit of Gy" and "the gaist of Gye."

> The larbar lukis of thy lang lene craig,
> Thy pure pynit throtť, peilit and owt of ply,
> Thy ſkoldirt ſkin, hewd lyk ane saffrone bag,
> Garris men diſpyt thar fleſche, thow *ſpreit of Gy*.
> 1508 DUNBAR, *The Flyting* (Poems, ed. Laing, 1834, 2:71).

> And vit gif this be not I — I wait it is the *spreit of Gy*,
> Or ellis fle be the sky, — And lycht as the lynd.
> 1568 LYNDESAY, *Ane littill interlude of the Droichis part of the play* (*Bannatyne poems*, 1770, p. 219).

In Lyndesay's "Dreme" he describes how he put himself in grotesque disguises to amuse the infant prince who became James V:

> And sumtyme lyke ane feind, transfegurate,
> And sumtyme lyke the greislie *gaist of gye* [*Guy*, Jam. 1808],
> In diuers formis, oft tymes, disfigurate,
> And sumtyme, dissagyist ful pleasandlye.
> 1552 LYNDESAY, *Dreme* (E.E.T.S.), i:15.

One might suppose that this 'spirit of Guy' refers to Guy of Warwick, the hero of many legends — almost a "solar myth." But I do not recall any mention of Guy's ghost in the legends concerning him. Laing, in his glossary to Dunbar, enters "*Gy*, Sir Guy, of Romance."

The term *guy-trash* came to lose all reference to a particular spirit, and was applied to any apparition of terror; and then by mixture of fables, was imagind as an equine or a canine goblin, as in "Jane Eyre."

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The word *guy*, meaning "any strange looking individual," an awkwardly drest person, "a fright," is regarded as an allusion to the effigy of Guy Fawkes, formerly carried about by boys on the fifth of November. I suppose this is true; but it may be that the fading "spreit of Gy," the *Gytrash*, is also present in this use of *guy*.

15. **Hob**, a rural spirit or goblin, cald also *Hobgoblin*. See HOB GOBLIN, below.

This is simply the rustic name *Hob*, used like other names of the same homely sort, as a friendly name for the countryside goblins. This combination, a piece of rude familiarity used to cover up uncertainty or fear, is quite in keeping with the rustical mind of England; and the proofs which appear in the quotations given below, and the similar names enumerated in this paper, ar hardly needed to confirm the etymology. See especially DOB, DOBBY, HOBGOBLIN.

Hob, as a person's name, is generally explaind as a 'nickname' for *Robert*. I hav explaind the process of the change in an other paper (TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 110–11, 115) thus: *Robert* was shortend to *Rob* by detachment of the supposed suffix *-ert; Rob* in the frequent household phrases *our Rob*, *your Rob* became by fusion of the adjacent *r*'s, *'Ob*, and this by conformity with other names was aspirated *Hob*, though stil actually pronounced, by the unaspiring multitude, *'Ob*.

One writer, following Keightley, proposes a pretty and therefore an erroneous etymology:

> I look upon the usual derivation of *Hob* as mistaken, if not absurd. . . No doubt *Hobbie*, *Hob*, is the short for Halbert; but has it actually and popularly been the short for Robert? It seems much more likely that just as Oberon comes through the intermediate form *Auberon* from *Alberon* (Grimm's *D. M.*, p. 421), so *Hob* = *'Ob* comes through *aub* (comp. Clevel. *Awf*), from *alb* = *elf*.
>
> 1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 263.

But *Oberon*, *Auberon* is to Englishmen a mere book-fairy, never *heard* of.

Hob occurs as the name of a particular spirit, one of those who figured in the "egregious popish impostures" exposed by Harsnet.

> *Hob.* 1603 HARSNET, *Declaration of egregious popish impostures*, ch. 10 (in *N.* & *Q.* (1859), 2d ser. 7: 144).

It became a general appellativ for any goblin, elf, or domestic spirit.

> From elves, *hobs* and fairies That trouble our dairies.
>
> 1639 BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, *Monsieur Thomas*, iv. 6 (*Sheff. gloss.*).

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Hob. The appellation of a spirit, or being of elf-nature, who must once have occupied a prominent place in the belief or popular faith of the people of the district. [A long note follows, partly quoted below.]
1867 ATKINSON, *Cleveland gloss.* p. 262.

These hobs haunted caves, holes, crofts, fields, and other special places, which came to be known accordingly, *Hob's Cave*, *Hob-croft*, *Hob-field*, *Hob-yard*. It was so likewise with *Hob-Thurst*, *Hob-Hurst*, and *Thurse*; see these in their order. And see *Dobse's Well*, under DOB. Some places so named may hav been named from persons; but the goblin origin of others is beyond dout.

(1) *Hob's cave.*

Hob's Cave at Mulgrave. 1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 262.

(2) *Hob-croft.*

Hob croft (arable) lying betweene Granamoore . . . *Hob croft* house [in Bradfield]. 1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* 1888, p. 109).

There is a lane in Mobberley called *Hobcroft* Lane, and several adjacent fields called the *Hobcrofts*.
1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 166.

(3) *Hob-field.*

Hob-field. 1598 *Record* quoted in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S. 1888), p. 315.

Hob feild lane. 1649 *Record* quoted in Addy, *l. c.*

(4) *Hob-hole.*

Item an intacke called *Hobb Hoyle* lying in Sheffield soake.
1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* 1888, p. 109).

Hob Hoyle, in Bradfield. 1888 ADDY, *l.c.* (referring to the above).

Here *hoyle* is a dialectal variant of *hole*.

Probably, like the nisses of popular faith in Denmark, there were many *Hobs*, each with a 'local habitation' and a local 'name.' Thus there is a *Hob Hole* at Runswick, a *Hob Hole* near Kempswithen, a *Hob's Cave* at Mulgrave, *Hob'rush* Rook on the Farndale Moors, and so on.
1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 262.

(5) **Hob-house.* The existence of a word **Hob-house*, equivalent to *Hob-hole*, is indicated by the surname *Hobhouse*, and the analogy of the equivalent terms *Thurse-house* and *Thurse-hole*. See under THURSE.

(6) *Hob-yard.*

Hobb-yeard. 1649 *Record* quoted in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S. 1888), p. 315.

That it was common to associate such spirits with yards and fields is curiously proved by a story told by Dr. Henry More in a letter to the credulous Joseph Glanvil, concerning a man said by More to be of a skeptical mind, who, on receiving, in his own house, a blow from

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an unseen hand, at once went out into "the yard and next field," to look there for the spirit which, as this skeptical man believd, had delt the blow.

> But this he told me, when he did ſo much as think of it, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, ſome inviſible Hand gave him ſuch a clap upon the Back that it made all ring again. So thought he, now I am invited to the converſe of ſome Spirit; and therefore ſo ſoon as his Boots were off and His Shoes on, out goes he into the Yard and next Field, to find out the Spirit that had given him this familiar clap on the back but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.
>
> *a* 1689 H. MORE to Glanvil, in Glanvil's *Saducismus triumphatus* (1689), p. 24.

Some hobs, on the other hand, in sted of giving a name to their place of haunt, took their name from it, just like a medieval person or a modern Scottish laird — Robert of Gloucester, Robert of Brunne, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Nassington, Drumthwacket of that ilk. There was a spirit of some fame known as "Hob of Runswick."

> *Hob* of Runswick. A hobgoblin haunting Hobholes, a cave in the cliff at Runswick, a fishing village near Whitby. He was famous for curing children of the hooping-cough or kin cough, when thus invoked by those who took them in —
>
> "Hob hole hob! my bairn's gotten t'kin cough,
> Tak 't off, tak 't off."
>
> 1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby gloss.* p. 83.

The author repeats this in a different way, in a later edition (E.D.S. 1876, pref. p. xii). The same statement is made by Atkinson, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* (1867), p. 262.

There was a Hob at Hart Hall:

> *Hob* at Hart Hall, in Glaisdale, was, as the legend bears, a farm-spirit 'of all work,' thrashing, winnowing, stamping the bigg, leading, &c. Like the rest of the tribe who ever came under mortal eye, he was without clothes — nāk't — and having had a Harding-smock [*read* harden smock] made and placed for him, after a few moments of — it would seem ill-pleased — inspection, he was heard to say,—
>
> "Gin Hob mun hae nowght but a hardin' hamp,
> He'll come nae mair nowther to berry nor stamp."
>
> 1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 263.

The same Hob, identified by his poetical skil, is "unearthed" by an other writer:

> And we also get a report of a grumbling north country goblin. The Vicar of Danby writes: "I have actually unearthed a *Hob*. He is localized to a farmhouse in the parish, though not in the township of Danby, and the old rhyme turns up among the folks that could by no possibility have seen it, or heard of it, as in print —
>
> 'Gin Hob mun hae nowght but Harding hamp,
> He'll come nae mair to berry nor stamp.'"
>
> 1879 HENDERSON, *Folk-lore of the northern counties*, p. 264. (Northall, *Eng. folk-rhymes*, 1892, p. 179.)

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A Yorkshire Hob or Hobthrush was attached to the family residing at Sturtit Hall, near Reeth, and used to churn, make up fires, and so on, until the mistress, pitying his forlorn condition, provided him with a hat and cloak, he exclaimed —

"Ha! a cap and a hood,
Hob'll never do mair good."

And has never been seen since. 1879 HENDERSON, *l.c.*

This Hob, a goblin, or an image of a goblin in some grotesque form, is probably present, unrecognized, in a phrase used in some parts of the United States. "To play Hob" is to "raise the devil," to "raise Cain," to create confusion and cause damage. The phrase is also used, within my personal knowledge, in sarcastic negation. A boy brags of what he is going to do. "You'll play Hob," answers his skeptical opponent, meaning 'You can't do it.' I do not remember to hav seen these uses mentiond in the books.

That there was once an actual playing of "Hob" appears from the following:

Old-*Hob*. A Cheshire custom. It consists of carrying a dead horse's head, covered with a sheet, to frighten people.
1847 HALLIWELL, p. 587. (Similar entry in Leigh, *Cheshire gloss.* 1877, and Holland, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S. 1886), p. 246.)

I suppose this referd at first to a goblin cald "Old Hob," and fancied to appear in the form of a horse, or with a horse's head. Goblins in such shape ar frequent in folklore. In some cases the association with a horse (or dog, or other animal) has arisen from a popular etymology, or some other blunder. See GUYTRASH, TRASH.

Hob enters into a good many phrase-names for goblins or spirits, either (1) as the first or "Christian" name, put before a descriptiv surname, the two being in present use written in junction (e.g. *Hob-goblin*) or in union (*Hobgoblin*), but originally separate (*Hob Goblin*); or (2) as the principal name followd by a prepositional adjunct (e.g. *Hob of the lantern*), the latter being often reduced by ellipsis or contraction.

These phrase-names with *Hob* ar given below, the two classes by themselvs, with the original forms, each in their alphabetic order, with the variations following in adjusted order.

16. **Hob Goblin, hob-goblin,** *hobgoblin*, a spirit, usually of terror: a familiar equivalent for *goblin*. Other forms hav been *hobgobblin*, *hobgobline*, *hobbegoblyn*, and by perversion *hobgobling* and *hopgoblin*. This name was at first two words, *Hob Goblin*, being the familiar name *Hob*, applied, like other household names, as a "Christian"

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name to a mischievous spirit, and made definit by the generic term or surname *Goblin*. Its formation is like that of *Hob Miller*, "*Piers Plowman*," *John Carter*, *Dick Smith*, *Tom Taylor*. Names of similar formation applied to goblins ar *Hodge Poker*, *Tom Poker*, and others mentiond below.

The binominal term was extended to any goblin or imp, and was then written in union as one word, *hobgoblin*. Now the first element is not felt to be significant. Indeed, few know the etymology.

The fact that *Hob* in *Hobgoblin* is in some way connected with *Rob* or *Robin* is crudely stated by Minsheu and his line, Skinner, Phillips, Bailey.

Hobgoblins, Night-walking fpirits, quafi *Robgoblins*, *Robin good fellow*, . . .
1617 MINSHEU.

An other etymology draws *Hobgoblin*, without specifying the simple *Hob*, from the name of the fairy *Oberon*. See quotation from Skinner above, and the quotation from Atkinson under *Hob*.

An other jump at the etymology was made when *hob-* was "corrected" to *hop-*. This was done by Hexham, Tyrwhitt, and Jamieson.

Drol, a Bugbeare, or a *Hop-goblin*.
1648 (and 1658) HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.*
This is such a prank as our *hob* or *hop-goblin* used to play.
a 1786 TYRWHITT (quoted in 1828 T. K[eightley], *Fairy mythology*, ii. 121].
Hopgoblin. 1808 JAMIESON, s.vv. *bogill*, *bogill-bo*, and elsewhere. [In edd. 1818 and 1879–82 changed to *hobgoblin*.]

A recent writer draws the 'hop' notion from Welsh ground, and adds a new etymology, which has the merit of simplicity — *hob*, suggesting the hearth, + *goblin*.

In the English *hobgoblin* we have a word apparently derived from the Welsh *hob*, to hop, and *coblyn*, a goblin, which presents a hopping goblin to the mind, and suggests the Pwca (with which the Bwbach is also confused in the popular fancy at times), but should mean in English simply the goblin of the hob, or household fairy.
1880 SIKES, *British Goblins*, p. 32.

Spenser seems to hav dreamd at the etymology of *hobgoblin*, and to hav given it up. It would hav been wel if he had shown equal diffidence in other philological attempts.

Ne let *hob Goblins*, names whose sence we see not,
Fray us with things that be not.
1595 SPENSER, *Epithalamium* (Wks. 1886), l. 341.

The use of *Hobgoblin* must hav begun before the year 1500, but the earliest instance I hav found is of the year 1530, and happens to present the form *hobgobling*.

Hobgoblyng, goblin, mavffe. 1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 231.

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In the next mention *Hobgoblin* is individual, as in Scot and Shakespeare, soon to be cited:

> Our faythfull Secretaryes, *Hobgoblyn* and Blooddybone.
> *c* 1550 *Wyll of Deuyll* (Collier), 13. (N.E.D. s.v. *bloody-bones.*)

About the same time *Hobgoblin* enters the English-Latin dictionaries:

> Spiryte called a hagge, a *kobbegoblyn*, which appeareth in the night. Larua, lemur. 1552 HULOET, *Abecedarium.* (*C.A.* p. 321.)

The next mention is in Reginald Scot's polemic, where *Hobgoblin* is individual, and in the past tense.

> And know you this by the waie, that heretofore Robin goodfellow and *Hob gobblin* were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now. 1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 2 (1886, p. 105; 1651, p. 97).
> Tom thombe, *kob gobblin*, Tom tumbler, boneles.
> 1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (1886, p. 122; 1651, p. 112).

Hobgoblin appears often in Florio (1598) and Cotgrave (1611).

> Fantasma, a ghost, a hag, a robin good-fellow, a *hobgoblin*, a sprite, a iade, the riding hagge, or mare.
> 1598 FLORIO. (Also s.vv. *phantasma, larua, scazzambrello.*)
> *Herbaut.* The name of a merrie Diuell, or *Hobgoblin*, that appeared most commonly on horsebacke.
> 1611 COTGRAVE. (Also s.vv. *esprit folet, massoret.*)

In Shakespeare *Hobgoblin* is made individual, and identified with *Puck*, who is likewise made individual:

> Thoſe that *Hobgoblin* call you, and ſweet Pucke,
> You do their worke, and they ſhall haue good lucke.
> 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 2:1 (F¹ p. 148).
> Crier *Hob-goblyn*, make the Fairy Oyes.
> 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M.W.W.* 2:5. 45 (F¹ p. 59).
> A bigger kind there is of them called with us *Hobgoblins* and Robin Goodfellows, that would, in those superstitious times, grind corn for a mess of milk, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery work.
> 1621 BURTON, *Anat. of melancholy*, p. 47 (quoted in 1828 T. K[eightley], *Fairy mythology*, 2:110).
> *Hobgoblings* or buggebeares, Bulle-mannen. 1648 HEXHAM.
> This Opinion, in the benighted Ages of Popery, when *Hobgoblins* and Sprights were in every City and Town and Village, by every Water and in every Wood, was very common.
> 1725 BOURNE, *Antiquities of the common people*, ch. 10, in Brand, *Observations on popular antiquities*, p. 108.

The next passage is in imitation of Spenser:

> Ne let *Hobgoblin*, ne the Ponk [read *Pouk*] profane
> With Shadowy Glare the Light, and mad the bursting Brain.
> 1757 WM. THOMPSON, *Poems on several occasions*, 1:173 (*N.* & *Q.* 2d ser. 7:746).
> *Hobbgoblin.* An apparition, fairy, or spirit. N. 1787 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.*

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Hobgoblin is now merely a reminiscent literary word, no longer heard in the rural speech in which it arose.

17. **Hob-gob**, a reduced form of *Hobgoblin;* a riming disyllable.

Hob-gobs. 1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 166. [See HOB-DROSS, after HOB-THRUSH.]

18. **Hob Houlard, hob-houlard,** *hobhoulard*, a hobgoblin. This term is like *Hob Goblin, hobgoblin* in form and sense. The second element *houlard* may be the same as the provincial English *hullart*, a variant of *hullet*, that is *howlet*, which has variants *ullet, ullert, owlert*, the same as *owlet*. *Hob Houlard* would therefore mean 'Hob Owl,' a term fit enough for a goblin of the night. Some goblins howld.

Hobgoblin. A ghost, or fiend. Sometimes termed a *Hobhoulard.* 1847 HALLIWELL.

19, etc. ***Hob Thurse, *hob-thurse,** **hobthurse, hobthrush*, etc. Parallel to *Hob Goblin, hobgoblin*, and apparently a little earlier in date, was used, in the same sense, an other name, **Hob Thurse*, later **hob-thurse, hob-thurst, hob-thrush*, and other forms stated below, written with or without a hyphen. The forms ar here for the first time collected and explaind.

The original form was a name of two terms, **Hob Thurse*. The first term is *Hob*, the same familiar household name which appears in *Hob Goblin, hobgoblin*. The second term, the "surname," is *thurse*, M.E. *thurse, thyrse*, A.S. *þyrs*, a giant, a demon. See THURSE in alphabetic place further on. *Thurse* became obsolete, except in a few goblin names, where it underwent considerable variation, **Hob-thurse, -thurst, -thruss, -thrust, -thrush, -trush, -dross*, and in two such names *-trash*, namely, in *Guytrash* and *Malkintrash* (see these).

The forms which **hob-thurse* took ar these: (1) **hob-thurse;* with variation of final *-s(e)* to *-st* (excrescent *t*), (2) *hob-thurst;* with transposition, (3) *hob-thrust;* with variation of final *-s(e)* to *-sh*, (4) **hob-thursh* (not found in print); with transposition, (5) *hob-thrush;* whence, with alteration of *thr-* to *tr-*, (6) *hob-trush;* with further alteration to *dr-*, (7) *hob-dross*. With an irregular change, due to interference, it also appears as (9) *hob-hurst* (*Hob Hurst*). The historical proofs follow.

20. (1) ***Hob Thurse, *hob-thurse,** the supposed original form. Of this, owing, as it seems to me, to the natural absence of record of such homely terms at the time of their appearance, I hav found no

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examples. In late Middle English, when, as we shal soon see, the term in one of its forms is actually found, it would hav been normally **Hobbe-thyrse*. It would be possible, at the period mentiond, for a variant to arise, **Hobbe-thyrst*, whence the modern *Hob-thurst*, as next mentiond.

21. (2) **Hob Thurst, Hob-thurst,** *hobthurst*, a variant of *Hob Thurse*, etc. Owing to an early further variation to *Hob-thrust* and *Hob-thrush*, the form *Hob-thurst* is not actually recorded, so far as my quotations go, until 1750, but this late date is certainly a mere accident. The form must hav been in use long before. I suppose it to hav been existent as early as 1489, at which date the earliest instance of the word, in any form, is found, namely, *Hobbe Hyrste*. This form, which other writers hav not mentiond, I assume to be a mistake, in the only place in which it is found (*Paston letters*, ed. 1872, 3 : 362) for **Hobbe Thyrste*. But see Hob Hurst, further on.

No instances of *hobthurst* in the plain sense of 'a goblin' appear. All the quotations I hav collected present the deflected sense 'a stupid, clumsy, or grotesque person.'

> Both can easily pardon the mistake of this rude writer, nor are at all surprised at it as a novelty, that any ignorant rural *hobthurst* should call the spirit of nature (a thing so much beyond his capacity to judge of) a prodigious hobgoblin. 1682 *Annotations on Glanville*, &c. p. 91 (Latham, *Eng. dict.* 1882, 1 : 1166).

The next mention is in a "dialect story," which tells how —

> "o feaw seawer lookt felley, weh o within kibbo he had in his hont, slapt o soart of a wither meazzilt feast mon sitch o thwang oth' scawp, ot aw varra reecht ogen with ; "

who, recovering from the blow —

> "startit to his feet . . . un seete oth' black swarfy tyke weh boath neaves, un wautit him o'er into th' gal keer, full o new drink wortching."

Of course, as the reader wil easily conjecture, the man when he emerged was a sight to behold :

> . . . 'Ta' [t'a] seen heawth' gobbin wur autert when ot they pood'n him eawt : un whot o *hobthrust* [ed. 1819 *hobthurst*, p. 53; ed. 1862 *Hob-thurst*, p. 53] he lookt weh aw that berm obewt him.
> 1750 Collier ("Tim Bobbin"), *Lanc. dial.* 1823, p. 14.

In recent use the word is defined as "an ungainly dunce," like *gobthrust* mentiond below.

> "Theau great *hobthurst*." 1854 Bamford, *Dial. of S. Lancashire*, p. 188 (*Lanc. gloss.* E.D.S. 1875, p. 160).
>
> *Hobthurst, sb.* An ungainly dunce.
> 1875 Nodal and Milner, *Lanc. gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 160. (With the two quotations above.)

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The form *hob-thurst* suggested to some writers (Grose 1787, Holloway 1839) the etymology exprest by the sophisticated forms "Hob o' t'hurst" (Grose), "Hob of T'hurst" (Holloway), that is, as they imagind, 'Hob of the hurst,' 'Hob of the wood,' and the goblin was accordingly set down as "a spirit, supposed to haunt woods only" (Grose), a conjecture turnd by Palmer into an historical dogma, "formerly a wood-goblin." Had these writers been aware of the existence of the form *Hob Hurst*, they would probably hav considerd their explanation proved. But there ar difficulties. See further under HOB HURST, below.

> *Hob-Thrust*, or rather *Hob of T'hurst*, a spirit supposed to haunt woods only, whence its name *Hob*, Robert, and *Hurst*, a wood. *North.*
> 1839 HOLLOWAY, *Gen. dict. of provincialisms.*

In the next quotation Holloway completes his sophistication, and changes *Hob-thrust*, in a special application, to *Hob o' t'hurst*. See HOB THRUSH below.

> *Hob o' t'hurst*-lice. Millipedes, probably what we call in the South Wood-lice from their living in old wood. *North.* 1839 HOLLOWAY, *op. cit.*

22. (3) **Hob Thruss.** This form, M.E. **Hobbe Thrusse*, a variant, with transposition, of *Hob Thurse*, is evidenced by the following entry, where the alphabetic order, as wel as the other manuscripts, requires it in sted of the form which appears in the text. Compare *Hob-truss*, and *Hob-trush*.

> A Thrwme, licium (A).
> *Hobb Trusse* (A *Thrwsse*, A), prepes, negocius. A *Thrvsche*, prepes (A).
> 1483 *Cath. Angl.* (E.E.T.S., 1881), p. 387.
> *Hobb Trusse*, hic prepis, hic negocius.
> 1483 *Cath. Angl.*, quoted by Way, *Prompt. Parv.* 1865, p. 491, note.

23. (4) **Hob Thrust, Hob-thrust,** *hobthrust*, a variant of *Hob Thruss*, with the common stop *t*. It is a familiar form in present dialectal use. Compare HOB THURST.

> *Hobthrust*, or rather *Hob o*['] *t'hurst*. A ſpirit ſupposed to haunt woods only. *N*[*orth*]. 1787 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.* (additions ar in ed. 1790).

As to the false second form see before.

> *Hobthrust*, a local spirit, famous for whimsical pranks. In some farm-houses a cock and bacon are broiled on Fassens Eve (Shrove Tuesday); and if any person neglect to eat heartily of this food, *Hobthrust* is sure to amuse himself at night by cramming him up to the mouth with *bigg-chaff*. According to Grose he is supposed to haunt woods only: Hob o' t' hurst. 1825 BROCKETT, *North Country words*, pp. 97, 98.

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Hob-thrust, a good-natured goblin who assists servant-maids in their early morning work. . . . Called also *hobthrush*. This is Milton's 'lubber fiend' in *L'Allegro*.

1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 76.

Hob Thrust, a satyr, goblin; a being only half human. When a man boasts of being a good workman, as of the great number of things he can make in a day, someone will say, 'Ah, tha can mak' 'em faster nor *Hob Thrust* can throw shoes out o' t' window.'

1891 ADDY, *Suppl. to Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 29.

The added sense 'a stupid fellow,' parallel to *hobthurst* in a like sense (see before), is indicated by the use of *hobthrust* in one version of the quotation from Collier under HOB-THURST, and by the obvious sophistication *gobthrust* "a stupid fellow" (1847 Halliwell).

24. (5) **Hob Thrush, Hob-thrush,** *hobthrush*, a variant of *Hob Thruss*, with the common weakening of *-ss* to *-sh*. It is also found in present dialectal use. The form *thrush* itself is more than four hundred years old. See THRUSH.

Loup-garou: m. A mankind Wolfe . . . also a Hobgoblin, *Hob-thrush*, Robin-good-fellow; also a night-walker or flie-light; one that's never feene but by Owle-light. 1611 COTGRAVE.

Lutin: m. A Goblin, Robin-good-fellow, *Hob-thrush*; a spirit which plays reakes in mens houses anights. 1611 COTGRAVE.

If he be no *hob-thrush*, nor no Robin Goodfellow, I could finde with all my heart to sip up a sillybub with him.

1640 *Two Lancashire lovers*, p. 222. (H.)

Hobthrush. An hobgoblin, called fometimes Robin Goodfellow. *North.* See *Hobthrust*. 1790 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.* (Not in first ed. 1787.)

A Yorkshire Hob or *Hob-thrush*.

1879 HENDERSON, *Folklore of northern counties*, p. 264 (quoted in Northall, *Eng. folk-rhymes*, p. 179). (See the full quotation under *Hob*.)

Hobthrush, a local boggle. "The *hobthrush* of Elsdon Moat" was a browney or sprite who performed drudgery of all kinds during the night season. 1893 HESLOP, *Northumberland words* (E.D.S.), 2 : 381.

Hob-thrush-louse, Millepes. 1828 [CARR], *Craven gloss.* 1 : 230.

The millipes is called the *Hob-thrush-louse*.

1842 HALLIWELL. (See quotation 1839 Holloway, above.)

25. (6) **Hob Truss.** This is a further variant of *Hob Thurse*, being *Hob Thruss* with *thr-* reduced to *-tr*. While in the entry to be quoted the alphabetic order requires *Hobb Thrusse*, there is reason to believ that the *Hobb Trusse* which appears was a genuin variant, tho not originally so written in this place. Compare HOBTRUSH and HOB-DROSS.

Hobb Trusse (A *Thrwsse*, A), prepes, negocius.

A *Thrvsche*, prepes (A). 1483 *Cath. Angl.* (E.E.T.S., 1881), p. 387.

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26. (7) **Hob-trush**, *hobtrush*. An other existent dialectal form.

Hobtrush, a word occurring in the designations *Hobtrush* or *Obtrush* Rook (a tumulus on the Farndale Moors), and *Hobtrush Hob*, a being once held to frequent a certain cave in the Mulgrave Woods, and wont to be addressed, and to reply, as follows: —

"*Hob-trush* Hob! Where is thou?"
"Ah's tying on mah left-fuit shoe;
An' ah'll be wiv thee — Noo!"

1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 263.

Obtrush Rook, as well as Hob Hole and the cave at Mulgrave, is distinctly said to have been 'haunted by the goblin' [etc.].

1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 262.

27. (8) **Hob-dross.** This is the form the word took, as it seems, in the memory of an aged countryman:

Hob-dross, s. a kind of elf, fairy or boggart. John Morrell, an old man, who formerly used to live at Morley on the borders of Lindow Common, but who has been dead many years, used to profess considerable knowledge of the ways of these supernatural beings. He said there were different kinds, having different habits. Some were called *Hob-drosses*, others *Hob-gobs*. There is a lane in Mobberly called Hobcroft Lane, and several adjacent fields called the Hobcrofts. These he said received their name from being the scene of the exploits of a noted *Hob-dross*.

1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 166.

28. (9) **Hob Hurst, Hob-hurst.** This form I find in only two passages, three hundred and seventy-two years apart. It is best to cite them before entering upon an explanation of the form of the name they present.

The first passage has not been noticed heretofore. It is of date 1489.

An insurrection broke out in April, 1489, in the North of England. William Paston shortly after wrote to Sir John Paston, giving an account of the insurrection, and inclosing a copy of a proclamation the rebels had issued, as follows:

[The rebels' proclamation:] "To be knowyn in all the northe partes of England, to every lorde, knyght, esquyer, gentylman, and yeman that they schal be redy in ther defensable aray, in the est parte, on Tuysday next comyng, on Aldyrton More, and in the west parte on Gateley More, the same day, upon peyne of losyng of ther goodes and bodyes, for to geynstonde suche persons as is abowtward for to dystroy owre suffereyn Lorde the Kynge and the Comowns of Engelond, for suche unlawfull poyntes as Seynt Thomas of Cauntyrbery dyed for; and thys to be fulfylled and kept by every ylke comenere upon peyn of dethe."

To which William Paston adds:

And thys is in the name of Mayster *Hobbe Hyrste*, Robyn Godfelaws brodyr he is, as I trow.

1489 (May) WILLIAM PASTON, in *Paston letters* (1872), 3: 362.

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This letter is not in Fenn's edition (1787–9), but is printed by Gairdner (1872) for the first time.

The next mention of *Hob Hurst* is in the year 1861:

> Mr. Bateman opened a circular tumulus on Baslow Moor called '*Hob Hurst's* house.' It was a very interesting one. He says: 'In the popular name given to the barrow we have an indirect testimony to its great antiquity, as *Hobhurst's* house signifies the abode of an unearthly or supernatural being, accustomed to haunt woods and other solitary places, respecting whom many traditions yet linger in remote villages. *Ten Years' Diggings* (1861), p. 87.
>
> 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S.) p. 109.

The form *Hob Hurst* presents difficulties. Tho it is found in M.E. (as *Hobbe Hyrste*), at a date only six years later than my earliest example of the word in any form (which is *Hobb T[h]russe*, found in the year 1483), it implies a meaning which the word has never possest. The second element of *Hob-Hurst* appears to be M.E. *hurst*, *hyrst*, mod. E. *hurst*, a wood. If so, the original form must hav been **Hobbe of the Hurst*, or **Hobbe atte Hurst*, after the fashion of the recorded names Simon *de la Hirst*, William *de la Hurst*, John *de Herst*, John *atte Hurst* (Bardsley, *Eng. surnames*, 1875, p. 561, 564). It would hav been possible for **Hobbe of the hurst* to hav become reduced to **Hobbe o' the Hurst* and to **Hobbe Hurst*, even at the early date mentiond. Indeed, as I hav shown, Grose (1787) and others explaind the modern form *Hobthurst* as *Hob o' th' hurst*, and so defined it as a goblin haunting woods. Had they known of the late M.E. form *Hobbe Hyrste*, they would hav skipt like the little hils for joy. It would have seemd a confirmation of their theory.

But the goblin was not a goblin of the woods. There is nothing in the stories about him that specially associates him with woods. He was a goblin of the house and of the neighboring fields and lanes. Moreover, the M.E. *hurst* was not very common, and it scarcely enterd into folk-speech. Further, this explanation of *-thurst*, tho it may seem to suit the forms *hob-thurst*, *hob-thrust*, does not apply at all to the forms with *-thrush*, *-trush*, *-truss*, *-dross*, and to the other words in which the word enters, namely *Guytrash* and *Malkintrash*, where *-trash* is certainly identical with the terminal element of *Hobtrush*, *Hobthrush*.

I would explain the M.E. *Hobbe Hyrste*, which occurs only once, as either a mere scribal error for **Hobbe Thyrste*, or else the result of a little popular etymology, which analyzed **Hobbe Thyrste* as *Hobbe o' th' hyrste*, which last form would naturally, after the analogy of other

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names, fall to *Hobbe Hyrste.* It is worthy of note that the only quotations for *Hob Hurst* which I hav been able to find, ar one of the very earliest instances of the name in any form (1489) and one of the very latest (1861). The absence of intermediate proof seems to justify the supposition that the isolated early instance is a mistake, a scribal slip, and the isolated recent instance, an other mistake, a piece of popular etymology associating the name with *hurst* or the surname *Hurst.*

29. Hob in the well. I make no dout that this was a name given to a spirit whose voice was supposed to be heard in a well. *Hob over the wall* is of similar locativ import. But I find *Hob in the well* only as the name or description of a tavern sign.

> *Hob in the well* . . . [is a sign] at Port street, Lynn.
> 1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards*, p. 79.

Other spirits "in the well" wer cald *Jenny Green-teeth* and *Nelly Long-arms.* See these. For further notice of hobs and goblins in wells and caves, see *Hob's cave* and *Hob-hole* under HOB, and *Thurse-pit, Thurse-well,* under THURSE. See also DOB.

30. Hob over the wall is an early name for a conceald spirit, perceivd only by his voice. In the "Towneley Mysteries," Cain, hearing the voice of the Deity, says, in the manner of such plays:

> Whi, who is that *Hob over the walle?*
> We, who was that that piped so smalle?
> Com go we hens, for perels alle;
> God is out of hys wit.
> *c* 1450 *Towneley Myst.* (Surtees soc. 1836), p. 15.

31. Hob with a lantern, an other name for *Jack with a lantern* or *Will with a wisp.* See these names.

With all these names there ar variations of the preposition and the article. *Hob with a lantern* is found rarely, **Hob of the lantern* not at all. One or the other or both of these forms appear variously reduced *Hobby-lantern, Hobbady-lantern, Hobbady's lantern, Hob-lantern* (*lanthorn, lantan*).

Hob is the same familiar household name, used like *Jack* or *Will* in the other names for the ignis fatuus. All ar regarded as imps of mischief.

> Hobby Lantan. *Hob with a Lantern* — Jack a lantern — Will with a wisp — in other words. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk words*, p. 172.

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32. Hobbady-lantern. This represents either *Hob with a lantern* or **Hob with the lantern*, or possibly **Hob of the lantern* (*with a, with the* > *wi' the, with 'e* > *'ithe* > *-ady*).

Hobbady-lantern, the ignis fatuus or Will-o-th'-wisp.
1895 SALISBURY, *S. E. Worcestershire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 17.

33. Hobbady's lantern. This is an artificial possessiv form of *Hobbady lantern*. I find it spelt *Hobbedy's lantern*.

Hobbedy's lantern, n. Ignis fatuus.
1882 Mrs. CHAMBERLAIN, *West Worcestershire words* (E.D.S), p. 15.
Hobbedy's-lantern, n. Will-o'-the-wisp.
1884 LAWSON, *Upton-on-Severn words* (E.D.S.), p. 19.

34. Hobby-lantern, also written *Hobby-lantan* and *Hobby-lanthorn;* the same as *Hob with a lantern* or **Hob of the lantern* — of which, like *Hob-lantern* below, it is a reduced form.

Hobby Lantan. Hob with a lantern — Jack a lantern — Will with a wisp — in other words. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk words*, p. 172.
Hobby-lanthorn, s. a will-o' the-wisp; from its motion, as if it were a lanthorn ambling and curvetting on the back of a *hobby*.
1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 2: 162.
Hobby-lanthorn. An ignis fatuus. Also termed a *Hob-lantern*. Var. dial.
1846 HALLIWELL.

35. Hob-lantern, the same as *Hob with a lantern* or *Hobby-lantern*, of which name it is a reduced form.

Hob-lantern, a Will-with-a-wisp; an ignis fatuus.
1825 BRITTON, *Beauties of Wiltshire, gloss.* (E.D.S., 1879), p. 38.
Hob-lantern, a Will-o'-the-Wisp, a Jack-o'-lantern. Ak[erman, 1842].
1883 COPE, *Hampshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 44.

36. Hoberdidance occurs in Harsnet's "Declaration of egregious popish impostures" (1603) as the name of a devil. Shakespeare adopted the name as *Hobbididance* and also as *Hopdance*. It seems possible that the original form was **Hob of the dance*, then *Hob o' the dance*. Compare *Hobbady-lantern* for **Hob of the lantern* or *Hob with a lantern*. *Hoberdidance* may show, initially, some confusion with *hoberdehoy*, now *hobbledehoy*. But we ar not to look for precision in such names; and *Hoberdidance* must stand for the present as the nominal original.

Hoberdidance. 1603 HARSNET, *Declaration of egregious popish impostures*, ch. 10 (in *N. & Q.* 1859, 2d ser. 7: 144).
Hobbidance, prince of dumbness. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Lear*, 4: 1.
Hop-dance cries in Tom's belly for two white herring.
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Lear*, 3: 6. (Not in F1 p. 299.)

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37. Hodge Poker, a goblin of perisht fame. See POKER. *Hodge Poker* and *Tom Poker* wer applied as "personal" names to individual goblins, and wer then extended to denote any goblin of the kind. The names thus become practically synonymous with *Hob Goblin, Robin Goodfellow* and similar names, which ar of the same etymological pattern.

Folletto, a little foole, a little, vaine, fottish foolish fellow. Also a fpirit, a hag, a hobgoblin, a robin-goodfellowe, a *hodge-poker*, an elfe. 1598 FLORIO.

Follétto, a hobgoblin, an elfe, a Robin-good-fellow, a *hodge poker*. Alſo a little foole, or a paire of bellowes. 1611 FLORIO.

Fistolo, a hobgoblin, a hag, a fprite, a robin-goodfellow, a *hodge-pocher* [read *pocker*?]. 1598 FLORIO.

Fistolo, a Hag, a Sprite, a Hobgoblin, a Robin-good-fellow, a *Hodgepocher* [read-*pocker*?], vsed vulgarly for any euill thing. 1611 FLORIO.

38. Imp, in the sense of 'a young devil,' by which right it enters into this review, is short for *imp of Satan* or *imp of the devil*, meaning 'an offshoot,' that is, 'offspring' 'of Satan' or 'of the devil.' *Imp* meant at first 'a graft,' and hence 'an offshoot,' 'a young tree,' hence 'offspring,' 'a child'; ME. *impe, ympe*, etc. The etymology is wel known.

Dwarfes, giants, *imps*.
1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (1886, p. 122).

In the next two quotations *imp* appears in the light in which he is commonly regarded, and in which the name is used in our title — a "mischievous imp," "a very devil for mischief, yet not an ill-natured devil, either."

"And tell me," said Tressilian, "why you use me thus, thou mischievous *imp?*" 1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 10 (1863, p. 86).

"This, then, was the meaning of the little *imp's* token which he promised us. . . . 'Tis a very devil for mischief, yet not an ill-natured devil either." 1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 11 (1863, p. 94).

"Either Flibbertigibbet," answered Wayland Smith, "or else an *imp of the devil* in good earnest." 1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 24 (1863, p. 214).

I think the notion was, that her own child would stand fire, but an *imp* would either die, to all appearance, or be spirited away.
1865 HUNT, *Pop. romances of the west of England* (1871), p. 94.

In the next quotation the imp is very "mischievous" indeed. He is tormenting the wicked in hel — on the painted windows of a church.

And above that's a wite figur pitchin eadmost down a red devul's back, and e's got is red arms round the legs, and ther's is wite mouth and hyes and all the rest of is body's red — and ther's a *himp* a drawin up be'ind, you zee zir.
c 1868 *The old clerk's description of Fairford church windows* (in *Legends, tales, and songs . . . of Gloucestershire*, pp. 32, 33).

Imp, sb. always used in a bad sense.
1883 EASTHER, *Gloss. Almond-bury and Huddersfield* (E.D.S.), p. 69.

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39. (1) **Jack with the lantern.** This is the earliest in order of time, as far as my quotations show, of the numerous names for the ignis fatuus which begin with *Jack* and end with *lantern*, and which mean 'the little imp or goblin called Jack, who goes about in the twilight or the dark with a lantern to delude unwary travelers.' He is also called *Hob with a lantern*, *Jack of the wad*, *Kit with the candlestick*, *Kitty with the wisp*, and *Will with the wisp*, in many variations of these names. He is also known as *Jemmy Burty*, and he has sisters called *Jenny with the lantern*, *Peggy-lantern*, and *Joan in the wad*. The earliest of these names in my quotations is *Kit with the candlestick*.

The forms with *Jack* ar stated below in alphabetic order, with some adjustments to superior ends. The quotations, with those under the other names mentiond, present a curious history of the notions connected with the names. I let them tel their own tale.

Jack with the lantern does not occur, in any form, so far as I hav noticed, in Florio (1598 and 1611), Cotgrave (1611), Sherwood (1632), Howell (1660), or in any previous dictionary. Hexham (1648) evidently does not know the name. It is not in his English part, and in his Dutch part he translates without recognizing a special English name for the light:

> *Dwaes-licht*, ofte *stal-licht*. A Light in the night that mis-leads one.
> 1648 HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.*

The earliest mention of *Jack with the lantern* which I hav found is of the year 1663.

> *Evening.* I am an Evening dark as Night,
> *Jack-with-the Lantern* bring a Light.
> *Jack.* Whither, whither, whither? [*Within*]
> *Evening.* Hither, hither, hither.
> *Jack.* Thou art some pratling Ecchо, of my making.
> *Evening.* Thou art a follish Fire, by thy mistaking:
> I am the Evening that creates thee.
> *Enter Jack in a black Suit border'd with Glow-worms, a Coronet of Shaded Beams on his head, over it a Paper Lantern with a Candle in't.*
> *Jack.* My Lantern and my Candle waits thee.
> 1663 STAPYLTON, *The Slighted Maid*, act 3 (1663, p. 48) (in Arber's reprint (1868) of *The Rehearsal* (1672), p. 42, 43).

Jack with the lantern seems to hav been soon displaced by the later forms. The entry in Halliwell evidently refers to some earlier passage.

> *Jack with the lanthorn*, an ignis fatuus. 1847 HALLIWELL.

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40. (2) **Jack with a lantern,** an other form of *Jack with the lantern.* As *with the* would easily fall to *wi' the,* pronounced, in the position it holds, the same as *with a,* the two forms may be regarded as identical. On grounds of idiom, as well as of date, the form *with the* in all these names is to be regarded as older.

Jack with a Lanthorn, a Meteor, Ignis fatuus.
1681 ROBERTSON, *Phraseologia generalis,* p. 752.
Jack with a Lantern, Feu folet. 1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*
Het Dwaal-licht, an Erroneous light, ignis fatuus, — *Jack with a lanthorn.* . . . De Stalkaers, *Jack with a lanthorn,* will with a wisp.
1691 SEWELL, *Dutch-Eng. dict.* p. 76. . . . 372.
Jack with a lantern, een Dwaal-licht, ſtalkaers.
1691 SEWEL, *Eng.-Dutch dict.* p. 241 (same, 1727, p. 220).
Jack with a Lantern, Ignis fatuus. 1708 COLES, *Eng. Lat. dict.*
Jack with a Lanthorn, a kind of fiery Meteor.
1708 KERSEY, *Gen. Eng. dict.*
He has played *Jack with a lantern,* he has led us about like an ignis fatuus, by which travellers are decoyed into the mire.
1765 JOHNSON, Notes on Shakespeare's *Tempest* (Latham, 1882, 2: 4).
Of the Phenomenon, vulgarly called *Will* or *Kitty with the Wisp,* or *Jack with a Lanthorn.* This appearance, called in Latin, *Ignis fatuus,* has long been an article in the Catalogue of popular Superſtitions. It is ſaid to be chiefly ſeen in Summer Nights, frequenting Meadows, Marshes and other Moiſt Places. — It has been thought by some to ariſe from a viſcous Exhalation, which being kindled in the Air, reflects a Sort of thin Flame in the Dark without any ſenſible Heat. It is often found flying along Rivers and Hedges, becauſe, as it is conjectured, it meets there with a Stream of Air to direct it.
1777 BRAND, *Observations on popular antiquities,* p. 369.
Jack with [misprinted *wich*]*-a-lantern* (or *Will-with-a-wisp*), luz ſalſa que engaña los caminántes, ſuerte de metéoro, que se llama fuégo errante, ò fuégo fatuo. 1786 BARETTI, *Dict. Eng. and Span.* p. 283.

41. (3) **Jack in the lantern,** also *Jack in the lanthorn,* and *Jack i' the lantern.* This can not be an original name. There is "no sense in it." It must be a misrendering of *Jack with the lantern,* as *Jack in a lantern* of *Jack with a lantern.* The words *with the,* reduced to *wi' the,* could and did easily run into *'i' the,* which would then as easily be renderd *in the.*

Jack-in-the-Lanthorn and *Joan-in-the-Wad,* s. The meteor usually called a *Will with the Wisp.* The existence of this Phenomenon has often been doubted: the late Dr. Darwin disbelieved in its reality altogether. Although conversant with marshy and boggy districts of the kingdom, I have never seen it. [etc.] 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset gloss.,* p. 49.
Jack-i'-the lantern or Jack-a-t-wad, *s.* an ignis fatuus.
1837 PALMER, *Devonshire gloss.,* p. 57.

42. (4) **Jack in a lantern.** This appears in the records before *Jack in the lantern,* but must be a variant of it. It is rare.

Feu folet, Ignis fatuus, Will with a wiſp or *Jack in a Lanthorn.*
1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*

In the English-French part Miege has *Jack with a lantern.*

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43. (5) **Jack of the lantern.** This is given as the source of the reduced forms *Jack o' lantern* or *Jack a lantern*, but I find no original examples of the full form. That it existed is indicated not only by the reduced forms just mentiond, but by the parallel forms *Jack of the wad* and *Will of the wisp*.

44. (6) **Jack o' lantern,** *Jack a lantern*, the common short form for *Jack of the lantern* or *Jack with the lantern*.

> Plenty of inflammable sulphureous matter in the air, such as ignes fatui, or *jack-a-lanterns*, and the meteors which are called falling stars.
> 1750 STEPHEN HALES, *On earthquakes*, p. 10. (Latham, 1882, 2:4.)

There is a similar negro notion of the Will of the wisp, a survival of the earlier horrors, or a mixture of superstitions.

> A popular legend giving the origin of the *jack-o'-lantern* in Wales deals with the idea of a stupid devil. [The legend follows.]
> 1880 SIKES, *British goblins*, p. 204.
> *Jack o' Lantern.* Ignis fatuus, the pisky Puck.
> 1880 COUCH, *East Cornwall gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 89.
> *Jack-a-lantern*, the ignis fatuus.
> 1881 SMITH, *Isle of Wight words* (E.D.S.), p. 16.
> *Jack-o'-lantern*, a will-o'-the wisp. See *Hob lantern.*
> 1883 COPE, *Hampshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 47.

The intelligence attributed to Jack a lantern is wel illustrated in the following story, which tels how he was offerd half a crown and a leg of mutton to reverse his usual habits and help a lost traveler on his way:

> *Jack-a-lantern*, sb. Ignis fatuus. This I believe to be the only name known in the district. The phenomenon only occurs in certain parts of the boggy moorland of Brendon Hill and the Exmoor district. It is said that a farmer once crossing Dunkery from Porlock to Cutcombe, and having a leg of mutton with him, was benighted. He saw a *Jack-a-lantern* and was heard to cry out while following the light, "Man a lost! man a lost! Half-a-crown and a leg a mutton to show un the way to Cutcombe!" 1886 ELWORTHY, *West Somerset words* (E.D.S.), p. 375.

45. (7) **Jack the lantern.** This is a short form for *Jack of* or *with the lantern*.

> *Jack-the-lantern*, Joan-the-wad [etc.].
> 1880 Miss COURTNEY, *West Cornwall gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 31.
> (See full quot. under *Joan-the-wad.*)

46. (8) **Jacky-lantern.** This is an Irish "home-rule" version of *Jack a lantern*.

> Well, sir, the heart was sinking in me, and I was giving myself up, when, as good luck would have it, I saw a light. 'Maybe,' said I, 'my good fellow, you are only a *jacky lanthorn*, and want to bog me and Modderaroo (his horse).' But I looked at the light hard, and I thought it was too study (steady) for a *jacky lanthorn.*
> 1825 CROKER, *Fairy legends and traditions of the south of Ireland* (1862), p. 286.

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47. (9) **Jack-me-lantern.** Other forms ar *Jack-me-lantun, Jacky-ma-lantun,* etc. All ar perversions of *Jack of the lantern,* or of one of the other forms before mentiond. *Jack-me-lantern* is found in the folklore of the southern negroes, as the name of a goblin on whose hed they accumulate the approved horrors.

> The negroes of the southern seaboard states of America invest this goblin with an exaggeration of the horrible peculiarly their own. They call it *Jack-muh-lantern,* and describe it as a hideous creature five feet in height, with goggle-eyes and huge mouth, its body covered with long hair, and which goes leaping and bounding through the air like a gigantic grasshopper. This frightful apparition is stronger than any man, and swifter than any horse, and compels its victims to follow it into the swamps, where it leaves them to die.
>
> 1880 SIKES, *British goblins,* p. 18.

Jack-me-lantern, like other bogies, can be charmd off by turning one's coat inside out. This is one of the "charms of simplicity."

> "Hey!" exclaimed Daddy Jack, "tu'n coat no fer skeer dead ghos'. 'E skeer dem *Jack-me-Lantun.* One tam I is bin-a mek me way troo t'ick swamp . . . I look, dey de *Jack-me-Lantun* mekkin 'e way troo de bush; 'e comin' stret by me. 'E light git close un close . . . Da' *Jack-me-Lantun,* 'e git-a high, 'e git-a low, 'e come close. Dun I t'ink I bin-a yeddy ole folks talk t'un you' coat-sleef wun da *Jack-me-Lantum* is bin run you . . . Jack-me-Lantun, 'e see dis, 'e lif' up, 'e say 'Phew!' 'E done gone!"
>
> 1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Nights with Uncle Remus* (1894), p. 160.

We ar even told why the spirit carries a lantern. He is looking for his money:

> "I year tell," continued Aunt Tempy . . . "dat dish yer *Jacky-ma-Lantun* is a sho nuff sperit. Sperits aint gwine to walk un walk less'n dey got sump'n n'er on der min', un I year tell dat dish yer *Jacky-ma-Lantun* is 'casioned by a man w'at got kilt. Folks kilt 'im un tuck his money, un now his ha'nt done gone un got a light fer to hunt up whar his money is. 1881 *Id.,* p. 160.

48. **Jack of the wad** is an other name of *Jack of the lantern* or *Will of the wisp.* A wad is a wisp (H. p. 912). Compare *Joan in the wad.*

> *Jack of the wad,* an ignis fatuus. 1847 HALLIWELL.

But this full form is not common. It is reduced to the form in the next article.

49. **Jack o' t' wad** is found, spelt *Jacketawad* (1746), *Jacket-a-wad* (1787), *Jack-a-t-wad* (1837).

> *Jacketawdd,* an Ignis Fatuus.
>
> 1746 *Exmoor Vocabulary* in *Gent. Mag.* p. 405–408.
>
> *Jacket-a-wad.* An ignis fatuus. Exm. 1787 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.*
>
> *Jack-i'-the-lantern* or *Jack-a-t-wad,* s. ignis fatuus. The latter term from *Wad,* Belg. or *Vadum,* Lat. a swamp or ford.
>
> 1837 PALMER, *Devonshire gloss.,* p. 57.

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The name *Jack* in the northern form *Jock* reappears in an other name of an other kind of exhalation, *Jock-startle-a-stobie.*

Jock-startle-a-stobie, s. The exhalations arising from the ground during warm weather, Roxb.; *Summercouts*, synon., S.B.; evidently a compound which has had some ludicrous origin. 1825 JAMIESON (1880, 2:703).

An other light thus lightly named as *Jack*, is the light of the sun reflected from the water upon the ceiling of a room. It is cald in south east Worcestershire *Jack-a-makin' pancakes.* The splashes of light on the ceiling look like pancakes — and go, as we say, "like hot cakes."

Jack-a-makin'-pan-cakes, the reflected sunlight thrown upon the ceiling from the surface of water, &c.
1894 SALISBURY, *Southeast Worcestershire words* (E.D.S.), p. 19.

A similar light reflected from a mirror or a piece of bright tin, as by thoughtful boys in school, is cald in Northumberland *Jack-o'-lattin*, as if referring to the sheet metal known as *lattin.* But this is a guise of *Jack-o'-lantern.*

Jack o' lattin, a bright spot of reflected light, such as is produced by a small mirror or a tin or "lattin" reflector.
1893 HESLOP, *Northumberland words* (E.D.S.), 2 : 404.

50. **Jemmy Burty**, an other name for the ignis fatuus or *Jack with the lantern.*

I suppose *Burty* is a diminutiv of the dialectal *burt* (M.E. *berht*, A.S. *beorht*) for *bright.* 'Jemmy Bright' would be clear enough.

Jemmy-Burty. An ignis fatuus. Cambr. 1847 HALLIWELL.

51. **Jenny Green-teeth**, in the vernacular *Jinny Green-teeth*, is the pretty name of a female goblin who inhabits wells or ponds. She is one of the very few female goblins who hav compeld a recognition of their right to be as "free" and as frightful as male goblins. Among other champions of the sex who hav forced an acknowledgment of their being equally disagreeable as "the men" is Miss Nelly Long-arms. See her. Jenny with the lantern, Kitty with the wisp, and Joan in the wad, ar indeed mischievous damsels, but they ar fair to look upon, and hav no voracity.

Jinny Green-teeth, a ghost or boggart haunting wells or ponds. Often used as a threat or warning to children to prevent them going near the water, lest "Jinny Green-teeth" should have them. See also NELLY LONG ARMS. 1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 182.
Jinny Green-teeth [etc., much as in Holland, above].
1887 DARLINGTON, *Folk-speech of South Cheshire* (E.D.S.), p. 233.

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It must be acknowledged that Jenny Green-teeth's surname becomes less uninviting when one recognizes in it an allusion to the mossy brink of a well, or the verdurous edge of a pond.

52. **Jenny with the lantern,** a feminin name for the spirit commonly called *Jack with the lantern.*

Jenny wi' the lantern, the will-o'-the wisp. Also called *Kitty-wi'-the wisp.* 1893 HESLOP, *Northumberland words* (E.D.S.), 2:407.

53. (1) **Joan in the wad,** a name intended as the feminin counterpart of *Jack of the wad,* which is equivalent to *Jack of the lantern,* and *Will of the wisp.* But as in *Jack in the lantern* (which see), the *in* should be *of* or *with.* How this deceiving spirit came to hav a feminin name is distantly suggested in my remarks on Jenny Green-teeth and Nelly Long-arms.

Jack-in-the-Lanthorn, and *Joan-in-the-Wad,* s. The meteor usually called a Will with the Wisp. [A note follows — see quot. under JACK IN THE LANTERN.] 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset gloss.,* p. 49.

54. (2) **Joan the wad.** This is merely a reduction of *Joan in the wad* as *Jack the lantern* is of *Jack of the lantern.*

Joan the Wad, the name of an elf or pisky. 1880 COUCH, *East Cornwall gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 89.

The "elf or pisky" is the elf of the wandering light.

55. (1) **Kit with the candlestick.** This is the full form of an other name for the rural meteor called learnedly *ignis fatuus.* In the earliest instance I hav found it is *Kit with the canstick,* and in other cases it is *Kit in the candlestick.* In later use I find *Kit of the candlestick,* and *Kitty candlestick,* as wel as an other name with *Kitty,* namely *Kitty with the wisp.* See below.

Kit with the canstick occurs in Reginald Scot's enumeration of "bugs . . . bull-beggars, spirits, witches, urchens, elves," etc.

Kit with the canstick . . . Robin good-fellowe . . . the man in the oke . . . 1584 R. SCOT. *Discoverie of witchcraft,* bk. 7, ch. 15 (1886, p. 122).
Kit-with-the-Candlestick. *a*1865, cited in Thoms, *Three Notelets on Shakespeare,* 1865, p. 80 (Britten, cited below).

56. (2) **Kit in the candlestick.** This is a modern form, with *in* for *with,* as with *Jack in the lantern,* etc.

Kit-in-the-candlestick, the Will-o'-the-wisp; Ignis fatuus. — Wise (1871). 1883 COPE, *Hampshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 50.

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57. (3) **Kit of the candlestick**, the same as *Kit with the candlestick*.

Ignis fatuus, called by the vulgar *Kit of the Candlestick*, is not very rare on our downes about Michaelmas.
a 1697 AUBREY, *Nat. hist. of Wilts* (1844), p. 17. (In Britten's ed. of Aubrey's *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme* (Folklore soc., 1881), p. 243.)

58. (4) **Kitty candlestick.** This is a modern form, historically a reduction of *Kit of the candlestick*, but practically a substitution therefor, with the name *Kitty*, now feminin, for *Kit*.

Kitty candlestick. Ignis fatuus, Will-o'-the-wisp. — *Kit of the Candlestick* (Aubrey's *Nat. Hist. Wilts*, p. 17, ed. Brit.). — S. W. Deverill.
1893 DARTNELL and GODDARD, *Wiltshire words* (E.D.S.), p. 89.

59. **Kitty with the wisp.** In origin this must be regarded as a diminutiv form of the name **Kit with the wisp*, which I hav not found. It is the same sprite called *Kit with the candlestick* or *Will with the wisp*. *Kitty* in this name is a diminutiv of *Kit*, the short of *Christopher*, but in present use it is clearly regarded as the feminin name, used, like *Kit* itself, as a diminutiv of *Kate* for *Katerine*, *Katherine*. *Kit* was also once used as a diminutiv of *Christian*, a feminin name (*c* 1553 Udall, *Roister Doister*, repr. Arber, 1869, p. 64).

Of the phenomenon, vulgarly called *Will* or *Kitty with the Wisp*, or *Jack with a Lanthorn*. [See full quot. under JACK WITH A LANTERN.)
1777 BRAND, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, p. 369.
Thefe vulgar Names are undoubtedly derived from its Appearance, as if Will, Jack or *Kit*, fome Country Fellows, were going about *with Straw-Torches* in their Hands. 1777 BRAND, *l.c.*
Kitty wi' the wisp, the will-o'-the-wisp. Also called *Jenny-wi'-the-lantern*.
1894 HESLOP, *Northumbrian words* (E.D.S.), 2: 428.

60. **Lob**, the "Christian" name of a goblin.

Lob, as the name of a clumsy fellow, has been regarded as a particular use of *lob*, "a very large lump" (Halliwell, p. 525); but it may be derived, like *Dob*, from *Old Hob* — *Old Hob* giving *Dob*, *Ol' Hob* giving *Lob*. Certain it is that we find *Lob* used just like *Hob*, as a personal name, as a common appelativ for a country clown, and as the "Christian" name of a rustic sprite. And *Dobby* has like uses; see before.

In the following passage *Lob* takes from its context something of all three senses:

Farewell thou *Lob of spirits*, Ile be gon.
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 2: 1 (F¹ p. 148).

Lob as the name of a sprite appears with reference to *Lob Lie-by-the-fire*. See the next entry.

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"It's *Lob Lie by the fire:*" . . . The cowherd . . . had seen *Lob* fetching straw for the cowhouse. "A great, rough black fellow," said he, and he certainly grew bigger and rougher and blacker every time the cowherd told the story.

1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire; or, the Luck of Lingborough* (S.P.C.K. n. d.), p. 61.

61. **Lob Lie-by-the-fire** is the name of a goodnatured goblin of the hearth. See LOB before.

Lob Lie-by-the-fire — the Lubber-fiend, as Milton calls him — is a rough kind of Brownie or House Elf, supposed to haunt some north-country homesteads, where he does the work of the farm labourers. . . . It was said that a *Lob Lie-by-the-fire* once haunted the little old Hall at Lingborough.

1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire; or, the Luck of Lingborough* (S.P.C.K. n. d.), p. 5. [See also p. 30.]

62. **Malkin,** the name of a devil. *Malkin,* also *Maukin, Mawkin,* is a diminutiv of *Mal, Mall,* now *Moll,* for *Mary.* It is used as a common appellativ of a slattern, and of a scarecrow. *Malkin* enters the goblin catalog as the name of a devil in Harsnet's book (1603), and in Middleton's *Witch* (*a*1627); and *Grimalkin,* a fiend in feline form, is of the same company. It also occurs in goblin guise in *Malkintrash.* See this below.

Malkin, my sweet spirit, and I.

*a*1627 MIDDLETON, *Witch* (1778), 3: 2. (Nares.)

63. **Malkintrash,** defined by Halliwell as "one in a dismal-looking dress" must be literally 'Moll Goblin,' a sister of HOB GOBLIN or HOB THRUSH, and a cousin of GUYTRASH. The element *-trash* is the same as TRASH, TRUSH, THRUSH, forms THURSE; see these.

Malkintrash, one in a dismal-looking dress. 1847 HALLIWELL.

64. **Mum Poker** is a nursery goblin, brother, no dout, of *Hodge Poker,* and *Tom Poker.* His "Christian" name Mum alludes to his silent approach. See POKER, OLD POKER, HODGE POKER, and TOM POKER.

Mumpoker, a word used to frighten and quiet crying children. 'I'll zend the *mumpoker* ater ye.'

1881 SMITH, *Isle of Wight words* (E.D.S.), p. 22.

65. **Nelly Long-arms.** This demon damsel, *Helena Longimana,* dwelt in wells, whence she stretcht out her surname and drew in children who approacht the brink. Her cousin Jenny Green-teeth, with equal enterprise, availd herself of the same "new opening for women."

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Nelly Long Arms, s. a sort of bogey for frightening children. This boggart was supposed to inhabit wells, and children were told that *Nelly Long Arms* would pull them in if they went too near.
1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 238.

66. Nick, the Devil. This celebrated name, which is commonly honord with the venerable prefix *Old*, is entitled to somewhat more than respectful mention here. It is one of the names for whose etymology and restitution this paper was undertaken; and while I can not hope to add any luster to a sufficiently illustrious, tho much misunderstood character, I may be able at least to restore his good name.

For *Nick* is a good name, a true Christian name; and it did not come up out of the pit — even the water-pit of the Nicker.

Before entering upon the etymology of *Nick*, it wil be wel to giv what quotations I hav found tending to establish its date and associations.

The earliest instance of *Nick* which I hav found is of a date about the year 1695, but *Old Nick* is found in 1678, and both must hav been in use before the civil war.

Nick did Baldoon's posterior right deride,
And, as first substitute, did seize the bride.
c 1695 Sir W. HAMILTON, *Verses upon the late Viscount Stair and his family* (quoted by Scott, *Introd. to the Bride of Lammermoor*) (1863, p. vi.).

Ah *Nick!* ah *Nick!* it is na fair.
1796 BURNS, *Poem on life*, st. 5 (Poet. wks., 1883, 1: 261).

Nick figures largely in the "Ingoldsby legends," as he does under other names in other legends of saints:

The Saint made a pause As uncertain, because
He knew *Nick* is pretty well 'up' in the laws,
And they *might* be on *his* side — and then, he'd such claws!
1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Cuthbert) (1890, p. 219).

Hark! as sure as fate, The clock 's striking Eight! . . .
When *Nick*, who by this time was rather elate,
Rose up and address'd them. "'Tis full time," he said,
"For all elderly Devils to be in their bed." 1837–45. *Id.* p. 220.

Old Nick . . . *Nick* [many times].
1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Saint Medard) (1890, p. 246–252).

Nick as "the Old Gentleman" sometimes receivs a gentleman's prefix, *Mister*.

Now, None of your lies, *Mr. Nick!* I'd advise
You to tell me the truth without any disguise.
1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Brothers of Birchington) (1890, p. 287).

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Nick is regarded as so far unliterary that it is enterd in dialect glossaries. So *Old Nick*.

Nick, the devil. 1877 PEACOCK, *Manley* and *Corringham gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 179. (Ed. 1889, p. 369.)

But *Nick* is more commonly cald *Old Nick*. See the Devil's many names with *Old*, pp. 64, 65.

Our *Old Nick*. 1678 S. BUTLER, *Hudibras* III. i. 1313 (Nares² p. 602).

This fool imagines, as do mony fic,
That I 'm a Wretch in compact with *auld Nick*.

1725 RAMSAY, *Gentle shepherd* (in Brand, *Obs. on pop. antiq.* 1777, p. 323, note).

Eigh, for if *Owd-Nick* owt meh o spite, he pede meh whoam weh use.

1750 COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN"), *Lanc. dial.* (1823), p. 19. [Other examples, p. 20, 27.]

There sat *auld Nick*, in shape o' beast;
A twozie tyke, black, grim, and large.

1791 BURNS, *Tam o' Shanter* (Poet. wks. 1883, 1:204).

Old Nick. The devil. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk words*, p. 258.

So to *Old Nick's* appeal, As he turned on his heel,
He replied, 'Well, I 'll leave you the mutton and veal.'

1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Cuthbert) (1890, p. 219).

Old Nick. 1837–45 *Id.* pp. 225, 239, 241, 246, 248, 249, 250, 284.

Barham has a variation, *Elderly Nick*, for politeness or meter.

They dash'd up the hills, and they dash'd down the dales,
As if *elderly Nick* was himself at their tails.

1837–47 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Blasphemer's warning) (1890, p. 270).

It's one of Old Nick's Diabolical tricks.

1849 SAXE, Poems (1857), p. 175.

Nearly all writers who hav deliverd an opinion on the etymology of *Nick* concur in the statement that *Nick* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *nicor* or its equivalent Icelandic *nykr*, or its Swedish and Danish forms, meaning a spirit of the waters. This is the view of Sir William Temple (*a* 1699), Serenius (1741), Lye (1743), Warburton and Z. Grey (1744), Johnson (1755), Webster (1828, 1864, 1890), Grimm (1844), Craig (1849), Worcester (1860), Stormonth (1879), the *Imperial Dictionary* (1881), *Chambers's Etym. Dictionary* (1882), and it is also the view of Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*, 1882), and of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1884, 17:483).

But *Nick* is not from Anglo-Saxon *nicor* or Icelandic *nykr*. The termination *-or*, *-r* would not thus fall off. Moreover, the history of *nicor*, ME. *niker*, etc., shows no connection, either in notion or in time, with the familiar use of *Nick*. The proper representativ of the AS. *nicor* is *nicker*. See under NICKER following.

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But the asserted connection with the name of the water-spirit is often based on the modern Scandinavian forms, Swedish *neck*, Dan. *nök;* to which I ad the Swedish dial. *nikk* (Rietz 1867), which is quite to the point, tho the form and its meanings seem to hav been unknown to most of the writers whom I hav mentiond. These forms ar cognate with the Icelandic *nykr* and the A.S. *nicor*, names of water-spirits, treated in omitted portions of this paper.

The notion that *Nick* or *Old Nick* was originally the demon of the waters appears first, so far as I hav observd, in Sir William Temple (*a* 1699). It is thus stated by Serenius (1741), with an alteration ("Old Neck") to suit the Swedish form:

> Necken, ſ. *Old neck*, the god of the ſea, Neptunus.
> 1741 SERENIUS, *Dictionarium Suethico-anglo-latinum*, p. 146.

Lye (1743) repeats the notion, which was accepted by Brand (1777, *Observations on popular antiquities*, p. 115), and Molbech (1833, *Dansk ordbog*, 2 : 101). Sir Walter Scott ads a touch of his own, making Old Nick, as a "genuine descendant of the northern sea god," a special terror to "the British sailor, who fears nothing else" (1830, *Letters on demonology and witchcraft*, p. 91). But is Old Nick unknown to the British soldier?

All the Scandinavian forms ar treated at length in the articles *Neck*, *Nick*, and *Nicker*, names of water-spirits, in omitted portions of this paper. I can only say here that I hav found no proof, in the uses of the Scandinavian forms, that they ar the source of the English *Nick* as a name for the Devil.

It is true that some of the Scandinavian forms, as the Swedish dialectal *nikk*, ar now to some extent associated with the notion of an evil spirit, and of the Devil himself; but this association appears to be the result of popular etymology or of recent literary sophistication.

It is my opinion that the English *Nick*, whatever its later associations, had in its origin nothing to do with the nicks or nickers or nixes or nixies of Teutonic mythology. In the first place, there is no historical connection, in the records, between the Nick of modern allusion and the nickers and nixies of mythology. The nickers and nixies ar, in medieval and modern times, almost wholly literary demons. They ar absent from popular legend; and the nixes and nixies ar demonstrably of recent introduction into English notice.

In the second place, the nickers, nixies, nixes, ar demons of the water; and whatever other hard things may be justly said of Old

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Nick, no one ever accused him of a partiality for water, holy or plain. In the artificial classification of spirits according to their element, he is a salamander, not an undine; and if he leavs his burning fiery furnace to go about upon the earth, "he walketh through *dry* places, seeking rest — and findeth none." (*Matthew* xii. 43.)

What, then, is the true origin of *Nick* as a name for the Devil? I think it is to be found in the English personal name *Nick* as representing *Nicholas*, or *Nicol*.

This *Nick* is now regarded and used as a short form, the Nick-name, so to speak, of *Nicholas;* but in its first use it was a short form of *Nicol*, the earlier English representativ of the name *Nicholas*. *Nicol* was once very common as a given name. In this fact lies the explanation of its application to the Devil. *Nicol* was in early modern English spelt *Nicoll*, *Nicole*, *Nichol*, etc. Tho now almost obsolete as a given name, it exists in a score of surnames, most of them common. I find the surnames *Nicol*, *Nicoll*, *Nichol*, *Nicholl*, *Nickol*, *Nickle*, *Nickel*, *Nickell* (in part perhaps German); with the patronymic genitiv, *Nicols*, *Nicolls*, *Niccols*, *Nichols*, *Nicholls*, *Nicholes* (1615), *Nickles*, *Nickels*, *Nicles;* also *Nicolson*, *Niccolson*, *Nicholson*, *Nickelson*, with the variant *Nickerson;* *McNicol*, *McNicoll*, *McNichol*, *McNicholl*, *MacNichol*, *MacNickle*, *McNickle*, *McNickel*, *McNicolls*, etc. These surnames testify to the former frequency of *Nicol* as a given name. *Nick* itself is found as a surname.

Nicol was in Middle English *Nicol*, *Nicole*, *Nicholle* (*c*1450), *Nichole* (*c*1240), from Old French *Nicole*, French *Nicole* and *Nicolas*, Spanish *Nicolás*, Portuguese *Nicoláo*, Italian *Nicola*, *Nicolò*, *Niccolò*, Dutch *Nicolaas*, *Nikolaas*, *Niklaas*, German *Nicolaus*, *Niklas*, also *Nickel*, Russian *Nikolai*, *Nikola*, etc.; also in curt familiar forms, French *Colas* and *Colin* (whence Eng. *Colin*, *Collin*, *Collins*), Italian *Cola*, Dutch *Klaas*, *Klass*, German *Klaus* (whence Eng. *Claus*, in *Santa Claus*). All these forms ar from the Middle Latin *Nicolas* (from Greek Νικόλας), or Late Latin *Nicolāus*, from Greek Νικόλᾱος, Ionic Νικόλεως, Doric Νικόλας, a man's name. The name came into medieval and modern use in honor of the legendary Saint Nicholas, or rather *Nicolaus*, who is said to hav livd in the fourth century — he must hav existed, else how could they hav found out his name? The English form *Nicholas* is modern. It should be spelt *Nicolas*.

Nick could be also in part derived from *myne Hick*, as *Ned* from *myn Ed*, as I hav explaind before (TRANSACTIONS for 1892, xxiii. 297–301). That is, the two *Nicks* melted into one — tho one *Nick*, namely Old Nick, is supposed to resist melting.

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Nick, derived from either *Nicol* or *Hick*, would be in the same class with *Dick*, *Dickens*, *Hob*, *Robin*, *Jack with the lantern*, *Will with the wisp*, and other household "Christian" names, applied to the Devil or his Imps; and in so far as *Nick* is derived from *myn Hick* it would be radically identical with *Dick*, *Dicken*, *Dickens*, which ar derived, as I hav shown (TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 125–128) from *Old Hick*, *Old Hickon*, etc.

In considering the application of the name *Nick* thus derived, and of other familiar personal names, to the Devil, we ar not to think of that personage as the black malignant theological spirit of evil, but rather as a goblin of limited powers, a "poor" devil, who may be half daunted, half placated, by a little friendly impudence or homely familiarity.

Of the familiar use of *Nicol* as a mere flippant name, like "Tom, Dick, and Harry," I gave a good Middle English example in my explanation of *eddy* (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 217). Noah's shrewish wife calls him "Nicholle Nedy," as much as to say 'Tom Fool' (*c*1450 *Towneley Myst.*, p. 30).

Of the familiar use of *Nick*, an abbreviation of *Nicol*, the sixteenth century supplies examples.

> *Quince.* Anſwere as I call you. *Nick* Bottome the weauer . . . You *Nicke* Bottome are ſet downe for Pyramus.
> 1600 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 1 : 2 (F¹ 1623, p. 147).
> Lamentable complaints of *Nick* Froth the Tapster and Rule Rost the Cooke. 1641 (title of a book). (1834 Lowndes.)

That *Nick*, the Devil, has some connection with *Nicholas*, has long been thought, or at least humorously assumed; but no one, so far as I know, has explaind it as simply a familiar application of the familiar name *Nick*, and has explaind that directly as a familiar short form of *Nicol*.

On the contrary, it has been thought necessary to appeal to Saint Nicholas, "the patron saint of children, travellers, and thieves," and by allusions to "Saint Nicholas's clerks" and other phrases, to make out the supposed transfer of the name from the saint to the anti-saint. But I think that when the name was given to the Devil, there was no thought of the saint.

Samuel Butler made in jest an assertion that some repeated in solemn earnest, that Nick, or Old Nick, was so cald after "Nick" or Nicholas Machiavel, in Italian Niccolò Machiavelli, of whose precepts in "The Prince" it was the fashion to express great horror,

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as if they wer alien to the thought and practice of every "prince" save the nominal prince for whom the book was written.

> *Nick* Machiavel had ne'er a trick,
> Though he gave name to our *Old Nick*,
> But was below the least of these.
> 1678 S. BUTLER, *Hudibras*, III. i. 1313. (Nares, p. 255.)

The following passage seems to allude to Nicholas Machiavel, under the name "Nicholas Malevolo," and associates him directly with the hosts of hell, as their chief — Old Nick himself:

> Out vpon it! How long is Pride a dressing herselfe? Enuie, awake! for thou must appear before *Nicholas Malevolo*, great muster-master of 'hel. 1592 NASH, *Pierce Peniless's Supplication to the Devil* (Shak. Soc., 1842), p. 31.

I think that all these associations with *Nicholas*, saint or Italian, ar after the fact. Tho *Nick* is ultimately derived from *Nicholas* or rather *Nicolas*, it is through the older form (in English) *Nicol*, and this was never applied to the saint, or to the sinner Machiavel. Tho *Nicol*, in *Old Nicol*, and *Nicholas*, also *Old Nicholas*, occur in humorous verse as names for the Devil, they ar to be regarded as modern expansions for humorous effect, not as representing more original forms of the devil's name.

67. Nicholas, also *Old Nicholas* and *Mr. Nicholas*, names for the Devil. See above. Nicholas, the saint once attacked Nicholas the Devil *vi et digitis:*

> The fiend made a grasp the Abbot to clasp;
> But *St. Nicholas* lifted his holy toe,
> And, just in the nick, let fly such a kick
> On his *elderly namesake*, he made him let go.
> 1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Nicholas) (1890, p. 65).

St. Cuthbert also was severe on "Nicholas":

> "You rascal!" quoth he, "This language to me!
> At once, *Mr. Nicholas!* down on your knee." . . .
> *Old Nicholas* trembled, — he shook in his shoes,
> And seem'd half inclined, but afraid, to refuse.
> 1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Cuthbert) (1890, p. 219).
> *Old Nick* look'd North, *Old Nick* look'd South;
> Weary was *Nicholas*, weak and faint.
> 1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Saint Medard) (1890, p. 248).

68. Nicol, with the epithet *old*, *Old Nicol*, in Scottish form *Auld Nicol*. This I find in only one passage, where it is apparently Old *Nick* extended to *Nicol* for the sake of rime.

> Fause flatt'ry nane but fools will tickle,
> That gars me hate it like *Auld Nicol*.
> 1719 RAMSAY, *Epistle to Arbuckle*. (P. p. 255.)

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The easy road from *Nick* to *Nicol* appears in a discourse of the worthy bailie Nicol Jarvie:

> My father the worthy deacon . . . used to say to me — 'Nick — young Nick,' (his name was *Nicol* as weel as mine; sae folk ca'd us in their daffin', young *Nick* and *auld Nick*) — 'Nick,' said he, 'never put out your arm farther than ye can draw it easily back again.'
> 1818 SCOTT, *Rob Roy*, ch. 22 (1863, p. 156).

69. **Nickie**, the Devil: a diminutiv of *Nick*. Also *Old Nickie-ben*.

> So *Nickie* [var. *the Devil*] then got the auld wife on his back.
> *a* 1796 BURNS, *Song*, 'There liv'd once a carle,' st. 6. (*Reid, Concordance to Burns*, 1889, p. 336.)
>
> But, fare ye weel, *auld Nickie-ben!*
> O wad ye tak a thought an' men'!
> 1785 BURNS, *Address to the deil*, st. 21 (Poet. wks. 1883, 1:52).

70. **Nicker**, the Devil. I find this name, in this sense, only with the epithet *old — Old Nicker*, in a limited provincial use. It is equivalent to *Old Nick* and *Old Nicol*. I take it to be an extension of *Old Nick*, as if it wer a variation of *Old Nicol* (compare *Nickerson* from *Nicolson*). It may be from the Dutch form mentiond below. There is probably some old association, if not original connection, with *nicker*, a water-spirit, which, however, I think it necessary to separate from the present word.

> *Nicker*, sb. The Devil. People in the parish of Eckington often speak of the Devil as "*owd Nicker*."
> 1891 ADDY, *Sheffield gloss.* suppl. (E.D.S.), p. 40.

The form *Nicker*, as applied to the Devil, or a devil, occurs in Dutch:

> *Nicker*, The Devil.
> 1678 HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.* [Not in ed. 1648, 1658].
> de *Nikker*, (drommel,) Imp [*ed.* 1727 *adds* fiend], devil.
> 1691 SEWEL, *Dutch and Eng. dict.*, p. 215.

71. **Peggy-lantern.** This is a feminin form of *Hobby-lantern* and *Jacky-lantern*, originally known as *Hob with the lantern* and *Jack with the lantern*. Other feminin names for this meteor sprite ar *Jenny with the lantern*, *Joan in the wad*, *Kitty with the wisp*. See these.

> *Peggy-lantern.* — Will of the wisp, very commonly seen on Eagle and Whisby Moors before they were drained and enclosed: called also *Billy of the wisp*.
> 1886 COLE, *Gloss. Southwest Lincolnshire* (E.D.S.), p. 108.

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72. Poker, a hobgoblin, the Devil. This word, formerly spelt also *pocar* and *pocker*, seems to be identical with the Swedish *pocker*, *pokker*, the devil, the deuce (1867 Rietz, 1888 Öman; not in Serenius, 1741, or Holtze, 1882), Dan. *pokker*, the Devil, the deuce, used chiefly in exclamation (1833 Molbech, *Dansk ordbog*, 2 : 196; 1845 Ferrall and Repp, *Dansk-engelsk ordbog*, p. 249 (with a wrong etymology); 1889 Kaper, *Dänisch-Norwegisch-Deutsches handwörterbuch*, p. 370).

> A mother when her child is wayward . . . scareth it with some *pocar*, or bull-begger. 1601 DENT, *Pathway to heaven*, 109. (N.E.D. 1 : 1168.)

Poker is commonly known as OLD POKER, which see. Of the same family are HODGE POKER, MUM POKER, and TOM POKER. From this *Poker* we hav the adjectiv *pokerish*, applied to localities or circumstances that suggest ghosts or things of fear.

73. Robert, a name given to several individual devils, like *Robin*, below. *Robert*, as a name for the Devil himself, does not appear; but the use of *Roger* as such a name makes a like use of *Robert* not improbable; and the legend of "Robert the Devil" may contain in the name of its hero an allusion to the nomenclature of the real Fiend himself.

> The witches were taught to call these imps by names, some of which might belong to humanity, while others had a diabolical sound. These were *Robert* the Jakis, Saunders the Red Reaver, Thomas the Feary, . . . Thief of Hell . . . *Robert* the Rule, Hendrie Craig, and Rorie. 1830 SCOTT, *Letters on demonology and witchcraft*, p. 246.

74. Robin, a name given, like *Robert*, to several individual devils. It is mentiond here chiefly because it enters into the familiar goblin name *Robin Goodfellow* (which is also used as the generic name of a class of goblins), and because *Robin* represents *Robert*, the ultimate source of *Hob*, which is used, alone and conjunct with *goblin*, as an other name of the same class of imaginary beings. See ROBERT, and HOB and HOBGOBLIN.

> Brian Darcies he spirits and shee spirits, Tittie and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, Liard and *Robin*, &c. 1584 R. SCOT in *Discourse upon divels and spirits*, ch. 33, in *Discoverie of witchcraft* (repr. 1886, p. 455; ed. 1651, p. 388).

A later witch invoked the devil by the name of *Robin*:

> That when ſhe hath a desire to do harm, ſhe calls the Spirit by the name of *Robin*, to whom when he appeareth, ſhe uſeth theſe words, O Sathan, give me my purpoſe. 1681 GLANVIL, *Saduciſmus triumphatus* (1689). p. 352. [Another example, p. 361.]

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In other instances *Robin* used alone as a goblin or fairy name, refers to the famous *Robin Goodfellow*, otherwise cald *Puck* In the stage directions in Shakespeare's "Midsummer night's dream" *Robin* and *Puck* are used indifferently.

> Enter *Pucke* . . . . Enter *Robin*. . . *Rob*. . . *Puck*.
> 1600 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 3: 1 (F^1 1623, p. 152).

It has been shown under HOB and other words how these goblin names ar in many cases perpetuated in the names of fields, crofts, lanes, and other localities in which the original reference to goblins has been for the most part lost. By the side of *Hob croft*, *Hob field*, already cited, I can here cite the corresponding *Robin croft*, *Robin field*.

> An other close of pasture called *Robin feild* . . . . *Robin field* near Pits moore. . . . *Robin croft*.
> 1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (Addy, *Sheff. gloss.*, E.D.S., 1888, p. 192).

75. Robin Goodfellow. This name, written also *Robin Good-fellow*, in late M.E. *Robyn Godfelaw*, consists of the familiar diminutiv name *Robin*, before mentiond, with the half friendly, half euphemistic or deprecatory "surname" *Goodfellow*, originally *Good Fellow*. The fairies wer cald the *Good Folk* or the *Good People*, even the Devil was cald the *Good Man;* and *Good Fellow*, as a name for the mischievous but placable sprite of the house and stable, only reflects the real feeling and the determind superstition of the people.

Ten Brink's suggestion that "Robin Goodfellow corresponds to the German Knecht Ruprecht" (1891 *Early Eng. Literature*, i. 148), so far as it implies a joint connection of name and legend, is not to be accepted.

The first mention of Robin Goodfellow which I hav found is in a letter of the year 1489, M.E. *Robyn Godfelaw:*

> And thys [rebels' proclamation] is in the name of Mayster *Hobbe Hyrste*, *Robyn Godfelaws* brodyr he is, as I trow.
> 1489 WILLIAM PASTON in *Paston letters* (1871), 3: 362.

See the full context quoted under HOB HURST, HOB THURSE.

The next is in the name of the woodlouse, cald also *Thurse-louse* and *Hob-thrush-louse:*

> *Robin-good-fellows*-louse.
> 1552 HULOET, *Abecedarium*. (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1860, p. 19.)

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Robin Goodfellow is often mentiond, and his character is described, in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft.*

> And know you this by the waie, that heretofore *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good fellow*] and Hob gobblin [ed. 1651 Hob-gobblin] were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now; and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided & contemned, and as plainlie perceived, as the illusion and knaverie of *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good-fellow*]. And in truth, they that mainteine walking spirits, with their transformation, &c: have no reason to denie *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good-fellow*], upon whome there hath gone as manie and as credible tales, as upon witches; saving that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits, by the name of *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good-fellow*], as they have termed divinors, soothsaiers, poisoners, and couseners, by the name of witches.
>
> 1584 R. Scot, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 2 (repr. 1886, p. 105; sim. ed. 1651, p. 97).
>
> But certeinlie some one knave in a white sheete hath cousened and abused many thousands that waie; speciallie when *Robin good-fellow* kept such a coile in the Countrie.
>
> 1584 R. Scot, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (repr. 1886, p. 122; sim. ed. 1651, p. 112).

By the first quotations above Scot implies that the belief in Robin Goodfellow had almost disappeard in 1584. In the next passage he plainly, but in his own manner, says so.

> By this time all kentishmen know (a few fooles excepted) that *Robin goodfellowe* is a knave.
>
> 1584 R. Scot, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 16, ch. 7 (repr. 1886, p. 407; sim. ed. 1651, p. 348).
>
> Virunculi terrei ['earthly dwarfs'] are such as was *Robin good fellowe*, that would supplie the office of servants, speciallie of maids; as, to make a fier in the morning, sweepe the house, grind mustard and malt, drawe water, &c: these also rumble in houses, draw latches, go up and downe staiers, &c.
>
> 1584 R. Scot, *Discourse upon divels and spirits*, ch. xxi. (app. to *Discoverie of witchcraft*, repr. 1886, p. 437; ed. 1651, p. 374).

Robin Goodfellow is utilized by the "myriad-minded" Shakespeare, who locates him in ancient Athens. A man of one mind and of simple geography would not have done so. This is Shakespeare's first mention of *Robin Goodfellow:*

> Enter a Fairie at one doore, and *Robin good-fellow* at another.
>
> 1600 Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* 2 : 1 (F[1] 1623, p. 148).

In the current editions *Puck* is substituted for *Robin good-fellow.* In the passages that follow, *Robin Goodfellow* is wel described:

> Either I miſtake your ſhape and making quite,
> Or else you are that ſhrew'd and knauish ſpirit [read *ſprite*]
> Cal'd *Robin Good-fellow.* Are you not hee [etc.].
>
> 1600 Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* 2 : 1 (F[1] 1623, p. 148).

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Robin Goodfellow is named in Harsnet's book:

> And if that the Bowl of Curds and Creame were not duly set out for *Robin Goodfellow* . . .
> 1603 HARSNET, *Declaration of egregious popish impostures*, ch. 10 (in *N. & Q.*, 1859, 2d ser. 7: 144).
> *Robin Goodfellow*, his mad Pranks and merry Jests. Full of honest Mirth; and is a fit Medicine for Melancholy.
> 1628 (title of a book, "supposed unique"). (1834 Lowndes, 4: 1571.)

In the next two centuries little mention is made of Robin Goodfellow, except as a literary reminiscence.

> Hobgoblins (q. Rob.) *Robin-good-fellow.* 1692 COLES, *Eng. dict.*

The last echo of the old superstition is heard in the following note of provincial speech, of sixty-five years ago:

> Proverbial sayings . . . "To laugh like *Robin Good-fellow.*"—i.e. A long, loud, hearty horse-laugh. Thus the memory of the merry goblin still lives amongst us. But though his mirth be remembered, his drudgery is forgotten. His cream-bowl is never set; nor are any traces of the "lubber fiend" to be found on the kitchen hearth. He is even forgotten in the nursery. 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 2: 431.

76. Robin Hood. Robin Hood seems to hav been sometimes confused in kitchen tales with Robin Good-fellow, and so to hav been regarded in the light of a fairy—or in the dark of a goblin. Reginald Scot, speaking of Hudgin, a German goblin, says:

> There goe as manie tales upon this Hudgin, in some parts of Germanie, as there did in England of Robin Good-fellow. But this Hudgin was so called, bicause he alwaies ware a cap or a hood; and therefore I thinke it was *Robin Hood.*
> 1584 R. SCOT, *Discourse upon divels and spirits*, ch. 21 (app. to *Discoverie of witchcraft*, repr. 1886, p. 438; ed. 1651, p. 374).

Keightly, no conclusiv authority, mentions *Robin Hood* as an other name for Puck or Robin Goodfellow:

> Puck . . . his various appellations: these are Puck, Robin Goodfellow, *Robin Hood*, Hobgoblin.
> 1828 T. K[EIGHTLEY], *Fairy mythology*, 2: 118.

77. Roger, the Devil. *Roger* as the name of the Devil or of a spirit, is but scantly recorded, but I think it exists in *Roger's blast*, which is explaind below, it occurs in *Old Roger*, and it comes out again, in the homely form *Hodge*, in the term *Hodge Poker*, used like *Hob Goblin.* See HODGE POKER. I recognize it also in the local names, *Roger house*, *Roger field*, mentiond below.

The familiar use of *Roger* outside of its proper application, appears also in the fact that in provincial speech it means also 'a ram.' *Roger of the buttery* (1847 Halliwell) as well as *Tib of the buttery*

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(1717 Coles, *Eng. dict.*) was a humorous name for 'a goose.' *Roger* meant also 'a rogue' (1847 Halliwell) and a 'a cloak bag' (1717 Coles, *Eng. dict.*).

Old Roger has been heard, I am told, in New England and Illinois, and no dout elsewhere, as a name for the Devil. It is like *Old Harry, Old Nick*, and other such names. Of a horse it is said, for example, "He ran as if *Old Roger* were after him."

I find *Old Roger* also in a piratical use I think with a diabolic allusion:

> Captain Solgard, of his Majesty's ship Grayhound, brought a sloop with 36 pirates into Newport [in 1723]. Of these 26 were convicted, and hung under their own "deep Blew Flagg," "*old Roger*."
> 1890 WEEDEN, *Economic and Social hist. of New England*, 2: 562.

Roger's blast is a provincial name given to a sudden whirlwind, whether that which lifts the dust of the road in little whirls, or a sudden blast of wind over the water. The name has been left unexplaind, tho the explanation has been askt for. It means 'a blast caused by Roger,' the Devil, to wit; who must of course be the cause of all otherwise unexplainable disturbances of the atmosphere, and who, if he be indeed

> The prince of the power of the aire, (1613 BIBLE, *Eph.* 2: 2)

or in Tyndale's version (1535)—

> The governer that ruleth in the ayer,

must be responsible, as it has been plausibly argued, for the weather in general — nearly all weather being bad.

> *Roger's-blast*, s. a sudden and local motion of the air, no otherwise perceptible but by its whirling up the dust on a dry road in perfectly calm weather, somewhat in the manner of a waterspout. It is reckoned a sign of approaching rain.
> 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 2: 280. (Copied in Halliwell, 1847.)

I find the phenomenon inquired about by a writer who givs the name, doutfully, as *Rodges blast. Rodges blast* is, I think, merely the heard form of *Roger's blast; Roger's* being pronounced, in South British speech, exactly like *Rodges;* a heinous but an existing fact.

> These *rodges blasts* seem to come with a southwest wind. . . . The cutter Zoe, with all sail set, was moored by a strong rope to a tree. It was a dead hot calm, when without any warning, a whirling puff of wind came upon us. The Zoe was thrown over almost on her beam-ends. She snapped the mooring-rope like a piece of thread, shot out into the river, and then luffed up herself . . . and drove her bowsprit through the wood-casing of the staithe and deep into the soil behind. . . . The blast passed in a moment, and there was again a dead calm.
> 1884 C. DAVIES, *Norfolk broads and rivers*, p. 55 (*N. & Q.*, Feb. 11, 1893, 8th ser. 3: 106).

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> We have not been able to trace the etymology of the name by which these blasts are known, and it is spelt as it is pronounced. It is really a rotary wind-squall or whirl-wind, and is most likely to occur with a southwest wind. Sometimes the blasts are very violent, and come without warning. [See more, *l.c.*]
> 1884 C. DAVIES, *Ib.* p. 265. (*N. & Q., l.c.*)

The superstition of a blast of wind caused by the Devil, and used to work harm to mortals, comes out in the old stories of witchcraft; and witches themselves wer thought to hav influence over the air, and sold winds, as they told stories, to the marines. A poor old woman on trial for witchcraft, when questiond by her pious tormentors as to her diabolic practices, answerd that —

> When sundrie persons came to her to seek help for their beast, their cow, or ewe, or for any barne that was *tane away with ane evill blast of wind*, or elf grippit, she gait and speirit at Thom what might help them.
> *c* 1600 in PITCAIRN, *Crim. trials* (1830–33), I. 2. 51 et seq. (1880 T. A. Spalding, *Elizabethan demonology*, p. 110).

Roger also appears in certain old place-names.

> *Roger house* . . . *Roger field* . . . *Rodger wood.*
> 1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (ms.), (in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* E.D.S., p. 193).
> *Roger thorpe* in Badsworth, near Pontefract.
> 1888 ADDY, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 193.

These ar parallel with *Hob field, Hob croft, Hob yard, Hob-thrust well, Robin field, Robin croft*, previously mentiond as local names, all originally implying a supposed haunt of a goblin. In any one case the name may hav arisen directly from the name of a person, but the parallelisms ar conclusiv as to the principal origin.

78. Thurse, a demon, a goblin. This is an interesting and important word, once wel known in English, wide spred in Teutonic speech, stil extant in the Scandinavian region, and existing also, almost unrecognized, in English provincial speech. It underwent various transformations, and in its proper form disappeard; and it was in consequence neglected by the dictionaries.

Thurse is found in several forms, all of which ar treated in this paper under one or the other of the several types *thurse, thurst, thruss, thrush, trash*, as below, or (in composition) (*Hob-*)*thrust*, (*Hob-*)*trush*, (*Hob-*)*truss*, after HOB-THURSE.

Thurse is in Middle English *thurse, thursse, thurs, þurs, *thyrs, thirs, thyrce;* also transposed *thrusse, thrwsse, thrisse* (see THRUSS, below), and *thrusche* (see THRUSH, below); AS. *þyrs*, a giant, demon, devil; O. Fries. not found; Fries. *drôs*, D. *droes*, L.G. *dros, droos*

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(*drôs*), *druuss* (*drûs*), *droost* (*drôst*) (see below); O.H.G. *durs*, *duris*, M.H.G. *durse*, *dürse*, *dürsch*, also with initial *t*, O.H.G. *turs*, *thuris*, M.H.G. *turse*, *türse*, *türsch*, a giant, demon (Grimm. *D. M.*; Schade), Swiss *dürst* "the wild hunter" (Grimm), *dusel*, a night-spirit (Grimm); Icelandic *þurs* (Egilsson, Cleasby) rarely *þors* (Egilsson), assimilated *þuss*, modern Icelandic *þuss* (Cleasby, Aasen), a giant, a goblin, a dull fellow, Norwegian *tuss*, *tusse*, *tust*, a goblin, elf, dull fellow (see below), Swedish *tuss*, *tussa*, in various uses (see below).

Before considering the ultimate etymology, special notice must be taken of some of the forms mentiond, and of their meanings.

A word found in Anglo-Saxon, in Old Icelandic, and Old High German, especially a word of this sort, might be confidently lookt for in the Low German tungs. In the expected form **durs* it does not appear; but we do find a word *drûs*, *drôs*, *drôst*, used in exclamation and mild cursing, in the sense of 'the devil,' 'the deuce'; and considering the ease with which words that hav lost their original status and hav fallen into the hapless condition of "swear-words," ar twisted from their original form, it seems probable that *drûs* is the missing word, transposed from the original **durs*, lengthend to *drûs*, and varied to *drôs*, *droos*. The last form appears with a stop, *-t*, in the Hamburg and Osnaburg *droost*. These forms ar thus not only akin, but ar almost identical phonetically, with the English *thruss*, (hob-)*thruss*, (hob-)*thrust*, (hob-)*dross* as transposed from *thurse*, *thurst*.

An Old Friesic form does not appear in Richthofen or Hettema, because, we may suppose, of the technical (legal) character and small quantity of the extant records. In modern Friesic the word is *drôs*.

> *Drôs*, Heimr. S. 25, wird der böse Feind dieser Orten genannt. [Other references are given.]
> 1837 OUTZEN, *Glossarium der friesischen sprache*, p. 49.

The Low German form cited by E. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* (1891) 1 : 1041, as an unquestiond cognate of AS. *þyrs*, etc., is *dros*. The form in Hamburg is, or was, *drûs*, spelt in 1755 *druusz*.

> *Druusz* . . . Wann man aber fluchtet, *dat dy de druusz hale*, ſo iſt ſolches nach Hn. Wachters Meinung ſo viel, als: dasz dich die Hexe hole . . [More, of little use]. 1755 RICHEY, *Idioticon Hamburgense*, p. 44.

In the same region existed the form *drôs*, in the extended form *drôst*, spelt *droost*.

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> *Drooſt:* iſt ein Wort, das mancherley Bedeutung hat, nachdem man dieſes oder jenes Beywort hinzuſetzet, doch mehrentheils in übelm Verſtande. Z.E. *Een dummen Drooſt;* ein alberner Mensch; *een groten Drooſt:* ein groſſer Gaſt; *een leegen Drooſt:* ein ſchlimmer Schelm, &c. 1755 RICHEY, *Idioticon Hamburgense*, p. 43.

The phrases point clearly to the earlier sense, which Strodtmann, the next year, after a perusal of Richey, thus set forth:

> *Drooſt:* bedeutet etwas anders, als in Hamburg, nämlich den Teufel. *De Drooſt föhrde een da und da hen;* d.i. der Teufel.
> 1756 STRODTMANN, *Idioticon Osnaburgense*, p. 43.

This form *droost* is very like the English form (hob-)*thrust*, (hob-)*dross*.

The forms *droos* and *droost* coexisted at Bremen:

> *Droos*, gemeiniglich, aber unrecht, *Drooſt*. Es iſt hier eben ſo wie in Hamb. ein unbeſtimmtes Scheltwort, das ſeine Bedeutung von den Beywörtern empfängt. *Ein dummen Droos:* ein alberner Mensch, ein dummer T * * 1. SR. Nächſt dem braucht es auch der Pöbel im Fluchen für den Teufel. *Dat di de Droos ſlaa:* dasz dich der T——. *Bi'm Droos:* beym T * * .
> 1767 *Versuch eines bremisch-nieder-sächsischen wörterbuchs*, 1 : 257.

The Dutch form is *droes*, a giant, devil, fiend.

> *Droes.* Gigas, homo valens, homo membris & mole valens, fortis bellator.
> 1598 KILIAN, *Etym. Teut. ling.* (1777), 1 : 123.
> *Droes*, A Gyant, a man of a great stature.
> 1648 HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.* Also 1658.
> *Droes* (M.), a Devil, Fiend.
> 1727 SEWEL, *Dutch-Eng. dict.* 2 : 84. [Not in orig. ed. 1691.]
> *Droes* . . . En eindelijk komt het voor, in den zin van eenen reus, een groot sterk mensch, en, in de gemeenzame verkeering, voor eenen boozen geest, voor den duivel: de mensch van ik en weet wat dommen droes gedreven. J. De Deck.
> 1790 WEILAND, *Nederduitsch taalkundig woordenboek*, 1 : 591.
> *Droes*, m. gmw. duivel; *de droes* hale mij als ik het weet.
> 1884 VAN DALE, *Nieuw woordenboek.*

The etymology of the Dutch *droes* and its congeners has exercised several minds. Kilian, true to the classical warp of his time, farfetcht it from the Latin name *Drusus*.

> *Droes* . . . Fortè nomen ſumptum a Druso Tiberij fratre, Germanorum & Saxonum domitore acerrimo.
> 1598 KILIAN, *Etym. Teut. ling.* (1777), 1 : 123.

The editor of the *Bremisch-niedersächsisches wörterbuch* (1777), under *droos* (1 : 257), complains of the etymologists who "drag in Drusus by the hair" to explain such German words; "as if the German language could hav no words of its own."

The word *thurse*, Icelandic *þurs*, *þuss*, etc., has had a rich develop-

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ment in the Swedish and Norwegian dialects. Swedish dial. *tuss* is defined as (1) a mountaineer, so cald in districts bordering on mountain regions; (2) wandering foreign people; (3) a stupid person, a blockhead; (4) a wolf; (5) a bear, in composition *myr-tussar*, 'swamp-creatures.' The other form *tusse* means (1) a giant; (2) an unruly person, usually applied to a child; (3) a wolf — in some dialects also cald *tass*, and in composition *gråtass* 'grey creature.' So *spirtusse*, a spirit which, like a brownie, stays in a person's service, and earns money for him; *tassa-mark*, 'goblin-field,' a lonely cheerless place. All these in Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, 1867, p. 765.

Similar forms, with similar but less numerous uses, appear in the Norwegian dialects. Norw. *tuss*, dial. *tusse*, and *tust*, a goblin, kobold, elf, a dull fellow, in plural *tussar*, goblins, elves, in composition, *tussefolk*, 'thurse-folk,' elves, *tussekall*, 'thurse-carl,' a male elf, *tussekvende*, 'thurse-quean,' a female elf, *haugtuss*, 'how-thurse,' 'hill-elf,' troll, *tussen*, a mysterious disease of cattle. All these in Aasen, *Norsk ordbog*, 1873, p. 848, 269.

All these senses proceed from that of 'a giant,' 'a monstrous creature.' The English *creature* as used with the common implication of something fierce, non-human, or uncanny, answers closely to the uses mentiond. So the rude mountaineer, a gipsy, a bear, a wolf, ar all counted under the one name. The English uses of *thurse*, *thruss*, *thrush*, and *hob-thrush*, *hobthrust*, hav similar aspects. See the examples.

The ultimate etymology of *thurse*, AS. *þyrs*, O.H.G. *durs*, O. Icel. *þurs*, is uncertain. Schade (1872–1882, 1 : 116) following Kuhn, (*Zeitschrift für vergl. sprachforschung*, 10 : 105), inclines to make the original sense 'activ at work,' 'fond of building,' and hence 'builder,' connecting the word with Gr. τύρσις, later τύρρις, in Suidas also τύρσος, a tower, = Lat. *turris* (whence Eng. *tower* and *turret*), and with the folk-name, Gr. Τυρσηνοί, Τυρρηνοί, Lat. *Tyrrhēni*, explaind as 'wall-builders.' He finds the root in O.H.G. *dwëran* 'turn about quickly,' to which he refers many Slavic words. The Cyclopes wer reputed great builders; and western Europe once swarmd with giants who built towers, walls, and "causeways."

Wharton, in his *Etyma Graeca*, 1890, equates Gr. τύρσις, τύρρις with Lat. *turris*, and connects them with A.S. "*thryðlīc* strong" and Lith. "*twirtas*, *twérti* seize, enclose." In his *Etyma Latina* of the same date, he makes Lat. *turris*, a 'loan-word' from the Gr. τύρρις, τύρσις, and that a "loan-word" from some unknown source.

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Another view of the etymology of *thurse* is presented by Grimm (*D.M.* 1844; tr. Stallybrass, 1883, 2: 522). According to this view, which is put aside by Schade, but accepted as probable by E. Mogk (in Paul's *Grundriss*, 1891, 1: 1041) the source is in the root of Goth. *þairsan*, E. *thirst;* as Mogk puts it, definitly, *thurse* (O.H.G. *durs*, etc.) is probably cognate with Skt. *tṛṣús* 'thirsty,' 'greedy.' This word is referd by Whitney (*tṛṣú*) to the root *tṛṣ*, 'be thirsty' (*Sanskrit roots*, 1885, p. 66).

This view, if correct, associates *thurse* with the English *thirst*, formerly spelt *thurst;* and it forms a parallel with the usual view of the etymology of the other Anglo-Saxon word for 'giant,' namely A.S. *eoten*, M.E. *eten*, *ȝeten*, later *etin*, *ettin*, Icel. *jötunn* (Cleasby), *iötunn* (Grimm), Norw. *jutel*, Sw. *jätte*, Dan. *jette*, which is usually explaind (as by Grimm and Mogk *l.c.*) from A.S. *etan*, etc., 'eat,' as if it meant *edax*, 'the eater' or 'the hungry.' Taking into account the ways and pranks of the goblins like Robin Goodfellow, Puck, and the Dobbies, we hav thus reveald the simple philosophy of the goblin tribe, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry."

But the explanation of *eoten* from *etan*, 'eat,' presents difficulties which not even a giant can overcome; and the explanation of *thurse* from *tṛṣ*, 'thirst,' tho not phonetically difficult, smacks rather of folklore than of history.

I now proceed to the history of *thurse* within the English pale.

79. (1) **Thurse**, the normal type. The earliest form, A.S. *þyrs*, had the senses 'giant, demon, mythic monster.' It is used to gloss the Latin *Orcus* and *Cacus* and *Cyclops*, having in two instances the synonym *heldeofol*, *heldiobol*, 'hell-devil' — a vigorous gloss.

The glosses ar the earliest examples:

Orcus, *ðyrs*, heldiobul. *c* 725 *Lat.-A.S. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 36: 15; Hessels, 1890, p. 86).

Orcus, orc, *þyrs*, oððe heldeofol. *c* 1000 *Glosses, Lat. and A.S.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 459: 31).

Caci, *þyrses*. *c* 1000? *Glosses, Lat. and A.S.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 376: 19).

This refers to Cacus, the cattle-lifter, the giant son of Vulcan. The "bad" personages of classic mythology wer commonly regarded by the Anglo-Saxon translators and glossarists as 'devils,' 'demons,' or 'specters,' and treated accordingly.

Cyclopum, *ðyrsa*. *c* 1000 *Glosses, Lat. and A.S.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 378: 25).

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Here the Cyclopes, other bad characters of ancient fable, ar explaind by the same term *þyrs*, which may be translated here 'giant' or 'ogre.'

The Anglo-Saxon word occurs chiefly in glosses, but it is also found in context in verse. It comes once in Beowulf, where it is applied, with *aglæca*, to the monster Grendel:

> And nu wiþ Grendel sceal
> Wiþ þam aglæcan, âna gehegan,
> Þing wiþ *þyrse*. *c* 1000 *Beowulf*, l. 424–426.

It also occurs in more artificial verse, "sentences," and riddles:

> Þeóf sceal gangan in þýstrum wederum, *þyrs* sceal on fenne gewunian,
> Âna innan lande.
> *c* 1000 *Gnomic verses* (Cott.), l. 42. (Grein, *Sprachschatz*, 2: 347.)

Bosworth makes the meaning 'robber.'

> Ic mêsan mæg meahtelîcor,
> An efn-etan ealdum *þyrse*,
> And ic gesêlig mæg symle lifgan,
> Þeah ic êtes ne sŷ êfre tô feore.
> *c* 1000 *Riddles*, 41, l. 62–65. (Grein, *Sprachschatz*, 2: 389.)

In an early M.E. passage *þurs*, 'demon, devil,' is applied by way of deservd vituperation to a persecuting emperor:

> Under þis, com þe *þurs* Maxence,
> Þe wed wulf, þe heaðene hund,
> Aȝein to his kineburh.
> *c* 1200 *Life of St. Katherine*, l. 1858–60 (E.E.T.S., 1884, p. 90) (Abbotsford club ed. 1841, l. 1880).

Here "þe þurs Maxence, þe wed wulf, þe heaðene hund" ('the demon Maxentius, the mad wolf, the heathen dog') is a free translation of the Latin "imperator."

> Ichabbe isehen þene *þurs* of helle.
> *c* 1200 *Seinte Marherete* (E.E.T.S., 1866), p. 11. (*C.A.* 387.)

References exist (as in Herrtage's notes to the *Catholicon Anglicum*, E.E.T.S., 1881, p. 387) to *þurs* as occurring in the *Ancren Riwle* (*c* 1230); but the word there (ed. 1852, p. 280), *þurse*, is a bracketed "correction" by the editor for the *wurse* of the manuscript. *Wurse* is an other name for the Devil.

Thurse (*thirs*) is Wyclif's translation of the Latin *lamia*:

> Ther shal lyn lamya, that is a [om. in 4 mss.] *thirs* [var. in 4 mss. *thrisse*] or a beste hauende the bodi lic a womman, and horse feet. [*In later version*: Lamya schal ligge there (*marg.* Lamya is a wondirful beest [etc.]), *c* 1388 Purvey.] *c* 1380 WYCLIF, *Isaiah* 34: 15.

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This is a translation of the Vulgate:

> Ibi cubavit *lamia.*
> *a* 400 *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis* (1582) (Romae 1861, p. 456).

In the current English version it stands:

> The *screech owl* [1613 *shrichowle*, 1606 *scrichowle*] [*marg.* Or, *night-monster*] also shall rest there.

In the Revised version (1884) the passage reads:

> Yea, and the *night-monster* [*marg.* Heb. *Lilith*] shall settle there.

In other versions of the Bible the Latin *lamia* of the Vulgate or the *lilith* of the Hebrew is translated thus: Dutch *het nachtgedierte* (1874, p. 470), 'the night-beast'; German, *der Kobold* (1877, p. 648), 'the goblin'; Swedish, *elfwor* (1876, p. 619), 'elves'; Danish, *en Vætte* (1875, p. 702), 'a wight,' 'a goblin'; French, *l'orfraie* (1874, p. 623), 'the osprey'; *la Fee* (1566, f. 259 verso), 'the fay'; Spanish, *lamia* (1874, p. 618); Portuguese, *os animaes nocturnos* (1870, p. 678), 'the night-beasts.'

> Thykke theese [ed. 1865 erron. *theefe*] as a *thursse*, and thikkere in the hanche,
> Greess. growene as a galte [1865 galt] fulle grylych he lukez.
> *c* 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1871), l. 1100. [Sim. ed. 1865.]
> *Thyrce*, wykkyd spyryte (*thirse*, gost, K. *tyree*, S.A.), Ducius.
> 1440 *Prompt. parv.* (Camden soc. 1865), p. 491.

The spelling *tyrce* implies a form **turse*, of which *trusse* would be the transposed form; but neither has a firm standing.

> A *thurse*, an apparition, a goblin. *Lanc.* *a* 1728 KENNETT. (Way.)

The history of *hob*, *hobthrush*, and *Robin*, which I hav given, and of *boggard*, *boggart*, *puck*, *pixy*, and other goblin names which I hav had to omit, makes it almost necessary that a goblin name of any considerable range should appear in the local appellations of caves, fields, lanes, and other small geography. It is so with the thurse. The thurse comes out from a long retirement in these same caves and obscure places, and not only claims his conceded own, but shows a clear title to various dwelling-places which hav been illegally deeded to Thor, a personage who has been altogether too much favord in the distribution of etymological honors.

(1) **Thurse-cave*. This, I think, is the true original of *Thor's Cave*, a locality so named. What should Thor be doing with a cave? It is just the place for a thurse. *Thurse-hole*, *Thurse-house*, and

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Thurse-pit designate similar places. And I find *Goblin's Cave* and *Goblin's Den* in Scotland. Clearly Thor must leav this cave.

Thor's Cave, Wetton. 1861 BATEMAN, *Ten years' diggings* (Addy, *Sheffield gloss.*, E.D.S., 1888, p. 258).

Thor's Cave, wide cavity, overlooking the river Manyfold, Staffordshire, near Wetton. 1893 BARTHOLOMEW, *Gazetteer of the British Isles.*

(2) *Thurse-hole*, a cave supposed to hav been the dwelling of a thurse or goblin. Such caves wer sometimes used as habitations of men.

A *Thurs-house* or *Thurse-hole*, a hollow vault in a rock or stony hill that serves for a dwelling-house for a poor family, of which there is one at Alveton and another near Wetton Mill, Co. Stafford. These were looked on as enchanted holes.

a 1727 KENNETT (quoted by Way, *Prompt. parv.* (1865), p. 491).

(3) *Thurse-house*, the dwelling of a thurse: the same as *thurse-hole*.

A *Thurs-house* or *Thurse-hole*.

a 1727 KENNETT (see quotation under *Thurse-hole*).

(4) *Thurse-pit*, the same as *thurse-hole*. I recover this word, in the form *thurst-pit*, spelt also *thirst-pit*, in the following scraps of a local record:

Item a payne sett that William Outrem shall sett the water in the Ewe flatt and *thurst pyttes* in the right course and soe keepe the same before the feat of All Saynctes vpon psine of iijs. iiijd.

1595 *Holmesfield court rolls* (quoted in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* E.D.S., 1888, p. 258).

Memer: we present and say that the *thirst pittes* makes itt selfe all cutt from the laid ash to a water course a little from the corner.

1743 *Holmesfield court rolls* (Addy, l.c.).

(5) **Thurse-well*, also *thruswell*, a well frequented by a thurse. I find it also a surname, *Truswell*.

Item, a peice of arrable land lying in *Thruswell* Feild.

1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (Addy, l.c.).

(6) **Thurse-wood*. This may be the correct form of a place-name given as *Thor's wood*. There is no particular reason for allowing *Thor* a wood.

On the same day we opened two more barrows in land near Stanton called *Thor's Wood* or Back-of-the-Low.

1861 BATEMAN, *Ten years' diggings* (Addy, l.c.).

The word *thurse* is probably present, tho equally unrecognized, in some local proper names, and some surnames of local origin, namely *Thursfield*, 'goblin-field,' equivalent to *Hob-croft*, *Hob-field*, *Hob-*

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yard, Puck's field; in *Thursley, Thursly, Trusley,* of similar meaning; and perhaps in *Thursby, Thurscross, Thruscross, Thursford, Thurston, Thruston, Throston, Tursdale,* and other names in which *Thor,* in the genitiv *Thor's,* is supposed, no dout in part truly, to be present. There are several local names involving Thor, in Icelandic: *þórsmörk, þórsnes, þórsá* (Cleasby). Isaac Taylor (*Words and Places,* 1864, p. 343) refers all the English names to *Thor,* ignoring the existence of *thurse.* I find also the surnames *Thrush, Trush.*

There is an other compound, not local: *thurse-louse,* the little crustacean, in popular view an "insect," cald also a *wood-louse* or *sow-bug.*

> The Latines call it [the wood-louse] *Asellum, Cutionem, Porcellionem;* Pliny said not well to call it *Centipes,* since it hath but fourteen feet; the English from the form call them *Sowes,* that is, little Hogs; from the place where they dwell, *Tylers-louse,* that is, Lice in roofs of houses: they are called also *Thurstows* [read *Thurslows*], or Jovial Lice, from a spirit that was not hurtful, to whom our Ancestors superstitiously imputed the sending of them to us. In some places they call them *Cherbugs,* and *Cheslips,* but I know not why.
>
> 1658 J. R., tr. Mouffet, *Theater of insects* [*Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum,* Londini, 1634], p. 1048 (quoted by Herrtage, *Cath. Angl.* 1881, p. 387, note).

The "spirit that was not hurtful" was the thurse; but the translation "Jovial" implies that the writer took *Thurs-* for *Thor's,* identifying *Thor* with *Jove.*

> *Thurſelice,* Millepedes, Aſelli, 'Ονίσκοι, à *Thor* priſcorum Saxonum & Gothorum Jove, q. d. Joviales vel Jovi sacri Pediculi. Et ſanè hoc animalculum, licèt aſpectu ſordidum, tamen ob eximias virtutes quibus contra calculum, Icterum, Ophthalmiam & alios morbos pollet, dignum eſt quod Jovi consecretur. 1671 SKINNER, *Etym. ling. anglicanæ.*
>
> *Thurse-louſe* [ed. 1755 *Thurse Louſe,* 1775 *Thurse-louſe*] (q.d. *Thor's* Louſe), an Inſect. 1733 BAILEY, *Eng. dict.*

That the first element is *thurse* is indicated by the other name *Hobthrush-louse,* and proved by the equivalent name *Robin-good-fellow's-louse* in Huloet (1552).

80. (2) **Thurst.** This is a stopt form of THURSE. I find it in *thurst-pit* (1595), also *thirst-pit,* before, and in *hob-thurst* and *hob-thrust* for **hob-thurse.*

81. (3) **Thrust.** An other variant of THURSE, namely a transpose of *thurst.* I find it only in *hob-thrust.*

82. (4) **Thruss,** a transposed form of THURSE. It is found in late M.E., written *thrusse, thrwsse, thrisse.* A trace of it may be

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detected in the recently existing *hob-dross*, one of the forms of **hob-thurse*, *hob-thrush*, *hob-thruss*, which see. *Hob-dross* represents **hob-truss*, *hob-thruss*. *Thruss* became later *thrush*, which see.

Lamia, that is a *thirs* [var. *thrisse*].
c 1380 WICLIF, *Isaiah* 34 : 15. (See full quotation under *thurse*.)
Dusius, i. demon, a *thrusse*, þe powke.
c 1460 *Medulla grammatice* (in Way, *Prompt. parv.* 1865, p. 491, note).
Ravus, a *thrusse*, a gobelyne.
c 1460 *Medulla grammatice* (in Way, *Prompt. parv.* 1865, p. 491, note).
hobb *Trusse* (A *Thrwsse*, A), prepes, negocius.
1483 *Catholicon, Anglicum* (E.E.T.S., 1881, p. 387).

Here the alphabetic order shows that *hobb Trusse* should be *hobb Thrusse*. See HOB-THRUSS.

I find *thruss*, pronounced with the earlier sound of the vowel, and spelt *thruse*, mentiond as in use in Lancashire in 1860. It is not found in the *Lancashire glossary* (E.D.S. 1875).

This *Thurse* (A.S. *thirs* or *thyrs*) was an old Anglo-Saxon spirit of a very uncertain character. . . . In Lancashire he is viewed in the light of Orcus, or Hades, and is called *Thruse*, a connecting link between Thurs and Thrush. 1860 E. ADAMS, *On the names of the wood-louse* (in *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1860–1, pp. 17–18).

83. (5) **Thrush**, a variant of THRUSS, which is a transposed form of THURSE. See above. *Thrush* is in late M.E. *thrusche*. It is a variant, with the common change of *-ss* to *-sh*, of *thruss*. Compare *brush* for **bruss* (F. *brosse*), *push* for **puss*, *cash* for *cass*, 'cashier,' *leash* for *lease*, and the like. For the further etymology, see THRUSS and THURSE. For the use, see the examples below, and under HOB-THRUSH.

A *Thrusche*, prepes (A).
1438 *Catholicon Anglicum* (E.E.T.S., 1881), p. 387.

This follows, in the printed copy, the equivalent entry:

hobb *T*[*h*]*russe* (A *Thrwsse*, A), prepes, negocius. [See THRUSS and HOB-THRUSH].

Thrush scarcely occurs in modern use except in composition, namely in *hob-thrush*, one of the forms of *hob-thurse*, and in *thrush-louse*. See also TRASH.

Thrush-lice. In Cole's [Coles, 1708] *thurse-lice.* Vid. *Hob thrush lice.*
1828 [CARR], *Craven gloss.* 2 : 204.
Thrush-lice. Millepes. *North.* 1847 HALLIWELL.

84. (6) **Trash**, a specter. This word occurs alone, tho rarely, and in composition, *Guy-trash*, *Malkin-trash*. See these. It is a

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dialectal variant of *trush*, and this, which I find only in composition (*Hob-trush*) is a variant of *thrush* (alone and in *Hob-thrush*) for the original *thurse*. See THURSE, THRUSH, above, and HOB-THURSE, HOB-THRUSH, HOB-TRUSH.

> In most parts of England there is a belief in a spectral dog, which is generally described as 'large, shaggy, and black, with long ears and tail. . . .' It is commonly supposed to be a bad spirit, haunting places where evil deeds have been done, or where some calamity may be expected. In Lancashire, this spectre-dog is known as '*Trash*' and 'Striker,' its former name having been applied to it from the peculiar noise made by its feet, which is supposed to resemble that of a person walking along a miry, sloppy road, with heavy shoes. . . .
> 1893 T. F. T. DYER, *Ghost-world*, p. 111.

This seems to imply that *Trash* as so used is derived from the provincial verb *trash*, 'tramp through mud,' 'go shuffling,' a dialectal form of *thrash* used in the same sense. But it is only popular etymology which connects *Trash*, the specter, with this verb. It is to be regarded as an other form and an other use of the old goblin name *thurse*, as above said. The names *guy-trash* and *malkin-trash*, considerd with *hob-trush*, *hob-thrush*, confirm this view.

85. Tom Loudy, a goblin of the nursery.

> *Tom-loudy*, W., a goblin conjured up to frighten children.
> 1877 ROSS, STEAD and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 149.

This is of course the loud blustering goblin who shakes the window-panes, and whistles and moans through the lattice. He was cald of old by various names of similar allusion —

> Aquilo *raucus*. *a* 102 MARTIAL, Epig. 1 : 50.
> Boreas *saevus*. *a* 54 B.C. CATULLUS, 23 : 3.
> Boreas and Cæcias and Argeſtes *loud*
> And Thraſcias. 1667 MILTON, *P.L.* (facsim. 1877), 9 : 699.

and his demon rage was known —

> Rabies saeva ventorum. *a* 17 OVID, *Metam.* 5 : 7.

The same goblin, in a diminutiv form, is thus explaind for us, in the best "University extension" manner:

> *Tommy-loudy*, E., the whistling noise made by the wind; a high wind.
> 1877 ROSS, STEAD and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 149.

86. Tom Poker, a mysterious being, brother of *Hodge Poker*, and *Mum Poker*; three lurking goblins. See POKER and HODGE POKER and MUM POKER.

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Tom Poker, pr. n. The great bugbear and terror of naughty children, who inhabits dark closets, holes under the stairs, unoccupied cock-lofts, false-roofs, &c. Such places are often called from him *poker-holes.* His name is from Sui.-G. *tomte-poeke,* q. d. the *house-puck,* the domestic goblin. 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia,* 2: 352.

The etymology given by Forby is of course wrong. There ar stil many writers who abhor a plain, obvious, plebeian etymology, and love to fly abroad for something pretty or mysterious.

87. (1) **Will with the wisp.** This is the earliest of the seven or eight names beginning with *Will* and ending with *wisp,* for the tricksy twilight spirit who shows his deceptiv torch or lantern on the dusky edges of the marsh or beside the dark hedge or along the unseen river. He is cald in the books *Ignis Fatuus,* which is interpreted 'foolish fire'; but it is 'fooling fire,' 'deceiving light.'

The vernacular name *Will with the wisp* has undergon the usual variations, *Will with a wisp, Will with wisp, Will of the wisp, Will o' the wisp, Will o' wisp, Will a wisp, Will in a wisp,* with minor differences beside. The other names ar *Jack with the lantern, Hob of the lantern, Jenny lantern, Peggy lantern, Joan in the wad, Kit with the candlestick;* most of them with similar variations. See them in their order.

Will as a name for a goblin is not common. *Wilkin,* the diminutiv of *Will,* was the name of a devil "cast out" by the priests denounced by Harsnet (1603). The thinnest possible diminutiv, *Billy,* appears in a recent variation of the name of *Will of the wisp.*

A *wisp,* as used in this name, is a twist of straw used as a torch. In an other name it is cald a *wad.* See JOAN IN THE WAD.

According to my quotations, *Will with the wisp* first appears in the middle of the seventeenth century (1654); but its earlier existence is indicated by the shortend form, *Will with wisp,* of earlier date (1636). The other form, *Will with a wisp,* comes not long after, and *Will o' wisp* follows early in the eighteenth century.

Will with the wispe. 1654 GAYTON, *Festivous notes* (Nares, 1858, p. 362).

Will with the Wisp, or Jack in a Lanthorn. See *Jack.*
1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*

Mr. Bradley, F.R.S. fupposes the *Will with the Wisp* to be no more than a Group of fmall enlightened infects.
1777 BRAND, *Observations on popular antiquities,* p. 372.

88. (2) **Will with a wisp.** This form appears a little later than the one with the definite article. It runs through the dictionaries from 1690 to 1775 and 1828, almost to the exclusion of the other forms.

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Feu folet, Ignis fatuus, *Will with a wisp*, or Jack in a Lanthorn.
1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*

Will with a wisp, een Dwaal-licht, stal-kaers.
1691 SEWEL, *Eng. Dutch dict.*, p. 714.

De Stalkaers, Jack with a lanthorn, *will with a wisp*.
1691 SEWEL, *Dutch-Eng. dict.*, p. 322.

Will with a wisp, or Jack in a Lanthorn, a fiery Meteor, or Exhalation that appears in the Night, commonly haunting Church-yards, Marshy and Fenny Places, as being evaporated out of a fat soil; it also flies about Rivers, Hedges, &c. 1707 *Glossographia Anglicana nova.*

Will with a Whisp [1755 *Wisp*], a fiery Meteor or Exhalation [etc. as above, 1707, with the addition:] and often in dark Nights misleads Travellers by their making towards it, not duly regarding their Way; Jack in a Lanthorn. 1733 BAILEY, *Eng. dict.*

Will with a wisp. Jack with a lantern; ignis fatuus; a luminous appearance sometimes seen in the air over moist ground, supposed to proceed from hydrogen gas. 1828 WEBSTER, *Amer. dict. of the Eng. lang.*, vol. 2 (under *Will*, 'choice').

89. (3) **Will with wisp.** This is the oldest form I hav found (1636), but it represents *Will with the wisp* or *Will with a wisp*, of earlier date, tho not found until some years later.

Ghosts, hobgoblins, *Will with wispe*, or Dicke-a-Tuesday.
1636 SAMPSON, *Vow Breaker* (Nares, 1858, p. 238).

90. (4) **Will of the wisp** is now, especially in the form *Will o' the wisp*, the most common form. The forms with *with* ar obsolete. I find few examples of *Will of the wisp* before the nineteenth century.

All this hide and seek, this *will-o'-the-wisp*, has no other meaning than a Christian marriage for sweet Mrs. Belinda.
1697 VANBRUGH, *Provoked wife* (17..) 5:3. (C.D.)

Like *Will-o'-the wisps*, lead them astray into bogs and marshes.
1828 T. K[EIGHTLEY], *Fairy Mythology*, 1:283.

Puck as *Will-o'-the Wisp*. 1865 THOMS, *Three Notelets* on *Shakespeare* (title of a chapter), p. 59–72.

And counting all wealth a mere *Will-o'-the-Wisp*,
Disposes of Quekes to Sir Nicholas Crispe.
1837–45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Brothers of Birchington) (1890, p. 290).

The truth is, hobgoblins, from Puck to *Will-o'-the-wisp*, are apt to play practical jokes and knock people about whom they meet after sunset.
1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire* (18..), p. 62.

Wicked sea-*will-o'-the-wisp!*
Wolf of the shore! dog, with thy lying lights
Thou hast betray'd us on these rocks of thine.
1877 TENNYSON, *Harold*, 2:1.

A *will-o'-the-wisp* luring him over the bog with its goblin glebe.
1893 JANE BARLOW, *Irish idylls*, p. 122.

A picturesque variation of the name and form of the Will of the wisp is presented in one of the stories of "Uncle Remus." The ever ingenious Brer Rabbit made a call on Brer Bar when Brer Bar and his family wer absent. Brer Rabbit "got to fooling" in the cup-

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board, and upset a bucket of honey over himself. He went into the woods and rold in the leavs to get rid of the clinging sweetness. When he came out into the road he was a fearful sight. The "creeturs" all fled before him. Brer Wolf and Brer Fox did indeed stop to interrogate him:

> Brer Wolf . . . he stop and ax Brer Rabbit who is he. Brer Rabbit, he jump up and down in de middle er de road, en holler out: "I'm de *Wull-er-de-Wust.* I'm de *Wull-er-de-Wust,* en youer the man I'm atter!" 1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Nights with Uncle Remus* (n.d.).

The author adds a note:

> Or *Wull-er-de-Wuts.* Probably a fantastic corruption of Will-o'-the-wisp, though this is not by any means certain.

There is no dout of it. A similar fantastic transformation of the form and idea of *Jack with the lantern* appears also in the "Uncle Remus" stories. Both ar regarded as demons.

91. (5) **Will o' wisp, Will a wisp,** a shorter form of *Will of the wisp.*

> How *Will a Wisp* misleads night-faring Clowns,
> O'er Hills and sinking Bogs, and pathless Downs.
> 1714 GAY, *Shepherd's week,* vi. 58 (Pp. 440).

Will-o-wisp, Will with a wisp. An ignis fatuus.

> 1797 SHERIDAN, *Complete dict. of the Eng. lang.*

The '*Will o' wisp,*' which appeared to promise the night-wanderer warmth or guidance, but led him into a bog, had its excellent directions as to the place to avoid perverted by an unhappy misunderstanding into a wilful falsehood, and has been branded ignis fatuus.

> 1879 CONWAY, *Demonology and devil-lore,* 1: 213.

In Altmark, '*Will o' wisps*' are believed to be the souls of unbaptized children — sometimes of lunatics — unable to rest in their graves; they are called 'Light-men,' and it is said that though they may sometimes mislead, they often guide rightly, especially if a small coin be thrown them, — this being also an African plan of breaking a sorcerer's spell.

> 1879 *Id.,* 1: 225.

92. (6) **Will in a wisp,** an uncommon variant of *Will with a wisp.*

Will with a Wiſp, or *Will in a Wiſp,* a meteor better known among authors by the name of *ignis fatuus,* an exhalation that appears in the night; Jack with a lanthorn. *Will with a wiſp* is of a round figure, in bigneſs like the flame of a candle, but ſometimes broader, and like a bundle of twigs ſet on fire; ſometimes brighter, at other times more obſcure, and of a purple colour. It wanders about in the air, and is generally about 6 feet from the ground, commonly haunting marſhy and fenny places and church-yards, as being evaporated out of a fat ſoil; it alſo flies about rivers, hedges, &c. . . It commonly appears in ſummer, and at the beginning of autumn, but it burns nothing. Some that have been catched were obſerved to conſiſt of a ſhining, viſcous, and gelatinous matter like the ſpawn of frogs; ſo that the matter ſeems to be phoſphorous, prepared and raiſed from putrefied plants or carcaſſes by the ſun; which is condenſed by the cold of the evening, and then ſhines. Muſchenbroek. 1755 BAILEY, *New universal etym. Eng. dict.,* folio.

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93. (7) **Willy-ba-wisp,** a limited dialectal form of *Will with a wisp*. The change would be * *Will 'ith a wisp* to * *Willy tha wisp*, whence by vague variation, or confusion with *Will with wisp*, * *Will wi' wisp*, the form *Willy-ba-wisp*.

Willy-ba-wisp (wil' i-bu' wisp), N. and W., the ignis-fatuus.
1877 Ross, Stead and Holderness, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 158.

94. (8) **Billy of the wisp,** a modern Lincolnshire variant of *Will of the wisp*. 1886 Cole, *Gloss. southwest Lincolnshire* (E.D.S.), p. 108. (See the quot. under Peggy Lantern.)

95–133. There ar many names for the Devil, chiefly of a popular or provincial cast, which ar always, or nearly always, accompanied by the epithet *Old*. The most familiar examples ar *Old Boy*, *Old Harry*, *Old Nick*, *Old Scratch*. I hav room here only for the bare list without the supporting quotations. The list includes some names which ar also found without the epithet *old*. Some of these ar enterd under the simple form. There ar 41 names with *old: Old All-ill-thing* (Scotch *Auld-A'-ill thing*), *Old Belzebub* (not *Old Beelzebub*), *Old Bendy*, *Old Bogie*, *Old Boots*, *Old Boy*, *Old Chap*, *Old Clootie*, *Old Cloots*, *Old Deluder*, *Old Devil*, *Old Enemy*, *Old Fellow*, *Old Fiend*, *Old Gentleman*, *Old Gooseberry*, *Old Hangie*, *Old Harry*, *Old Horny*, *Old Lad*, *Old Lucifer*, *Old Mahoun*, *Old Man*, *Old Mischanter*, *Old Mischief*, *Old Mischy*, *Old Nick*, *Old Nickie-ben*, *Old Nicol*, *Old Nicholas*, *Old One*, *Old Poker*, *Old Roger*, *Old Sam*, *Old Scrat*, *Old Scratch*, *Old Serpent*, *Old Shock*, *Old Shuck*, *Old Soss*, *Old Thief*.

Of the frequent use of *old* with reference to the Devil, not merely in traditional and current names like those given above, but in casual names, examples ar numerous from an early period. The occurrence of these numerous names of the Devil, all with the element *old*, and the occurrence of the names *Dick*, *Dickens*, *Dobby*, as appellativs of the Devil or his Imps, tend to confirm my view that the *D-* in these latter names is derived by Attraction from *old*. See Transactions for 1893, xxiv. 125–127.

Here I must pause. The roll of the Devil and his Imps has not been cald to the end; but I hope I hav shown, by the examples I hav selected, that the formidable roster of the shadowy host presents some interesting problems of etymology, and that some of these problems hav been solvd, as to the form of the names, by the appli-

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cation of the methods I hav used, and as to the meanings and associations of the names, by the reproduction of the peculiar atmosphere in which they arose.

It may be said, or thought, of many of the etymologies I hav proposed, in this and in previous papers, especially the etymologies drawn from familiar household names, *Hick*, *Hob*, *Hobby*, *Hodge*, etc., *Dick*, *Dicken*, *Dob*, *Dobbin*, *Dobby*, *Nick*, etc., that they ar too simple, too trivial, too easy, to be true; and even if they seem plausible in themselvs, the lack of a literary atmosphere, of an historical pedigree alredy in print, of some known popular or poetic or homiletic sanction, may leav some dout unremoved.

But previous sanction need not be proved in the courts of philology; and origins ar apt to be simple and rude. The very qualities which may seem an objection to these etymologies, I regard as tending to confirm them. The etymology of words, and especially of names of common use, is largely of a common, rude, and undignified kind. It is the pretty, the poetical etymologies, that ar to be suspected. The truth is usually in prose.

It may be set down as almost a law of etymology, that when two explanations of the origin of a word ar offerd, one beautiful, or poetical, or noble, creditable to the taste or manners of the people, or pleasing from a patriotic or religious point of view, and the other commonplace, or prosaic, or ignoble, or coarse, or rude, it is the latter which is true. Language has grown out of the common thought and conduct, and these out of the common nature of mankind — a soil which does not owe its fertility to its sweetness.

This view of the commonness of common speech, of the humble, rude, and often sordid origin of common words and names, is not only confirmd by undeniable facts of philology, but it is just what the general laws of evolution, as accepted in the fields of physical science, require. The early forms and states of things, as classified in our books of science and on the bony shelvs of our museums, show from what low and sordid origins, amid what indignity and humiliation, the things that hav life, including that proud Vertebrate who has learnd to classify the rest, hav come to their present state. Speech and thought, like plants and animals, must be composed of the elements in which they grow, or amid which they liv; and, no less than terms of humble look, all names of fame, all titles of honor and grace, all high and glorious words, hav their roots in the dust.

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VIII. — *The Fluency of Shakespeare.*

By Prof. F. A. MARCH,
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Fluency of speech at the lowest, vocal fluency, implies promptly working nerv connection between the concepts of vocal sounds and the muscular movements necessary to produce the sounds; and, also, promptly working connection between the vocal concepts of words, so that a stream of words may flow freely without attention to the meaning. Children of lerned households often hav this fluency erly, and, if deficient in intellect, exhibit it painfully thru life. But it is a great gift for the student of languages, in original reserches in etymology, for exampl, and for the orator and the poet. Shakespeare's possession of it attracts attention in his playing with words euphuistically, in his puns, and in nonsense-talk like that of Pistol or Dogberry. It is closely connected also with his command of musical expression, in prose or rime.

Intelligent fluency implies further promptly working nerv connection between the concept of each vocal sound and the thought concepts of which it is the sign. This thought concept may be an image of sum object which the word denotes, or of sum quality which it connotes; more often it is an indefinit group of qualities, and relations, and feelings not strictly connotativ or denoted. The fluent man may need to hav the sound concept rize and the muscular utterance follow upon any one of these qualities or relations.

The power of Shakespeare's utterancy has often been thought to be here, and to consist in a peculiarly close connection between words as sounds and particular natural objects which the words denote, in the identification, it is said, of the word and the object, so that his speech is without effort the presentation of pictures, or lively groups of con-

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crete thoughts and facts. It is plain that there is truth in this, but how the peculiar Shakespearian charm is connected with it, and how far it reaches, needs to be studied in the particular facts. To find what there is new in Shakespeare's speech I hav caused an examination to be made of the words in A in Murray's Dictionary to see how many of these words appear for the first time in Shakespeare, and in how many meanings any appear for the first time.

The date of the play is first givn, then an abbreviation for the name of it, followd by an alfabetic list of the words having meanings which appear for the first time in the play. Words which appear for the first time ar stard.

1588, L. L. L., 25 — abate, abbreviate, abrogate, academe*, accidentally*, acute, adjunct*, affected, ajax*, ambassy, animal, anon (2), antic (2), apathaton*, apology, apostrophe, art, athwart, attack, attainder, attending*, audaciously*.

1588, Tit. Andr., 7 — abjectly*, aged, aim, alphabet, anchorage, appoint, architect.

1590, Com. Err., 8 — abet, acquaint, adjudged, alluring, anatomy, apparel, aspect, assembly.

1590, Mds. N. D., 18 — abridgment, acheron*, acorn, adamant, after-supper*, age, air, airy, along, amazedly*, and, apprehension, apt, arm, ass, at, aunt, austerity.

1591, Two Gent., 10 — about, accursed, advise, after, allicholly*, anthem, applaud, at, attend, augury.

1592, Rom. and Jul., 15 — abused, addle, ahighlone*, alack, along, ambling, ambuscado*, amerce, anatomy, and, arbitrate, aside, atomy, attending, awakening*.

1592, Ven. and Ad., 3 — Adon*, amaze, ashy.

1593, 1 Hen. VI., 11 — abrupt, accomplice, across, add, against, arbitrator, assembled*, atilt, attorneyship*, audacious, await.

1593, 2 Hen. VI., 10 — abortive, abrook*, accuse*, again, aidance*, anend, approach, arouse*, at, await.

1593, 3 Hen. VI., 8 — a, abode*, abodement*, abuse, answer (2), artificial, assail.

1593, Rich. II., 10 — accused*, administer, amazing*, antic, appellant*, army, ascend, ask, atone*, awful.

1593, Lucre., 3 — acquit, answer, attempt.

1594, Rich. III., 14 — accessary, adore, aerie, after, afternoon, air, all, all (in combs), anchor, answer, apology, attainder, attorney*, aweless.

1595, John, 7 — absey, accent, adjunct*, adulterate*, affect, almost, amazement.

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1596, M. of Ven., 10—a, above, acceptance, accoutred*, act, agitation, air, along, appropriation, attribute.

1596, Taming of Sh., 6—aglet, agreed, amends, anything, appendix, artillery.

1596, 1 Hen. IV., 11—advised, air, alien, all-hallow, amble, anchovy*, answerable*, applaud, armed, athwart, attribution.

1597, 2 Hen. IV., 19—aboard, about, absolutely, accite, accommodate, aconite, active, agate, aid, alarum-bell, among, ancient, answer, antiquity, appearing, apple-john*, appliance, atomy, avoirdupois.

1598, Merry W., 16—about, accoutrement, adhere, admirable, admittance (2), adoption, affecting, affliction, allicholly, anthropophaginian*, arched*, armiger*, arras, arrest, article.

1599, Hen. V., 11—abreast*, abutting*, accomplishment, action, advised, answer, arbitrament, argument, arrive, attaint, attest.

1599, Much Ado, 9—accordant, accordingly, ache*, action, answer, apprehend, approved, assault, attired.

1600, As Y. L., 7—accent, all, allottery, animal, assembly, atone, attend.

1600, Lover's Comp., 3—acture, annexion, art.

1600, Sonnets, 3—alchemy, art, assail.

1601, Jul. C., 6—acting*, afoot, airless*, ambitious, apparition, apprehensive.

1601, Twel. N., 5—adoration, ahungry, air, attract, author.

1601, All's Well, 9—acquire, acutely*, admiringly*, adoptions*, aid, appliance*, application, arm, auspicious.

1602, Hamlet, 16—abhorred*, actively, alley, amazement, ambition, annexment*, apoplex*, argal*, arouse, aslant, assay, assign, assume, attractive, attribute, avouch.

1603, M. for M., 23—about, absolute, actor, adoptedly,* advantaged*, advertising*, after, akin, allied, ambassador, answer, appear, apprehend, apprehension, approbation, arch-villain, arrest, athwart, attempt (2), avail, ave, awaken.

1604, Oth., 13—ability (2), abuse, accommodation, action, addiction, adopt, advocation, aerial, affection, affrighted*, antre*, arrivance*.

1605, Lear, 9—abhorred, able, address, affect, aheight*, alarmed*, allow, anchoring*, attask.

1605, Macb., 13—adhere, air, alarm, all-hail (2), anticipate, applaud, arbitrate, armed, aroint*, assailable*, assassination*, attempt.

1606, Ant. and Cl., 5—abhorring, accumulation*, antic*, Arabian*, auguring*.

1606, Tr. and Cr., 23—abruption*, acquired*, added*, addition, affectionately, affront, allayment*, amazement*, antiquary*, appalled, appertainment*, apprehend, arch, asinego, aspiration, assumption, at, attachment, attend, attest*, attributive*, awkward.

1607, Coriol., 12—achieve, adopt, adversely*, after, agreed*, aidless, allaying*, anhungry*, appear, arithmetic, as, ascent.

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1607, Timon, 4 — apperil*, applauding*, attempt, attraction.
1608, Pericles, 3 — anear*, appearer*, attraction.
1610, Temp., 9 — abstemious, act, advantage, advantageous*, ahold*, answer, arch, aspersion, auspicious.
1610, Cymb., 14 — accessible*, acorned, act, adorer, affirmation, affront, air (2), allayment, arm, assault, attempt, attemptable, aver.
1611, Wint. T., 4 — admiration, aired, altering*, attorney*.
1613, Hen. VIII., 8 — acquire, act, agreed (2), alleged*, allegiant*, appliance, attempt.

It appears that there ar 95 words appearing for the first time, and 317 having meanings which appear for the first time; and that enuf words with more than one new meaning appear, to make the hole number of new meanings 420. The hole number of words in A in Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexicon is 1066, so that more than one word in three has a new meaning. If the proportions ar the same thru the alfabet, there ar about 1900 new words and about 8400 new meanings due to Shakespeare. From Milton ar recorded in A in Murray 42 new words, 120 new meanings (his prose and poetry giving numbers nearly equal), from Tennyson four new words and eighteen meanings.

The number of new words and meanings in a play is not much affected by Shakespeare's age, so far as the table enables one to judge; they depend upon the subjects talkt about. The three plays in which the number is greatest (25–23) Love's Labor Lost (1588), Measure for Measure (1603), Troilus and Cressida (1606), ar nearly of the same dates with Titus Andronicus with 7 words; Julius Cæsar, 6, and Twelfth Night, 5; Antony and Cleopatra, 5. The sonnets, Venus and Adonis, and Lucrece, hav each three new meanings and no new words, except *Adon.* The familiar Roman plays hav few new words.

A large part of the new words ar to be clast with the once-uzed words which wer discust in a paper at Cornell (PROCEEDINGS for 1886, p. xxx.). They ar not striking poetic compounds like many of Tennyson's. They ar largely familiar stems with living affixes, *accidentally, audaciously, abjectly,* etc.; *attending, awakening,* etc.; unfamiliar Anglicizing of

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foren words, *academe, ambuscado, Adon, apathaton* (epithet). The new meanings ar also largely exactly such unuzual variations as we commonly call blunders, as in *epithet* uzed for *expression* or *frase* in general. Ben Jonson would willingly hav playd the professor to them and corrected them by the hundred. Perhaps Shakespeare would hav "blotted a thousand" if he had prepared his plays for the press. But a large part of the new meanings hav been accepted, and many hav displaced the erlier meanings.

A considerabl number ar characteristically Shakespearian, characteristic utterances of that profound, sweet, tender spirit who has charmd the world, whom we all rejoice in being akin to. They all flow easily in Shakespeare's lines, and their number and their kind strongly suggest that his fluency is not the unprompted, unguided flow of establisht association, but the movement of intelligent wil.

I hav caused an examination to be made of the characteristic words most frequently uzed, bringing the passages of their use together from the Concordance, to examin, among other things, whether they fall into stereotyped frases like the kennings of erly poetry, in Homer, Beowulf, and the like, elements of a mechanical or instinctiv fluency.

They do not take such forms. We find

	Shakespeare.	Milton.	Tennyson.	
gentle	393	36	12	
gentleman	445	0	7	
sweet	865	90	80	
love	2602	144	634	Tennyson's most frequent word.
heaven	856	517	143	
heart	1083	103	388	
God	1149	446	191	
come	2592	247	586	

But except *gentleman*, which might be taken as a compacted kenning, we find none to mention. The happy passages seem to be beamings and breathings of a free spirit. See further, Proceedings of Am. Phil. Ass., XXI, xxxi.

Literary fluency, a fluency grateful to luvers of literature, implies an easy flow of words in the familiar idioms of literary

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English. Fluent prose has its musical cadences, and Shakespeare's fluency is the more acceptabl in his erly works for running often in the current forms of Marlowe, Lily, Lodge, and Spenser.

Poetic fluency implies a connection of words by their sound with the ideal cadences of certain establisht meters.

Poetry has its life in harmony, in the accords of two musical series of sounds, the regular melody of the typical verse, and the varying melody of the poet's words. There must be establisht connection of concepts by which the poet's words flow into the familiar meters. An examination of the different metrical combinations of syllabls, feet, and hemistichs, found in Shakespeare, shows him to hav the freest use of the harmonic combinations in English iambic verse. Professor Price enumerates twenty-seven types of perfect verse in *Othello*.

In the erly plays the typical melody of the verse is often dominant; it sounds constantly. Its equal cadences lead on the music of the words, making verse more fluent than prose, and when feeling moves with it, making music of the simplest utterances, as when Lear says:

> Her voice was ever soft,
> Gentle, and low, an excellent thing in woman, —

or:

> Pray you, undo this button: thank you, sir, —

In the late plays the music of the thought and words is dominant; when the speech is without poetic thought or feeling it is often hardly distinguishabl from prose.

Sumtimes besides the typical melody of the stanza a poet has a strain of music proper by which he builds his rime. Sum of Shakespeare's songs so sing themselvs as to persuade us that he had prior tunes to which he composed them.

The laws of suggestion which describe the connection between objects of thought ar givn in psychologies as resemblance, contrast, contiguity in time and place, and cause and effect. These may all be applied in Shakespeare, as

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elsewhere. But poetic fluency, freely working imagination, implies inner connection between feeling and the vocal concepts. We ar familiar with it when pain produces groans, or tickling laughter. With the poet, with Shakespeare eminently, fainter feelings hav quick connections with musical tones and with the sounds of articulate speech. The instruments of all orchestras ar redy in that fonograf, the brain. An esthetic longing wil set the horns of elf-land faintly blowing. The hole orchestra sounds with the passion of Lear. These vocal sounds bring with them concepts of objects they ar signs of, and hense the similes and metafors which giv to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.

Shakespeare had glad periods, had melancoly years; and the plays ar glad or sad accordingly.

Shakespeare's fluency is not always in perfect exercise. There is effort, struggle, evident now and then, even when what is said has markt Shakespearian quality. Prior to all these fluencies, vocal, intelligent, literary, poetic, musical, there is the living power which flows, with its charm of personal qualities which ar Shakespearian. This power flows forth most freely, Shakespeare utters himself most easily, when speaking thru a second person.

In one of the great plays of Shakespeare the primary creation is a being, a person, a person begotten by Shakespeare, life of his life.

Then follow the particular facts and acts which exhibit the newly created character, especially the language. All talk Shakespearian, as in an opera all sing. At the sheep-shearing in *Winter's Tale*, Florizel, Perdita, and Polixenes all talk far above singing. In the forest of Arden under the shade of melancoly boughs, wise saws of true Shakespearian quality flow freely from girls and fools and philosophers. These ar all prior phenomena of Shakespeare's world. The personality, the environment, the language, ar all so beutiful, because all ar the creativ utterancy of the man Shakespeare, a character delightful, luvabl, charming with all charms.

The facts we hav observd about his language seem to show that his plays and poems ar not a mechanical or instinctiv

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flow of thoughts and words, but his conscious creation as a free self livelily selecting from a copious instinctiv supply of materials, and seeming to act so easily and perfectly, because he has such wonderfully comprehensiv and rapid self activity.

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APPENDIX.

I. Proceedings of the Special Session, Philadelphia, Pa., December, 1894.

II. Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Session, Cleveland, O., 1895.

III. Treasurer's Report (p. v.).

IV. List of Officers and Members (p. lxxii.).

V. Constitution of the Association (p. lxxxvi.).

VI. Publications of the Association (p. lxxxviii.).

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The Special Session was held in conformity with a vote passed at the last Annual Session (see PROCEEDINGS for 1894, p. xxvi.). By this vote it was provided that the Association should hold a Joint Meeting with various other organizations, and that this Joint Meeting should be especially commemorative of the services of the late Professor Whitney.

The following organizations participated in this Joint Meeting:

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

The program of the general sessions, and of the separate meetings of the above societies, other than the Philological Association, are found at the end of this number of the PROCEEDINGS. The papers commemorative of Professor Whitney will be published in a separate volume.

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., December 27, 1894.

The Special Session of the Association was called to order at 2.35 P.M., in College Hall of the University of Pennsylvania, by the President, Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University.

The Secretary, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, having no report to make at this time, the business transacted by the Executive Committee is here inserted.

1. As members of the Association the Executive Committee has elected: —

C. P. Bill, Adelbert College.
William F. Biddle, Philadelphia.
Robert G. Bury, M.A., Lecturer on Greek and Latin Literature, Bryn Mawr College.
Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Fellow by Courtesy, Johns Hopkins University.
William H. Klapp, Ph.D., Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia.
A. H. Mabley, Adelbert College.
Charles Peabody, Cambridge, Mass.
Myron R. Sanford, Professor of Latin, Middlebury College.

2. As a Committee to represent the Association in all matters connected with the publication of papers presented at the General Sessions of the Congress of Philologists, the Executive Committee appointed Professors Wright, Gildersleeve, and Smyth.

At the opening of the meeting there were about seventy in attendance.[1] At subsequent meetings the number was somewhat larger.

The reading of papers was at once begun.

1. Sophocles *Trachiniae*, 26–48: a Study in Interpretation, by Mortimer Lamson Earle, Ph.D., of Barnard College.

The writer maintained that all these verses are to be regarded as genuine and closely connected in thought. He endeavored to trace the development of the

[1] It has been found impossible to present an accurate list of the members of the ASSOCIATION present either at our own meetings or at the general sessions. From the information furnished by the pamphlet issued by the Local Committee and from other sources, it is estimated that there were present at the general sessions about one hundred and thirty members of the Association.

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thought in detail, discussing several interpretations advanced by Sophoclean scholars. Special attention was paid to vv. 31–37, the most difficult portion of the entire passage. It was undertaken to prove that the difficulty here is due to a failure to understand an anacoluthon. The only change of reading recommended was that of δή to δέ in v. 31. In other respects the traditional reading was defended, though improvements in punctuation were suggested.

This paper will appear in full in the *Classical Review*, May, 1895.

Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University, then moved that, at 3.30 P.M., on Friday, December 28, half an hour be devoted to the following motion:

Resolved: That the AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION recommend that all schools which prepare pupils in the classics for American colleges shall provide at least three years of instruction in Greek.

The motion was carried without dissent.

2. The Delphian Hymns and the Pronunciation of the Greek Vowels,[1] by Professor Louis Bevier, Jr., of Rutgers College.

The evidence of the Delphian musical inscriptions for pronunciation was recognized by their first editor, but has not yet received adequate treatment. The date of the hymns, now known to have been composed by Cleochares, an Athenian, is approximately 200 B.C. (See *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XVIII. 70 ff.)

The evidence for pronunciation is based upon two principles. The first is that a diphthong sung to two short notes is resolved into its elements, the first element being written under the first note and the second under the second. This serves on the one hand to distinguish genuine diphthongs from mere digraphs, and on the other hand to determine in a measure the actual phonetic value of the two elements then heard.

The second principle is that a simple vowel sound, whether expressed by means of one character or of two (as a digraph) is written twice, once under the first note and once under the second. This peculiarity enables us to say with assurance which of the so-called diphthongs were heard as simple sounds in the pronunciation of the time. Incidentally also we may fix somewhat the phonetic value of one or two digraphs.

The diphthongs αυ and ευ when analyzed are written αου and εου respectively. This can only be interpreted as signifying *a–u* and *e–u*, and makes for the diphthongal values *au̯* and *eu̯*, confirming well-known facts. The change of *u* to a fricative had not yet set in.

The diphthong αι is written three times αιει and twice αει. This inconsistency has not been explained and has been in part misunderstood. It is clear that αι was diphthongal and had not become ε. It is also well known from inscriptional evidence that it did become ε in the course of the next century. It is further clear that ει, which was surely monophthongal long before this, is intended to

[1] See the abstract of a paper by Professor F. D. Allen, in the PROCEEDINGS for 1894, p. xx.

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represent the second element of the diphthong. αι became ę through the mutual approach of its two elements, thus αι = *ai̯* > *âę̂* > *ęę̂* > ę. This assimilation had certainly made great progress by 200 B.C. The first element was no longer *a*, but was in all probability *â*. For this sound by itself the Greek had no symbol. For *âę̂* therefore αει (= *a*–*ę*) was not satisfactory, and αιει (= *âę*–*ę*), though not an accurate analysis of *âę*, was rather to be preferred. The hesitation between the two is clearly due to the absence of any strictly correct method of analyzing the diphthongal sound, which I take to have been about *âę*.

The simple vowel sounds are all written twice when sung to two notes, so α, ε, η, ο, ω, ι, υ appear as αα, εε, ηη, οο, ωω, ιι, υυ respectively. Similarly ου, ει, οι severally appear as ουου, ειει, οιοι respectively, showing that they were simple vowel sounds at this time.

ου had long before this become the general Greek symbol for the sound *u*. ει too had become monophthongal perhaps two centuries before the date of our inscriptions. It had not yet however become indistinguishable from *i*, although confusion had already begun in the inscriptions, showing that it was a very close *e*. The second element of αι was certainly not *i* but rather a close *e*, hence ει was a very proper spelling for this sound.

The history of οι has been thoroughly misapprehended. Meisterhans (*Gr. d. A. I.* p. 28) says: "Von allen Diphthongen ist οι am spätesten monophthongisch geworden." Now the evidence of our inscriptions seems clear that οι was by 200 B.C. a simple sound. If so, what was it? It had already in the Boeotian dialect become identical with υ (Beermann, *Curt. Stud.*, IX. 41 f.), that is = *ü*, but throughout Greece in general it did not coincide with υ till the third century after Christ; and υ and οι did not become *i* till Byzantine times. The history of the change from οι = *ọi̯* to υ = *ü* and then to *i* has been generally given as *ọi̯* > *ui̯* > *ü* > *i* (cf. Curtius, Zacher, etc.), but the true history, οι = *oi̯* > *ọę̂* > *ö* > *ü* > *i*, has been seen by Beermann (l.c.), Brugmann, Meyer and others. They arrived at the step *ö* merely on grounds of inherent probability, and had no means of dating. These inscriptions enable us to say that at 200 B.C. οι was monophthongal. It certainly was not yet *ü*. It must therefore have had the value of a more or less close *ö*.

Remarks were made by Professors Emerson, B. I. Wheeler, Smyth, and Dr. Miller.

3. Plutarch as a Philologist, by Professor Alfred Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The aim of this study is to give an exhaustive account of Plutarch's utterances, discussions, and opinions, so far as they legitimately fall under the head of philological research, the term "philology" being used in its broadest signification.

The scope of such an inquiry is naturally a very wide one, and the following remarks purport to be nothing more than a skeleton outline of the principal topics dealt with at length in the complete treatise.

In order to gain a firm foothold in an investigation of this nature, it would under ordinary circumstances be of paramount importance to ascertain what particular sources of information were still accessible to the author. This would have

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to be followed by an examination not only of those sources which are expressly quoted, but also of those which can be shown, on more or less convincing grounds, to have been directly or indirectly consulted.

In the case of Plutarch, however, such a preliminary inquiry is after all not so essential a prerequisite, for an even cursory perusal of his voluminous writings at once reveals the perfectly encyclopedic sweep of a marvellous erudition, embracing virtually all the fields of human knowledge.

To give, at least, some concrete confirmation of the statement just made, it may suffice to mention in this place that there is perhaps not a single writer of repute in Greek literature whose name is not met with in Plutarch's pages. In all, he cites, whether at first or second hand we need not here inquire, 430 authors, among whom are 65 poets. Homer leads with 750 citations, omitting innumerable quotations of single words. Plato comes next with 440 passages. Euripides is quoted 250 times, Herodotus 125 times, Pindar and Sophocles about 100 times, Simonides and Aeschylus 70 and 60 times respectively, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Aristotle 50 times, and of all the remaining authors of the classical period not one is referred to less than a dozen times. No ordinary learning certainly for a "philosophical washerwoman," and a Boeotian at that!

Such being the extent of Plutarch's erudition, our investigation resolves itself not so much into the question, what sources and how many did he use, though this must never be lost sight of, but rather *how* did he employ this vast material at his disposal.

To answer this methodically, we must base our inferences primarily upon those philological discussions, of which the originals, consulted by the author, are still extant. Having thus by careful comparison acquired a tolerably clear insight into Plutarch's philological methods of procedure, we shall have secured safe criteria also for those portions of his writings, for which the original sources are no longer available, their contents, however, being either fairly well known or, as is but too often the case, not at all. So much, in brief, for the methodological principles upon which this study is based.

The entire discussion may be conveniently grouped under the following heads:

1. Plutarch as a textual critic.
2. His hermeneutical methods.
   - *a.* Literary and aesthetic exegesis.
   - *b.* Allegorical interpretation.
     - α. Physical. β. Ethical.
3. Methodology of history.
   - *a.* Historical criticism.
   - *b.* Chronology.
4. Archaeology and art.
5. Etymology.

1. Regarding the first of these topics, to use the words of Quintilian, "ut Aratus a Iove incipiendum putat, ita nos rite coepturi ab Homero videmur."

In the so-called Lamprias catalogue, containing a list of Plutarch's writings, we find a special treatise, entitled Ὁμηρικαὶ μελέται, in four books. From citations in Gellius, N. A. II. 8, 9, IV. 11, the scholiasts to Iliad XV. 625, Eurip. Alc.

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1128, the Etym. Mag. s.v. ἀνεμοτρεφὲς κῦμα, we must infer that this work dealt with a great variety of topics, from philosophical exegesis, pure and simple, down to verbal interpretations, such as we still find scattered in great number up and down his extant writings. But whether these μελέται, as has been asserted, also dealt with text-critical questions appears to me doubtful. There is no evidence of any kind in favor of this supposition, the very title, in fact, being perhaps an argument against it.

So far as the extant works are concerned, I have no hesitation in saying, upon the strength of my collectanea, that Plutarch did not allow text-critical questions in Homer to disturb his reflections to any noticeable extent. The great Aristarchus — mirabile dictu — is cited but once, and then only to be censured for obelizing four lines in the speech of Phoenix (Iliad, IX. 458 ff.). Aristarchus had condemned the lines in question, διὰ τὸ ἀπρεπές, but to Plutarch they appeared genuine, and to inculcate a valuable moral lesson. The particular interest that attaches to this criticism lies in the fact that these four lines, three of which are again cited by Plutarch, are not found in our MSS. of Homer, the scholia also ignoring their existence. This proves that Plutarch's text was independent of the Aristarchean recension, an inference confirmed by many other Homeric citations. It is also clear that our author's defence of the passage under notice was not due, at least not primarily, to any conservative attitude toward MS. tradition, for he elsewhere has no scruples in advocating most radical alterations, his panacea being διὰ τὸ ἀπρεπές. Abundant use of this dangerously subjective method was made in Plutarch's commentary to Hesiod's Works and Days, which, apart from scattered criticisms in his extant writings, is known to us from Proclus and Tzetzes, who quote from this work so frequently as to dispel all doubt as to the source whence they drew the bulk of their information. Thus, we learn, *e.g.*, that he condemned seven lines (Op. vv. 267–273) *en bloc:* but in v. 311 he, in turn, came to the rescue of the poet against unscrupulous athetizers (μηδεὶς λοιδορείτω τὸν στίχον, etc.). Plutarch, as appears especially from his admirable essay, De audiendis poetis, had a very lofty idea of the office of the poet as a moral teacher, and hence he came to conjure up an ideal standard of poetic excellence, regarding all passages that failed to conform to it as interpolations, unworthy of the poet, — an attitude of mind perfectly analogous to that of Hofman — Peerlkamp, Lehrs, Gruppe, and Ribbeck, who applied similarly subjective and pernicious principles to Horace, Tibullus, Ovid, and Juvenal. Ethical propriety, as Plutarch understood it, seems, in fact, to judge from his text-critical observations on Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides, to have been his sole criterion of genuineness and correctness.

Of textual criticism proper, such as the weighing of MS. authority, correction of scribal errors, of recensio and emendatio, there is of course not a trace in Plutarch, his attitude toward the text of his author being solely determined on internal grounds of what he believed the poet to have said or ought to have said.

2. This leads naturally to a consideration of Plutarch's hermeneutical principles. This writer, as has been said above, seems not to have been very conversant with the results and methods of the philologians of Alexandria. In fact he occasionally shows his contempt for the guild of γωνιοβόμβυχες in unmistakable language. Nor is it in the least surprising that a man of such pronounced ethical predilections should rather sympathize with the great rival school at Pergamum,

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which throughout its existence deliberately antagonized the micrologists of Alexandria, often for the mere sake of opposition; and attempted to amalgamate Stoic philosophy with philological interpretation.

This method is conspicuously manifest in the attempt to discover allegorical meanings in the old poets. The space at my disposal will not permit me to enter upon any discussion of this subject. Suffice it to say that Plutarch is a stanch champion of this curious aberration which was, however, in high favor till the days of the Byzantian scholars. A large number of illustrations from Plutarch which are fairly typical of the method were given and discussed.

3. This paragraph deals with Plutarch's historical principles. Here it was possible to confine myself to a relatively brief exposition, as this is the one phase in which Plutarch has always attracted the widest attention and in consequence received the most minute analysis. His own attitude is, moreover, finally and explicitly avowed in a number of passages, and perhaps best crystallized in the beginning of his Life of Alexander: *οὐχ ἱστορίας ἀλλὰ βίους γράφομεν.* To Plutarch, history is indeed made up of a great number of isolated achievements of commanding individuals, and hence it is not difficult to understand the cynical indifference to chronology which he repeatedly displays. Development of political conditions, influences of environment, and like elements with which the modern historian operates, are not yet dreamt of in Plutarch's philosophy. There is even comparatively little psychological analysis of character, such as we find in Thucydides and Tacitus. Critical, unbiassed weighing of authorities was also not in his line, for whatever was calculated to throw a sidelight upon the character of his dramatis personae, was eagerly seized upon, although it was clearly apocryphal, as he himself occasionally confesses with charming *naïveté.*

4. Plutarch, as an archaeologist and art critic, also calls for no lengthy discussion. The passages dealing with artists, occasional descriptions of works of art, have all been collected and utilized by writers on Greek art. These passages show that Plutarch was fairly well conversant with the subject; but that it had enlisted a more than passing attention, I am inclined to gather from a circumstance which seems not hitherto to have been noticed or at least not brought into its proper correlation. I mean the extremely frequent use our author makes of metaphors taken from the field of art in general. Some of these are skilfully elaborated, the most noteworthy being enumerated in my paper, no attempt being made at completeness, inasmuch as a great many of these figurative phrases are not peculiar to Plutarch or else not sufficiently striking to admit of any inference as to the influence, exerted upon Plutarch's thought and style, by the contemplation of the numerous works of art still visible in his day.

5. There are perhaps few things more surprising to the student of ancient literature than the irresistible fascination which etymologizing exerted upon Greeks and Romans at all times. They are as persistently attracted to it as the moth to the light, and with equally disastrous results, for even Plato is no exception to the rule. It is true modern scholars, such as Steinthal and even Jowett, acting on the conviction that 'the king can do no wrong,' are disposed to regard his absurd etymologies, especially in the Cratylus and Euthydemus, as so much playful banter and delicious irony, lightened up here and there by a close approximation to scientific truth. But an irony that is so subtle and deep that it was not recognized as such for two thousand years, would seem to call for a more elastic

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interpretation of this term than is usually given to it. Plutarch, at all events, adopted a number of absurd etymologies directly from Plato, without any suspicion of their designedly unscientific character. This fact is of value from another point of view, for it counsels caution in ascribing to Plutarch himself such other etymologies as are not met with in any previous writer, the safest criterion being perhaps to admit only those examples as original which are essential to the context or which offer themselves spontaneously in the course of the argument, provided, however, that the entire passage can in its turn be safely regarded as independent of earlier sources. But all the etymologies in Plutarch, whether original or borrowed, exhibit the same method of procedure employed by the ancients in general, which may be concisely stated as follows: *Graphical or phonetical resemblance furnishes a certain clue to etymological relationship.* This principle may seem very *naïve* and unscientific to us, but we can ill afford to smile at Plutarch's equation Μοῦσαι = ἀεὶ ὀμοῦ οὖσαι, to mention but one instance, when we recall the etymological absurdities of a Hemsterhusius or a G. Hermann, not to speak of sundry specimens of far more recent date, which cannot even plead the non-existence of truly scientific methods.

The attitude of mind which Plutarch brings to subjects of a philological nature, the amount of attention which he gives to them and the knowledge or ignorance of scientific methods which he displays, cannot but furnish valuable criteria in determining more accurately than has been possible hitherto, the authenticity of many works in the extant corpus Plutarcheum which have, for more or less convincing reasons, been open to suspicion. It is from this point of view that the present study may perhaps possess some practicable value.

Remarks were made by Professor Sihler.

4. ARYAN *tr̥*$_2$° [1] = GRK. πλ° [2] = LAT. *cl°*, ARY. *dr̥*$_2$° = βλ° = LAT. *gl°*; by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University.

This thesis I first set forth in the PROCEEDINGS for 1892, p. xxiii (=Am. Jr. Phil. 463–474), on the basis of the following comparisons: 1) Skr. *tir-ás*, 'sidewise,' 'secretly': πλάγιος 'sidewise': Lat. *clam* 'secretly'; 2) πλειάδες: Lat. *triones* 'stars'; 3) Skr. *tarańga-*: πέλαγος 'billow'; 4) Skr. *tarás*: Lat. *celer* 'swift'; 5) περιτελλομένων ‖ περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν — all congeneric with √tr̥$_2$ 'rise'; 6) πλίσσοντο 'trot': O. Bulg. *tlě̑sti* 'strike' (cf. Little Russ. *pa-tol-aě* 'trodden grass');[3] 7) Skr. *dīrghá* 'long': βλωθρός 'tall'; 8) δέλεαρ ‖ βλῆρ 'bait': δόλος 'trick.' I now add the following: 9) Skr. *taḍāga* 'pond': τέλ-μα 'swamp,' πλαδαρός 'damp'; 10) Skr. *drapsá-* 'drop', 'moon,' *darbhá-* 'bunch of grass': βολβός 'bulb': Lat. *globus* ‖ *glomus* 'globe,' 'ball of yarn'; 11) Skr. √*dr̥p-* 'rave': βλα(π)σφημέω 'abuse': *calumnia* 'abuse'; 12) Skr. √*taḍ* 'beat,' *taḍít* 'lightning': πάλλω 'brandish'; 13) Skr. *daṇḍá* 'cudgel': βέλεμνα 'darts'; Lat. *gladius* 'sword';[4] 14) Skr. √*dr̥* 'heed': βλέπω 'look,' δενδίλλω 'peer.'

[1] By *r*$_2$ I indicate the sound that is *r* in Sanskrit, and *l* in the European languages.

[2] Possibly through the stage *gl°* in primitive Greek.

[3] I note the signal *tlk! tlk!* used as a signal to horses to start like the German coachman's *brr* (*Scribner's Magazine*, XVII., p. 328).

[4] I note *daṇḍá* 'staff of authority'; cf. Lat. *ius gladii*; Grk. βουληφόρος, an epithet of kings, may be for *βολδηφόρος (see below); it would then be equivalent to σκηπτοῦχος

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9⁰ πλαδ-αρός < *tr̥₂d-r̥ro-; τέλμα < *τελδμα, Skr. *taḍāga* < *tar₂d-m̥̄go* (for *-m̥-go;* cf. the author A. J. P. l.c. 470); perhaps Lat. *tellus* belongs here with a primary meaning of 'moist land' (cf. *terra* 'dry land').—10⁰ *globus* ‖ *glomus*, gen. *glomeris:* I assume ʳ/ₙ inflexion: nom. **globur* gen. **globris* ‖ **glomnis; glomus* for **glomur* affected by *globus* (cf. *scelus, sceleris*). For βολβός we should expect *βολφός: can we assume reduplicating intention?—11⁰ βλάπ-τω 'injure' also means 'cause to rave' (φ 294); for βλάβος we can thus assume a sense 'raving.' Wackernagel (Kz. xxxiii 42) derives βλασφημεῖν from βλάβος and φημέω. There are two semasic associations in this group of words: 1st with Skr. √*mṛc* 'injure,' 2d with √*dṛp* 'rave'; βλάξ 'fool' has the meaning of √*dṛp* and the form of √*mṛc;* βλάβος (for *βλάπος) has reduplicating consonantization, cf. Lat. *balbus* 'stammering'; *calumnia* (<**gl̥̄p-no*) has been affected by *clamor.*—12⁰ πάλλω may come from *παλδyo, or *ld* gives λλ in Greek (?).[1] Prellwitz s.v. defines 'schütteel, werfe los,' cf. Skr. √*taḍ* 'shoot ⟨arrows⟩'; with *taḍit* 'lightning,' cf. πάλλων κεραυνόν (Ar. Av. 1714).—13⁰ Βελ⟨ε⟩μνα (<*βελδ-μνα); βάλλω 'strike' must belong here too. Hesychius's ζέλλω would prove a primitive 'velar,' but Arcadian inscriptions read only δέλλω. Language moves in phrases; corresponding to Attic °βάλλειν ἐς βάραθρον, the Arcadians may have said °ζέλλειν ἐς ζέρεθρον; for *glădius* we should expect **glādius* (<**dl̥̄d-*) according to Brug. Gr. I §306, but all of the *lā* < *l̥̄* examples given are liable to a different explanation. Lat. *deleo*,[2] Grk. δηλέομαι 'destroy' belong here.—14⁰ Whitney (Roots, etc. s.v. 2 √*dṛ*) remarks: "Only with prefix *ā* and with pass. pres. system suggesting specialisation from √*dṛ*." With this view I entirely concur. The semasy is alive to us in Eng. 'penetrate,' and parallels are numerous. I note Lat. *sagitta* 'arrow': *sagax* 'sharp' (mentally); Eng. *smart:* Lat. *mordere* 'bite'; Skr. √*chid* 'cut off' (cf. *scindere* 'split') + *pari* 'genau bestimmen': Lat. *scīsco* 'know' (<**scid-sco*), cf. *de-scisco* 'revolt' (*i.e.* 'split off from'); Ger. *gescheit* 'judicious,' 'discreet': *scheiden* 'cut'; Lat. *cerno* 'separate' (*i.e.* 'split apart'), 'determine': Skr. √*kṛt* 'cut,'[3]; Eng. *clever: cleave* (?); Eng. *saw* 'maxim,' 'tool for cutting.' This semasy explains the 'skipping' in σκέπτομαι beside Lat. *specio* 'look into.' Its concrete congener is σκέπαρνον 'adze,' affected by σκαπάνη 'mattock,' σκάπτω 'dig' (cf. Lith. *skabëti* 'dig,' *skapoti* 'slice'). In Lat. *specus* 'cave' (*i.e.* 'cleft'), Skr. *s)pāça* 'fetter' (strip for tying?) we have

'sceptre-holding.' The two epithets are not used by Homer of the same person: the former is an Iliad word (15 times, 2 times in the Odyssey); the latter occurs somewhat more frequently in the Odyssey (5 times, 3 times in the Iliad).

[1] Exceptions to this assumption can be otherwise explained: thus in ἀλδαίνω ‖ ἀλθαίνω (cf Prellwitz s.v.) we may have a conscious adaptation of the *da* ‖ *dha* suffixes; ἐελδωρ 'wish' shows a consciousness of δῶρον 'present' with a semasy meeting in 'boon' [cf. *duonos* (i.e. *dʷonos*) > *bonos* with *dʷ* by 'anticipative rounding' (cf. the author Proc. for 1894, p. ix)]; μελδω and ἀμαλδυνω are in touch with βλαδαρός, μαλθακός (Brug. Gr. ii § 690). For positive proof of λλ < *ld* I cite μείλιχος 'gracious' (Aeol. μελλιχόμειδε) <**melzd-*: Skr. *mṛḍikā* 'grace' (Brug. I. F. I. 172).

[2] The Romans had, I believe, associated the pf. *delevi* with the simple verb *levi* (pf. of *lino*), cf. Bréal et Bailly s.v. *deleo.* Here belongs probably *bellum* 'war' <**dʷel-nom* (cf. note 1).

[3] Interesting is the semasic connection between Skr. √*kṛt* 'cut' and 2√*kṛt* 'spin.' It must be borne in mind that the noun frequently precedes the verb in its semasic development, and the new sense is subsequently reflected back to the verb. I note that English *splint* 'a thing split off' becomes as a verb 'to join with splints'; the verb *piece* means 'join pieces together,' and *splice* means 'join split ends together.'

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the sense of 'split,' cf. further *πέκω* 'shear,' 'comb.' By this semasy Lat. *fidus*, Grk. *πιστός* 'trusty' can be connected with √*bhidh* 'split' (cf. supra Germ. *gescheit*, and *certus* 'sure' to *cerno* 'split'). Skr. √*dṛ* 'split' is Aryan √*del* ‖ *der*.[1] Parallel with *βλ-έπ-ω* 'see' is *δρ-έπ-ω* 'cut with a sickle'; *δερδίλλω* 'peer' is a reduplicated form of the same root.

Against the change *dl°* > *βλ°* Grk. *γλυκύς*: Lat. *dulcis* 'sweet' may be urged. The kinship is, I take it, real, but the aberrant term is *dulcis*. I note Paulus's gloss *glucidatum* suave et jucundum. Plautus uses *dulcis* as an epithet of the 'sweetheart' (*deliciae*), e.g. Rud. 364 ut dulcis es, Asin. 614 O melle dulci dulcior tu es; *diligo* 'love' and *indulgens* 'gracious' may also have played a rôle. I connect *γλυκύς* with the kin of Lat. *gula* 'throat,' with a semasy alive in 'palatable,' 'toothsome.' I note Skr. *guḍa* 'ball of sugar,' congeneric with *βάλανος*, Lat. *glandes* 'edible acorns.'

5. Reflected Meanings; a Point in Semantics, by Professor C. R. Lanman of Harvard University.

The doctrine of the principles that underlie the processes of the development of the meanings of words may be called semantics or semasiology.[2] When one considers how much study has been devoted to the history of the form of words, it is astonishing that so little has been devoted to that of their logical contents. In turning up the article *semasiology* in *The Century Dictionary*, I found the following citation, which proved to be from a book review by Professor Bloomfield in the *American Journal of Philology* (vii. 100), and which is worth reprinting:

"Semasiology in all its various aspects does not offer much that is as regular even as the phonetic life of words; so much the more worthy of attention are the parallelisms in the development of meanings, which repeat themselves oftentimes in most varied surroundings, inviting even to a search for a psychological cause for this persistence."

I presume that his first clause is not intended to deny the existence of certain general and clearly defined categories under which very many of the changes in the meanings of words may be subsumed. Some of the commonest and most important of these may be designated by the ancient terms synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor. These and others are described and illustrated by Suchier in Gröber's *Grundriss*, i. 632–634, with several bibliographical notes. Further discussion may be found, *ibidem*, p. 239 f.; and in Paul's *Grundriss*, i. 698 f. The whole matter is highly interesting and important, not only intrinsically, but also from the practical point of view; as has indeed been set forth with considerable fulness by the present writer in the preface to his *Sanskrit Reader* (pages vi and vii), and abundantly exemplified by him in the vocabulary thereto belonging. For I take it that the progress of adult students in the acquisition of a foreign vocabulary is rendered far more easy and sure by attention to the his-

[1] Cf. Prellwitz s.vv. *δαίδαλον*, *δέρω*. To endow the Aryans with unrelated roots *der*, *del* 'split' is impossible to my mind. Whether the explanation be by the current theory of dissimilation in reduplicated forms or by sporadic and partial phonetic variation, we must finally accept the fact of variation to a greater extent than we now do.

[2] Not, with Murray, New English Dictionary, i., preface, p. xi, sematology.

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torical and logical development of the meanings so far as that is feasible; and that this attention is likely to increase the power of the teacher as a successful interpreter and as a vivacious and forcible instructor.

There is one way in which a word acquires a secondary or later meaning, to which, so far as I know, public attention has never been expressly directed. Perhaps the process might most appropriately be termed 'reflection'; and the resultant meanings, 'reflected meanings.' The purpose of this paper is to give a few illustrations of the process and the results.

To begin with an English one: the verb *execute* derives, through the mediaeval Latin *execūtāre*, from the stem of the Latin *ex(s)ecūtus*, participle of *exsequi*; and means, accordingly, 'follow out,' 'carry into effect,' for example, 'the biddyng of the King,' and, especially, a judicial sentence of death. The act of carrying such a sentence into effect was called *execution of the sentence of death*; or, more briefly, *execution of death*; or, more briefly still, *execution*, which thus became equivalent to 'act of inflicting capital punishment.' It is, now, by the reflection of this specialized meaning of the action-noun back into the (English) primitive verb *execute* that the latter won its meaning 'to inflict capital punishment upon, to put to death in pursuance of a sentence.'

I do not believe it is possible that the meaning 'put to death' can be derived from the meaning 'carry into effect' by any direct process. And the difficulty (if not the impossibility) of derivation by direct method is evidently felt by Dr. Murray, or perhaps rather Mr. Bradley, as may be seen from his note under the verb *execute*, II., just before the meaning 6, in the great *English Dictionary*. But as soon as we admit the actuality of this process of reflection, the course of development becomes entirely clear. For the detailed facts concerning *execute* and its kin, I am indebted to Dr. Murray's monumental work.

At the Philadelphia meeting, Professor Bloomfield suggested that some apparent cases of reflected meaning might be nothing more than ordinary denominatives based on a noun with peculiarly altered meaning. In order that his suggestion may be applicable, it is evidently necessary that both the noun and the denominative be coincident in form with the original verb.[1] Here is an example: "At the end of Professor ——'s forty-three years of service, his colleagues voted to address him," i.e. (not 'to speak to him' — but) 'to present to him an elaborate parchment with a formal address engrossed thereon.' Evidently also, in such a case, neither explanation excludes the other.

In this connection, it is interesting and instructive to note that from the action-noun *execution* in its specialized sense was formed in fact the denominative verb *to execution* as secondary and the agent-noun *executioner* as tertiary. All this is of course in accord with the most ordinary processes of direct development of meaning and of formation, and no instance of 'reflection,' as I have termed it.

From *execute*, 'hang, behead,' was formed the agent-noun, *ex'ecutor* 'hangman, headsman.' We thus had two pairs: the pair of denominative origin, *to execution* and *executioner*; and the pair of 'reflected' origin, *to execute* and *ex'ecutor*. Of these, the verb of the denominative pair, *to execution*, died out; and so did the agent-noun of the 'reflected' pair, *ex'ecutor*. There survived only *to execute* and *executioner*, which thus formed a new pair, whose curious non-correspondence of

[1] This condition would rarely obtain in an ancient Indo-European language.

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form is thus explained. Had the denominative, *to execution*, lived, it is likely that the use of *to execute* in the reflected sense 'hang' would not have arisen, or that, having arisen, it would have died out; just as, on the other hand, *ex'ecutor*, 'hangman,' did die out, leaving the equivalent *executioner* in sole possession of the field.

Thoughtful scrutiny of the English dictionary would doubtless reveal many other examples. Several may be adduced. To *undertake* is 'to take in hand, to enterprise.' Its agent-noun, *undertaker*, is now most commonly used, in a narrowed and specialized sense, of the undertaker of funeral arrangements. From this noun, the special sense is reflected back into the verb, so that *he undertakes* is sometimes heard with the meaning 'he does the work of an undertaker.' I am inclined to see a similar process in *communicate* 'to partake of the Eucharist' (cf. *communion*); in *operate* when used transitively, 'to perform a surgical operation upon' (cf. *operation*); in *provoke*, 'excite disagreeably' (cf. *provocation*).

A more clear and striking example could hardly be found than the Sanskrit *smṛta*. The verb *smarati* means 'remember'; and from its root is formed the noun *smṛti*. This means properly 'remembrance'; but it has come to be a very important technical term and to have a very special meaning as designating 'memorial tradition,' and in particular, the 'sacred law' as distinguished from *çruti*, 'audition, revelation, the Veda,' to which it is the pendant. The participle *smṛta* should mean simply 'remembered'; in fact, it often means 'taught *or* pronounced by the *smṛti* to be' so and so. Thus, Yājñ. i.81: *striyo rakṣyā yataḥ smṛtāḥ* (not 'for women are remembered as requiring to be looked after,' — but), 'for women are declared by the *smṛti* to be in need of watching,' 'for women, tradition says, need looking after.' The couplet at *Indische Sprüche*[2] 6496, yields an excellent example of *smṛ*, and one of *çru* as well: *eṣa dharmaḥ striyā nityo vede loke çrutaḥ smṛtaḥ*: '[Let the wife obey her husband.] This is the eternal law for women, as revealed in the Veda and taught by human tradition.' Here undeniably the peculiar special senses of the nouns have tinged the verbal derivatives of *smṛ* and *çru*.

The root *dhā* with *abhi* means 'put upon.' From it comes quite easily *abhidhānī*, 'a halter.' At Atharvaveda iii.11.8 we read: *abhi tvā jarimā_ahita gām ukṣaṇam iva rajjvā*, 'Old age hath haltered thee as it were a cow, an ox, with a rope.' So iv.16.7: *çaténa pāçāir abhi dhehy enam*, 'with a hundred bonds do thou halter him.' And iv.36.10: *abhi tām nirṛtir dhattām dçvam ivāçvābhidhānyā*, 'Let Perdition halter him as a horse with a horse-halter.' Similarly, v.14.6. The Petersburg Lex., s.v. *dhā* + *abhi* 3), says: *anlegen, umlegen mit Etwas.* Between *anlegen* and *umlegen mit Etwas* there is a pretty wide logical gap. It is bridged in an entirely satisfactory manner by the fact of reflection from the noun *abhidhānī*.

A most striking case is that of *kṝtvarī*, occurring at Atharvaveda iv.18.1*d*, in a hymn against witchcraft or *kṛtyā*. From *kṛ*, 'do,' comes *kṛtyā*, 'doings,' i.e. '*das Anthun*, sorcery, a bewitching.' *Kṝtvan* is properly 'doing, active, busy'; but in AV. iv.18, the meaning of *kṛtyā*, which occurs in the context (2, 4, 5), is clearly reflected into the verbal so that it means 'bewitching ones *or* sorcerers.'

Systematic search would bring out many other instances. I have casually noted a few. Perhaps *vinīta* in the sense 'well-behaved' may derive directly

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from *nī*+*vi*; but I cannot help thinking that the common word *vinaya*, 'good behavior,' has been the principal factor in determining the common meaning of the participle. The relation of *prasiddha* and *prasiddhi* may be similar; but the genesis of their common meanings is unclear to me. Plain, I think, is the influence of *udyoga* upon *udyukta*: e.g., *udyukto vidyāntam adhigachati*, *Ind. Sprüche*, 2679. The use of *abhinidhīyante*, noted in the Pet. Lex., s.v. *dhā* + *abhi-ni*, in the sense of 'be subject to the *abhinihita-samdhi*,' is a very plain case. One of the best of all follows: from *as* + *sam-ni* comes the familiar word with very technical sense, *saṁnyāsin*, 'one who has renounced the world'; but at Manu vi.94 we have: *saṁnyased dvijaḥ*, 'the twice-born should become a Sannyāsin.' If it were a true denominative in form as well as in meaning, I suppose it would be *saṁnyāsīyet*. Similarly the last verse of Bhartṛhari's "*tuṅgaṁ veçma*." These cases with *dhā*+*abhini* and *as*+*saṁni* I owe to the kindness of Professor Bloomfield.

In Pāli, as is quite natural, this process is frequent. *Pavāreti* means 'give a man his choice,' 'offer'; but also, — by reflection from the technical *pavāraṇā*, 'the festival at the end of *vassa*,' — 'to join in the *pavāraṇā*-festival.' There can hardly be a doubt that the meaning of *upasampanna*, 'having priestly orders,' is not directly deducible from that of *upasampajjati*, 'attains,' but rather from that of *upasampadā*, 'the taking of priestly orders' — see, e.g., Jātaka i.116[4]. Again, *upādāna*, from *dā* + *upa*_*ā*, has the technical sense of 'attachment'; *upādiyati* means 'take hold of, cling to,' and so, perhaps directly, 'have *upādāna*'; but in the use of the participle *upādinna* in this way (as in *taṇh-upādinno*, J. i.146[11], 'devoted to lusts'), I should rather see a reflex of the noun. *Gata* etc. reflects the peculiar meaning of *gati*, 'destiny': cf. J. i.56, line 23 with line 18.

The history of *paṭisandhi*, 'rebirth,' is not plain to me; but the use of *paṭisan-dahati*, 'be reborn' (e.g., Milinda, p. 46), seems to be due to reflection. *Nibbuta*, 'happy,' corresponds in form to Skt. *nir-vṛta*, 'uncovered, happy'; but it also serves in the meaning 'having attained Nirvāna' as participle to *nibbāti*, and that instead of *nibbāta*, as we should expect. Perhaps the explanation is to be sought in some fact like those here considered.

The following case is somewhat peculiar. At Jātaka i.176[23] we read: *chanaādi-vasena agati-gamanaṁ gacchatha*, 'You are coursing the course of the Non-courses by way of lust (*chanda*) etc.,' i.e. 'you are following the four Evil courses of lust etc.' The *agatis* are *chanda*, *dosa*, *moha*, and *bhaya*. But at ii.2[8], for example, we have *chandādi-vasena a-gantvā*. True, the literal sense quite suffices as a rendering, 'Without going by the way of lust etc.'; but it can hardly be questioned that *a-gantvā* suggested to the pious Buddhist the idea of 'Avoiding the *a-gatis* of lust etc.'

Another aspect of the same process of reflection is seen where differences of number give opportunity for the development of differences of meaning. Thus Skt. *gaṇa*, singular, means 'a troop'; in the plural, 'the troop-deities, inferior deities which regularly appear not singly but in troops; *and so especially* those that compose the retinue of Çiva'; then, as singular again, 'a single one of Çiva's attendants, a Gaṇa.'

From the Greek an instance or two may suffice by way of example: γράφειν is 'to write'; γραφή is 'a writing,' and especially in a technical legal sense, 'an indictment'; whence γράφεσθαί τινα means 'to indict a man.' The denomina-

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tive would be presumably *γραφᾶν or γραφεῖν. The verb αὔξεσθαι is 'to increase'; αὔξησις is 'increase, growth,' but comes to be specialized in the works of the grammarians so as to mean the grammatical 'augment'; and this meaning is reflected into the verb so that it is used in the sense of 'take the augment.'

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore, B. I. Wheeler, Ingraham, Bloomfield, Wright, Fay, and by the author of the paper.

6. Notes on the Diction of the *Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii*, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

This paper will confine itself to words coming under one of the following classes: 1. Grecisms; 2. Colloquialisms; 3. Words of unusual form; 4. Newly coined words; 5. Those that in themselves, or in their signification in the passages cited, properly belong to the especial period of Latinity to which the *Apocolocyntosis* is supposed to belong. Some evidence may perhaps be thus obtained with regard to the probable authorship of this famous lampoon. The references will be according to Buecheler's 3d ed. of Petronius, the Priapeia and Satire fragments, by section and line on the page.

1. Although Greek quotations abound in the satire, Grecisms in diction are comparatively infrequent. 2, 28. *horologia:* rather common. 3, 9. *mathematicos:* post-Aug. in this sense of 'astrologers.' 5, 6. *philologos:* rare as an adjective (here it agrees with *homines*, expressed); cf. its use as a noun by Seneca, Ep. 108, 29 and 30. 7, 28. *alogias:* (Gk. ἀλογία) probably first used here, perhaps not elsewhere with this meaning ('nonsense'). 8, 21. *praeputio:* a hybrid (= *prae* + πόσθιον) rare; here quoted from Varro. 9, 8. *mimum:* in this sense of 'a farcical, or unreal thing,' a favorite expression in Seneca; perhaps only post-Aug. cf. Ep. 80, 7; 26, 5. 9, 24. *metamorphosis:* a title seldom referred to in Latin literature. 13, 9. *podagricus:* rare; cf. Sen. Ep. 95, 22; 24, 14; de Ira, 2, 33, 4; Petron. 132. 13, 18. *pantomimus:* rare; post-Aug.; but cf. Sen. Ep. 95, 56; 47, 15; de Ira, 1, 16, 29; Q. N. 7, 32, 3.

2. The following, at least, may be classed as Colloquialisms: 1, 7. *buccam:* cf. American slang 'mug'; not uncommon; frequent in Seneca and Petronius; cf. Petr. 43 (*durae buccae* = "jaw-bone of an ass"); 44 (*buccam panis*, cf. 'chaw o' tobacco'); 64. 4, 21. *ebulliit:* rare as an active verb; evidently colloquial with *animam;* cf. Petr. 42; 62. 4, 25 and 26. *concacavi* and *concacavit:* rare; vulgar; cf. Petr. 66. 5, 31. *bene:* rather common; cf. Sen. De Vita Beata, 23. 2; De Otio Sap. 28, 4. 6, 20. *calcasti:* cf. Eng. 'hoof it'; Hor. C. 1, 28, 16; Petr. 118. 9, 3. *post-meridianus* [*consul*]: clearly a jesting use of the word, indicating the hollow and ephemeral character of the office at that time; and one that may have been often repeated.

3. Only a few forms are noteworthy: 2, 25. *vindemitor:* usually *vindemiator.* 7, 7. *sterquilino:* usually *sterquilinio.* 12, 19. *Persida:* the post-Aug. form of the acc. 12, 25. *Brigantas:* the post-Aug. form of the acc.; occurs again in Tacit. Ann. 12, 32. 15, 20. *culmina:* the common post-Aug. form.

4. The following may probably be regarded as coined by the author for immediate use: 6, 20. *perpetuarius* [*mulio*]: 'a muleteer steadily employed.' (*Mulio*, too, is largely post-Aug.) 7, 27. *fatuari:* ἅπαξ λεγ. 9, 15. *nummu-*

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lariolus: ἅπαξ λεγ.; cf. Petr. 56 for *nummularius* (post-Aug.), from which it is derived. 9, 16. *civitatulas:* perhaps coined here; doubtful if it is used elsewhere in this sense ('citizenship in a small city'). 14, 6. *laturam* [*fecisse*] (= 'to have borne'): rare; mostly late Latin. Here may be mentioned also: 13, 11. *subalbam* [*canem*]: incorrectly classed as ἅπαξ λεγ. in Harper's Lat. Lex. 14, 7. *sufflaminandam:* ἅπαξ λεγ. in literal sense ('clog'); Seneca's father credits Augustus with having used it in the figurative sense (Sen. Excerpta ex Contr. IV. praef. 7); and so Aug. was probably its coiner.

5. (*a*) The following belong properly to the post-Aug. period: 2, 31. *inquietent:* cf. Sen. Vit. Beat. 12; Petr. 1. 3, 16. *pauculos:* ante- and post-classical; no instance is recalled of its substantive use elsewhere. 4, 26. *convolvens:* cf. Sen. Ep. 94, 67. 4, 27. *abrupit:* cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 895. 4, 16. *adfuso.* 4, 21. *expiravit:* mostly post-Aug. in prose. 5, 37. *pererraverat:* cf. Sen. Q. N. 3 praef. § 6; Petr. 97. 7, 33. *profatu.* 7, 40. *praerapido:* cf. Sen. Q. N. 1, 1, 1; also in another sense, De Ira, 1, 12, 5. 7, 10. *notorem* (= *cognitorem*): cf. Sen. Ep. 39, 1; Petr. 92. 8, 23. *Saturnalicius.* 9, 5. *notarius* ('short-hand-writer'). 10, 34. *compescui* (post-Aug. in prose). 10, 5. *proneptes.* 10, 6. *abnepotem.* 12, 1. *aeneatorum.* 12, 11. *planctus:* cf. Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 6, 2; Troades, 92; Petr. 81; Luc. 2, 24. 12, 13. *cordatus:* mostly ante- and post-classical. 12, 41. *fritillo:* cf. §§ 14 and 15.

(*b*) Some peculiar significations of words not otherwise worthy of remark may be mentioned: 1, 8. *iuratores* (= 'vouchers'): post-Aug. in this sense, which is very rare, and not recognized in Harper's Lexicon. 5, 4. *Graeculo:* = *Graeco;* post-Aug. 6, 22. *excandescit* (he 'flared up'): so once in Cicero, but there *ira* is expressed; here, absolute; post-Aug.; cf. Petr. 53 and 57. 6, 25. *decollare* ('behead'): used with personal object; post-Aug.; cf. Sen. De Ira 3, 18, 3; Petr. 51. 8, 29. *stude* (= 'apply yourself to learning'): post-Aug. 8, 30. *curva:* 'faults'; cf. "make our crooked paths straight"; as a plur. subst. apparently post-Aug.; cf. Pliny Ep. 5, 9, 6. 9, 13. *auctoratos:* 'gladiators'; mostly post-Aug. 12, 5. *procedebant:* 'appeared'; mostly post-Aug. in prose; cf. Petr. 2. 13, 5. *compendiaria:* rare and chiefly post-Aug. subst., but especially common in Seneca and his contemporaries: cf. Ep. 119, 1; 27, 5; Petr. 2; cf. also *compendiarium* (Ep. 73, 11). 13, 8. *proclivia:* rare in literal sense; mostly ante- and post-classical. 15, 16. *recollectos* [*talos*]: literal sense mostly post-Aug.; cf. Sen. De Benefic. 1, 9, 4.

(*c*) Some other words may be grouped here, which, though used in other periods, are either especially rare, or peculiar in their meaning in the cases cited, or especial favorites of Seneca and his contemporaries: 1, 3. *offensae:* a favorite with Seneca in various senses; cf. Ep. 7, 1; De Tran. An. 2, 1. 1, 6. *fatuum:* rather rare; cf. Sen. Ep. 50, 2 for fem. form; see also *fatuari,* coined in § 7. 3, 22. *incomitatum:* rare; chiefly poetic. 3, 25. *convictoribus:* rather common in Sen.; cf. Ep. 7, 6; De Ira 3, 8, 1; also § 14, 36. 4, 28 and 29. *comas, capillos, crinem:* note apparent bathos in the arrangement, where all refer to the same person's hair. Is it intentional ridicule cast on the Fates? 4, 32. *pensa:* poetic for a thread spun by the Fates; cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 181; but cf. regular usage just below here. 4, 4. *demite:* seems like an absolute use; which is unique. 4, 7. *lassis:* not rare, but rather poetic; largely post-Aug.; often in Seneca; cf. the proverb, *a lasso rixam quaeri* (De Ira 3, 10, 1); also his use of the word with

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Acc. (*lassus pondus*, Herc. Oet. 1599). 4, 8. *silentia* [*rumpet*]: the poetic plur. is rare in this sense, the pleasant state of inactivity. 4, 9. *discutiens*: it is highly poetic to use this in its more literal and rarer sense of 'disperse' with such an object as *astra*. 4, 11. *solutis*: a favorite with Seneca in a wide variety of significations; hardly natural here. 4, 13. *axes*: synecdochical use for 'chariot' comparatively rare; cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 1441; even rarer in plur., as here. 5, 2. *implicatam* [*vocem*]: perhaps unique in this sense. 7, 2. *adluit*: favorite in Sen.; cf. Hippol. 1232; Oedip. 475. 7, 3. *altrix*: a favorite with Seneca; cf. Hippol. 251: Herc. Oet. 450. 9, 37. *mapalia*: here in unusual sense of 'follies'; or, does it mean that the Curia was now as devoid of dignity as a 'hut'? 12, 16. *Citato*: often in Seneca; cf. Herc. Fur. 179; Hippol. 1062. 13, 25. *novissime*: rare in sense of 'lastly'; cf. Sen. De Ira 3, 5, 2. 14, 33. *subscriptionem*: this sense, rather rare elsewhere, is common in Seneca; cf. De Benef. 3, 26, 2; Cons. ad Marc. 22, 3. 14, 37. *advocationem*: common in this sense ('adjournment') in Seneca; cf. De Ira 1, 16, 12; Cons. ad Marc. 10, 3; Q. N. 7, 10, 1. 14, 8. *missionem*: cf. Petr. 52; Sen. Ep. 37, 2; De Benef. 2, 20, 3.

It appears from the foregoing: (1) that a large proportion of the words cited are paralleled or duplicated in Seneca and Petronius; (2) that the Satire undoubtedly belongs to the period of these two men, judging from its diction alone, apart from the many other claims for the same period; (3) that, considered from the diction alone, either Seneca or Petronius might have been its author. There are many similarities between the *Apocolocyntosis* and Petronius's longer work. Did either Petronius or Seneca imitate the other? Seneca might have thought it would be attributed to Petronius. As Petronius afterward imitated some of Seneca's poetry, this might be thought of as an earlier attempt of the former to cultivate the style which both afterwards developed. Just before his death, Petronius sent Nero a very bitter satire. Can the *Apocolocyntosis* be an earlier attempt on the same line? Petronius had been in public office; and might well have lost all patience with Claudius, and been glad to welcome the new régime of the jovial Nero in such a way as this; he certainly was entirely capable of such a work. There is, however, more in favor of Seneca's authorship, even in the diction alone.

7. Notes on Thucydides, by Professor W. A. Lamberton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

1. I. 2. *Φαίνεται μὴ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ βεβαίως οἰκουμένη κτέ.*

The participles *οἰκουμένη*, &c., construed with *φαίνεται* Classen regards as imperfects. The combination is unquestionably imperfect in coloring, as the tenses that prevail in the chapter prove; but it seems to me better to regard the participles themselves as presents: since we have here only an intensification of the pictorial effect of the imperfect, the relative dating of the circumstances being given by the nature of the circumstances themselves and from the context.

In I. 14 an exactly similar example is found: *φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα — τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγοις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα.*

In 3. 88: *τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα* is radically different.

The only other instances of present ptc. with *φαίνεσθαι* in Thuc. are in speeches: II. 11 (bis), III. 13, 42, 56, IV. 86, VIII. 47.

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Elsewhere aorist ptcs. are found: I. 3, 9, 10, 11, 13, II. 65, VI. 2, 55, VIII. 68, 97. In one case, I. 10 (end), no ptc. is expressed, but the context seems to point to *γενομένη* rather than *οὖσα*.

2. I. 2. Advocating Poppo's reading: *καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικίας τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι.*

As *μέτοικος* (and hence *μετοικία*) was almost a technical word at Athens, and hence very likely to be used by Thuc., and as the development of Athens, thanks to such settlers from abroad, is the very point of the argument, as the subsequent clauses show, it does not seem difficult to understand, and hence to accept *μετοικίας*, giving it, as is but natural, a somewhat wider sense than was usual in Athens. In the rest of Greece there were perpetual *μεταναστάσεις*, in Attica *ἄνθρωποι ᾧκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί*: nay more, what seemed *μεταναστάσεις* proved to be in the case of Attica *μετοικίαι*.

In point of interpretation, the clause *διὰ — αὐξηθῆναι* was interpreted, as was done by Croiset and others before him, to be the *παράδειγμα*; and Poppo's objection to the simple inf. *αὐξηθῆναι*, instead of the articular inf. or a *ὅτι* clause, was thought to be obviated by taking the inf. as exegetic of the demonstrative *τόδε*, a sufficiently frequent construction.

3. *ὅσπερ καί*. This phrase has two uses:

1. To give an emphatic expression of identity, stress being laid on the relation between relative and antecedent. The antecedent may be a pronoun, noun, proper name, a clause, or may be omitted.

2. To lay stress not so much upon the coincidence of antecedent and relative clauses, as upon the actuality of the relative clause, leading at times to a suggestion of surprise that the statement in the relative clause should be true and correct.

Both of these uses in Thucydides give a syntactical device by means of which the author is enabled to add or interweave remarks of his own, which are not needed in the context for the proper setting forth of the events narrated, though they generally convey information that it may be interesting for the reader to get, and which it may be desirable to give him just when these events are fresh in his mind. It enables Thuc., as it were, to put off the formal historian and annotate, or comment upon, his text.

One instance of this, out of a number, is VIII. 108: *ὑπὸ Ἀρσάκου — Τισσαφέρνης ὑπάρχου, ὅσπερ καὶ Δηλίους τοὺς Ἀτραμύττιον κατοικήσαντες ὅτε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων καθάρσεως ἕνεκα ἀνέστησαν, ἔχθραν προσποιησάμενος ἄδηλον καὶ ἐπαγγείλας στρατιὰν αὐτῶν τοῖς βελτίστοις, ἐξαγαγὼν ὡς ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ καὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ, τηρήσας ἀριστοποιουμένους καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατηκόντισεν.*

This, in length and relation to the context, approaches very much a modern footnote.

4. I. 5. *δηλοῦσι τῶν τε ἠπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν κτέ.*

Classen follows Steup in joining *ἔτι καὶ νῦν* to the relative clause. But this throws overboard the evident chiasmus in *ἔτι καὶ νῦν* and *οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*, when taken with the remainder of their respective clauses. And in the passages to which he refers in support of this punctuation, II. 46 and III. 39, the relative

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clause is placed first, and it is the important substantive alone that precedes the relative; his third passage, 6. 31. 1, seems to be a mis-reference. Besides, ἔτι nowhere begins a relative clause in Thuc., nor indeed a clause of any kind unless it immediately precedes a postpositive conjunction. VI. 63 ἔτι πλέον κατεφρόνησεν is preceded by an ἐπειδή clause and VI. 86 (end) ἔτι βουλήσεσθε by a rel. clause. These, the only exceptions, are more apparent than real.

5. I. 9. Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος.

Eur. Heracl. 860 puts this battle at the Scironian rocks. Hence Poppo and Krueger think Thuc. takes Attica in a sense wider than usual. But in Strabo VIII. 377 a different tradition, not so far as I know hitherto noticed, seems to be imbedded. Εὐρυσθεὺς μὲν οὖν στρατεύσας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας καὶ Ἰόλαον βοηθησάντων Ἀθηναίων ἱστορεῖται πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα Γαργηττοῖ ταφῆναι, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν Τρικορύνθῳ κτέ. The battle would seem from this to have been fought in the heart of Attica. May not Thuc. have had in mind this or a similar tradition?

6. In I. 10: καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, take ὅτι = because and εἴ τι κτέ. as a parallel expression of cause, couched in conditional form, and all difficulties disappear. The change of form is due to the change from a definitely named city to an indefinite and supposititious town.

8. Local Cults in Homer, by Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, of Yale University.

The epic poems are the main source of our knowledge of early Greek religion, but the knowledge thus obtained is fragmentary and perhaps does not give a fair idea of the whole. Inasmuch as the Homeric descriptions of the gods have a purely aesthetic end, we infer that the poet selects and arranges his material so as to please his audience, and in this process the familiar forms of beings that men worshipped may have been entirely transformed and transfigured in the new light of poetry. Farther, the poet's audience is found now in one locality, now in another; his songs must take a shape that will hold good for all of Greece, whatever may be the source of his material, so that they cannot dwell on local phases of the gods and local forms of worship. The question whether such local cults had the same important place in Greek religious life in earlier times that they held in later times deserves careful attention, for if any real religion existed then, it must have had some other form than that described in the epic.

Allusions to local cults by epic singers I find 1) in the statements that particular gods were worshipped in particular localities, 2) in references to the favorite abodes of the gods, and 3) in the interest of particular gods in particular peoples, in the children they have among men, and in the persons they are represented as loving or hating.

I. *Zeus.*—Vide Θ 238–241. 1. Olympos, A 497–499, E 753–754, Λ 80–81, E 398, A 570, 609, etc. Zeus resides on Olympos. The close association of Zeus with Olympos is most naturally explained as due to worship in that region, and to a celebration of the gods worshipped there by schools of early poets.

2. Troy and Ida. In X 169–172 and Θ 48–49 are references to a worship of

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Zeus on the acropolis of Troy. In general the Zeus of the Troad is closely associated with Mt. Ida. His seat is on the lofty peaks of many-fountained Ida, Λ 183, Ξ 157, Θ 47; on Gargaros, Ξ 292 (cf. Ξ 292, Ο 147, Θ 438). Wind, thunder, and cloud, Μ 253, Θ 170, Ρ 594, Ο 153. To this Zeus both Greeks and Trojans pray, Γ 376, 320, Η 202, Ω 308; Χ 170, Hektor sacrifices on Ida; Θ 48, sacred precinct and smoking altar of Zeus on Gargaros; Π 604, priest of Zeus Idaios. Such a local shrine naturally means a peculiar local form of worship. Zeus is the god of the race of Priam, so that Hektor and Aineias boast descent from him. From the epic standpoint, Zeus on Ida is simply the Olympian god taking a place near the scene of action, but even this differs from the epic account of the other gods. The god of Ida is closely associated with Apollo, and rebukes Hera and Athene sharply Θ 381–431; but when Zeus is observing the battle from Olympos, Athene is his dear child whose will is one with his.

3. Dodona and Thessaly. Π 233–235, ξ 327, τ 295; cf. μ 62. At Dodona is a peculiar worship of a Zeus differing in some degree from Zeus Olympios, and the fame of the oracle is recognized all over Greece. The race of Achilles is traced back to Zeus of Thessaly, Φ 187–189; Λ 773–775 family worship of Zeus by the father of Achilles.

4. Allusions to the connection of Zeus with other localities. As the father of Peirithoos and grandfather of Polypoites, Zeus is connected with Elis, and the legends of the Pelopidae connect him specifically with Olympia. Legends of Dardanos and his race seem to have been transplanted from Arkadia to Troy, and in their origin they may probably have been associated with the all-important worship of Zeus in Arkadia. Through the Aiakidai, Zeus is associated with Aegina as well as with Thessaly; in legends of Rhadamanthys and Minos we have the Zeus of Crete, and by his son Sarpedon he is associated with Lycia. In these legends Zeus is closely associated now with one locality, now with another, nor is he quite the same in any two instances. The epic Zeus is a new creation on the basis of very many different ideas of Zeus, and it is hardly probable that these local phases of Zeus were worshipped in just the same way everywhere.

II. *Apollo.* — 1. Pergamos, Ilios. Apollo's care for Ilios, Φ 515. His residence on Pergamos, Δ 508, Η 21. His temple on sacred Pergamos with a great adyton Η 82–84, Ε 445–448. The word Pergamos is used mainly with reference to Apollo, so that perhaps it is in some way associated with the worship of Apollo. Besides the leaders of the Trojan army, Apollo cares for the son of Panthoos, Ο 522 (Verg. Aen. II 430 makes Panthoos a priest of Apollo).

2. Chryse, Killa, Tenedos. In A we become familiar with Apollo Smintheus, god of Chryse. He is a much more religious figure than Apollo elsewhere in the poems. The worship of Apollo Smintheus is so important in this region later, that we may fairly regard the religious character of this Apollo in the epic as due to his intimate relations with the actual worship of the region.

3. Lycia. Apollo cares for the burial of Sarpedon in Lycia, Π 670 sq., and Glaukos prays to Apollo "Whenever thou art in the rich land of Lycia or in Troy," Π 514.

4. Zeleia. Here Pandaros receives his bow from Apollo Β 827. To Apollo he prays, vowing to sacrifice a hekatomb of firstling lambs when he should have returned to sacred Zeleia, Δ 119–121.

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5. Ismaros. ι 198 sqq. The priest and sacred grove indicate a local worship of Apollo; and the character of the gifts suggest that this Apollo was allied to Dionysos in his nature.

6. Reference to altar at Delos. ξ 162.

7. Pytho (Delphi). Treasures, I 404–405. Oracle, θ 79.

8. Apollo reared in Peraea of Thessaly the mares that the son of Pheres drove, B 766.

Finally, the references to the feast of Apollo in Ithaka (*e.g.* ν 207–208) show that the idea of recurring feasts, quite possibly annual, celebrated in particular localities in honor of some particular phase of the god, was not unfamiliar to the poet.

III. *Hera.*—Δ 51–52. Argos and Sparta and Mykenai. Argos, Δ 8, E 908; interest in Eurystheus of Argos, T 115–124. The special helper of Menelaos of Sparta, Δ 7–8, δ 513.

IV. *Athene.*—1. Athene is associated with Olympian Zeus and with Olympos more closely than any of the other gods.

2. Troy. Goddess of war protecting the citadel, with a peculiar form of worship, Z 85 sq., 275, 290 sq.

3. Alalkomenai (Boeotia). Δ 8 and E 908. Pausanias found here a very old sanctuary of Athene.

4. Athens. Home, η 80, and sanctuary, B 547, at Athens, in connection with the worship of Erechtheus.

5. Argos. Diomedes is her special favorite, K 294 sq., and by her aid he can wound the gods, Δ. Diomedes is closely associated with Athene in later worship at Argos. (Athene and Tydeus of Aitolia, Δ 390, K 294 sq.)

The existence of a grove of Athene and a place sacred to her just outside the city of the Phaeacians, ξ 292, shows that such sacred places were by no means unfamiliar to the poet.

V. *Artemis.*—When she is mentioned in connection with places where in later times she is worshipped, Kalydon, I 530, Taygetos, and Erymanthos, ξ 103, the description has a very different tone from the references to her as an Olympian goddess, *e.g.* in T and Φ.

Penelope prays to Artemis in a manner that can be most easily explained on the assumption of some such connection between the two as is suggested by Pausanias VIII. 12, 5.

VI. *Aphrodite.*—Aphrodite has the epithet Kypris four times in E, and in θ 363 she goes to Paphos, where are her sacred precinct and fragrant altar. Called Kythereia, θ 288, σ 193. Connected with Troy in the person of her son Aineias, T 105, E 311–313. Cf. Art. *Aeneias* in Pauly, Realencyclopaedie, ed. 3.

VII. *Hephaestus.*—Lemnos, A 593, E 10, θ 283. Priest Dares, E 9.

VIII. *Ares.*—Thrace, N 298–301, θ 360. Connected with Orchomenos by his son Askalaphos, B 512, N 518, O 111 sq.

IX. *Poseidon.*—1. Helike, Θ 203, many offerings; T 404, bull.

2. Aigai. Θ 203, many offerings: ε 380, N 21. Later the worship of Poseidon Helikonios and Aigaios was important in North Peloponnesus and elsewhere.

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(3. Samothrace N 13.)

4. Pylos. γ 43, sacrifice of Nestor, grandson of Poseidon. Poseidon worshipped with the river Alpheios, Λ 728.

5. Amphimachos of Elis is a beloved son, Λ 752, N 185–207.

6. The connection of Odysseus with Poseidon may possibly be explained in connection with the worship of Poseidon in Arkadia; cf. λ 121–133.

7. Onchestos (Boeotia). B 506.

8. Geraistos. γ 177–179.

X. *Demeter.* — Pyrasos in Phthiotis, B 695.

A few local deities, in particular river-gods, have been retained as such in the poems; and many others are included among the nymphs and semi-divine beings who make up the ἀγορά of the gods.

9. Aristotle on the Faults of Poetry; or Poetics xxv. in the Light of the Homeric Scholia, by Dr. Mitchell Carroll, of the Johns Hopkins University.

From a study of the Porphyrian[1] Ζητήματα of the Homeric scholia, of which the "προβλήματα Ὁμηρικά" of Aristotle and his followers were a source, it becomes evident that the much misunderstood twenty-fifth chapter of the Poetics contains the elements of a systematic treatment of the faults of poetry and of the inconsistencies of Homer. The design of the "προβλήματα Ὁμηρικά" was to consider and answer the criticisms and censures of Homer by philosophers and sophists, and, in consequence, the fragments preserved to us furnish numerous illustrations of the principles stated in this chapter, which discusses the objections of critics to poetry and proper methods of answering them. This is evident from the following analysis:

Aristotle begins by laying down certain general propositions as a basis for the consideration, both of ἐπιτιμήματα, or objections of critics, and of λύσεις, or solutions of objections (1460 b 5–23). These have reference to:

A. *The objects of representation.* The poet being an imitator, as the painter or sculptor, must represent either actual occurrences (οἷα ἦν ἢ ἔστιν), or current traditions and beliefs (οἷά φασιν καὶ δοκεῖ), or 'the higher reality,' the universal, the ideal (οἷα εἶναι δεῖ).

B. *The means of representation.* This is language, which employs either ordinary terms, or rare terms, or metaphors; besides, many modifications of language are conceded to poets.

C. *The standard of correctness in poetry.* This is not the same as the standard of correctness in other arts. In poetry there are two kinds of faults possible — those which affect its essence, and those which are accidental. If the representation of the poet is faulty through want of ability, the error is inherent in the poetry; but if merely the poet's conception of what he proposes to imitate be

[1] The fragments of Porphyry's Ζητήματα Ὁμηρικά have been collected and edited by Hermann Schrader, in two volumes: Porphyrii Quaest. Hom. ad Il. . . . Reliq., Leipzig, 1880, and Porph. Quaest. Hom. ad Od. . . . Reliq., Leipzig, 1890. Citations from the schol. Por. are from these volumes.

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incorrect, if *e.g.* he has represented a horse advancing both right legs at once, the fault is accidental, as in the *μίμησις* the demands of art could be fully met.

1. The *Ἐπιτιμήματα.*

Aristotle expressly mentions five sources of objections (1461 b 22–24). Poetry is censured as containing elements which may be regarded either (1) as impossible, *ὡς ἀδύνατα* (cf. Poet. 1451 b 19, 1460 a 27, b 24, schol. Por. Γ 144, Δ 105, E 7, etc.), or (2) as irrational, *ὡς ἄλογα* (Poet. 1454 b 6, 1460 b 13, schol. Por. A 63, Γ 121, M 25), or (3) as hurtful to morals, *ὡς βλαβερά*, or (4) as contradictory, *ὡς ὑπεναντία* (schol. Por. A 52, B 844, Ξ 434), or (5) as contrary to artistic correctness, *ὡς παρὰ τὴν ὀρθότητα τὴν κατὰ τέχνην.* In addition, the scholia recognize, (6) the unseemly, *ἀπρεπῆ* (schol. Por. A 18, A 31, I 186, etc.; cf. Poet. 1454 a 30, 1459 b 33), (7) the absurd, *ἄτοπα* (schol. Por. Δ 297, I 591, K 194; cf. Poet. 1460 a 2, a 35), (8) the inconsistent in character, *ἀνώμαλα* (schol. Por. Σ 198, Λ 489; cf. Poet. 1454 a 32), and (9) the inexpedient, *ἀσύμφορα* (schol. Por. Z 224, λ 405, ι 106).

2. The *Λύσεις.*

Twelve solutions of objections are stated in the chapter, which Aristotle treats in the following order (1460 b 23–1461 b 10):

1. *Λύσεις from a consideration of artistic correctness.*

I. The end of poetry (*εἰ τυγχάνει τοῦ τέλους τοῦ αὐτῆς*, 1460 b 22 sq.) is the object of appeal in answer to censures of representations as being *ἀδύνατα, ἄλογα, βλαβερά* (cf. 1461 b 10, 21). *e.g.* The pursuit of Hektor, which contains elements regarded as both impossible and improbable (cf. 1460 a 15, schol. Por. X 205).

II. To the accidental (*κατὰ . . . συμβεβηκός*, 1460 b 30–32) are to be referred all inaccuracies due to a faulty conception of what was to be represented. It is a less serious matter not to know that a hind has no horns than to paint one inartistically.

2. *Λύσεις from a consideration of the objects of representation.*

III. The ideality peculiar to poetry (*οἷα εἶναι δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἵσως δεῖ, βέλτιον*, 1460 b 33, 1461 b 10), which is aesthetic rather than moral, can be urged if the fault consists in the representation not being true to fact, or not possible, etc. Thus, Sophocles said that he represented men as they ought to be; Euripides, men as they are.

IV. To current legends and traditional beliefs (*οἷά φασι καὶ δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἃ φασι*, 1460 b 35, etc.) an appeal is made in case the representation is censured as neither idealistic nor true (*οὔτε βέλτιον οὔτ' ἀληθῆ*) or not possible or not rational; *e.g.* the poetic representations of the gods, cf. schol. Por. T 108, Σ 489, T 67.

V. An appeal to the custom, to what actually occurred (*οἷα ἦν ἢ ἔστι, οὕτως εἶχεν*, 1461 a 2) is made in case the aesthetic ideality of a representation is questioned. The example cited is Il. K 152, *ἔγχεα δέ σφιν ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος ἐλήλατο.* Cf. the scholia: *φαύλη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ τῶν δοράτων ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος στάσις· καὶ δὴ παντοχοῦ θόρυβον ἤδη πεποίηκε ἓν μόνον πεσόν. λύει δ' Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων*

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ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἀεὶ ποιεῖ Ὅμηρος οἷα ἦν τότε. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα τὰ παλαιὰ οἱάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις κ.τ.λ. Kindred passages are schol. Por. K 194, Ψ 269, Ω 15, 16. In the scholia this appeal to the custom receives a technical designation *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους*, and serves for the removal of objections to passages regarded as containing, (1) *ἀδύνατα* (schol. Por. Γ 379, E 7, K 11, etc.), (2) *ἀπρεπῆ* (schol. Por. B 8, I 203, γ 72), (3) *ὑπεναντία* (schol. Por. B 827, Δ 2, κ 103), (4) *ἄτοπα* (schol. Por. Δ 297).

The remark following, *περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς κ.τ.λ.* (1461 a 4–9) emphasizes a relativity of judgment in the criticism, not of the morally good and bad in the words and actions of poetic characters, as Vahlen and Butcher take it, but of the poetically good and bad. This is shown from a comparison of kindred passages of the Poetics (1451 b 8 sq., 1454 a 33, 1461 b 19), from a study of Aristotle's use of *καλῶς* (1447 a 10, 10, 1453 a 12, b 25, etc.) and of *σπουδαῖος* and *φαῦλος* (in 1451 b 36, 1461 b 30, 1462 a 9, etc.) and from its frequent application in the scholia. It is a general observation emphasizing the necessity of perfect conformity of words and actions to the characters of those speaking or acting and to the occasion, and brings in application the third *λύσις* of the aesthetic ideality of poetry. In the scholia its usual application is in answer to strictures on the words and actions of Homeric heroes, where the appeal to the person receives the technical designation, *ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου*, that to the occasion *ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ*. *ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου* solves, (1) *ἀπρεπῆ* (schol. Por. A 42, ζ 244, ι 5, λ 489), (2) *ἄλογα* (schol. Por. Γ 122, M 25, χ 412), (3) *ὑπεναντία* (schol. Por. B 649, Z 265, Z 488, Ξ 434), etc.: *ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ* solves, (1) *ἄλογα* (schol. Por. A 420, Γ 315, K 194), (2) *ἀπρεπῆ* (schol. Por. A 18, I 186, I 453, λ 489), (3) *ὑπεναντία* (schol. Por. B 848, Δ 2, Υ 329), (4) *ἄτοπα* (schol. Por. I 591), etc.

3. *Λύσεις from a consideration of the means of representation.*

The interpretation of the linguistic expression was the readiest and most frequently applied means for the solution of *προβλήματα*, as is shown by the scholia in which it bears the technical designation *ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως*. The following citations indicate its varied applications: (1) *ἀδύνατα* (schol. Por. Γ 144, Δ 105, E 7), (2) *ἄλογα* (schol. Por. A 62, Γ 121, E 341), (3) *ὑπεναντία* (schol. Por. A 3, B 844, E 576], *ἀπρεπῆ* (schol. Por. A 31, A 42, B 8), etc. These amply illustrate the various *λύσεις* depending on a study of the language which Aristotle states, with examples, in the following order (1461 a 9–b, 10):

VI. *γλώττῃ*, a solution by an appeal to the use of a rare term.
VII. *κατὰ μεταφοράν*, by an appeal to metaphor.
VIII. *κατὰ προσῳδίαν*, by a change in accent or breathing.
IX. *διαιρέσει*, by a change in punctuation.
X. *ἀμφιβολίᾳ*, by a study of the ambiguity of an expression.
XI. *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς λέξεως*, by an appeal to the custom of speech.
XII. *ποσαχῶς ἂν σημήνειε, κ.τ.λ.*, by an appeal to the various possibilities of meaning in a word.

The remaining section of the chapter (1461 b 10–21) contains general observations on the treatment of certain *ἐπιτιμήματα*.

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10. Notes on Horace, by Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College.

1. Satires 1. 1. 36:

> Quae, simul *inversum contristat* Aquarius *annum*,
> non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
> quaesitis sapiens . . .

With *inversum annum* the editors generally compare the Homeric phrases περιπλομένων, περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν; Theocr. 13. 26 τετραμμένω εἴαρος ἤδη; Xen. Hell. 3. 2. 25 περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ; Thuc. 1. 30 περιόντι τῷ θέρει. These passages, however, are not in point, for (1) we hardly look for translations of Greek poetic epithets in the prosaic satires; and (2) assuming that we have a translation of any Greek epithet, *inversus* is surely not a fair equivalent for περιπλόμενος, περιών, περιτελλόμενος. Vergil translates περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν by *volventibus annis* (Aen. 1. 234); cf. *redeuntibus annis* Aen. 8. 47 and Cong. ad loc. Nor is *annus vertens*, Macrob. Sat. 1. 14. 4 (cited by Orelli-Mewes and Kirkland) identical with *annus inversus*. The fault with these views, as well as those of Wickham and Palmer, is over-subtlety. *Inversum* here simply = *altered, changed*. The indefiniteness of this sense is relieved by the very next word *contristat*. *Inversum annum contristat* = *invertit annum et contristat*. Translate "As soon as winter brings a saddening change o'er the year." This interpretation is perfectly simple, requiring on the one hand no recourse to any Greek original, and on the other according fully with the context. This interpretation, indeed, makes it necessary to regard Aquarius as used generally for any winter sign. But surely this can create no difficulty. The sun's passage through A. (see Porphyrio) was attended by cold and storms. Hence the selection of A. here would be precisely parallel with the selection of *Aufidus* in Sat. 1. 1. 58, or of *Auster* Sat. 1. 1. 6, or of *Pontica pinus* Carm. 1. 14, or *Cypria trabs* Carm. 1. 1. Just as *Aufidus*, the mechanism of the verse apart, = simply *flumen*, as *Auster* = *ventus*, so *Aquarius* = *hiemps*.

2. Satires 1. 4. 22:

> beatus Fannius *ultro*
> *delatis capsis et imagine*, cum mea nemo
> scripta legat volgo recitare timentis . . .

Since Porphyrion's time, editors have exercised their ingenuity in guessing as to the meaning of the words *ultro delatis capsis et imagine*. In this fact that, in the absence of definite knowledge, all commentators alike have been reduced to conjecture, is to be found the apology for the present paper. One thing is certain: the words in question refer to some act of Fannius himself. See Kirkland, Kiessling, Schütz and Wickham ad loc. These editors lay special stress in this connection upon *ultro*. It should be noted, also, that in the absence of any new subject for the ablative absolute phrase, it must be assumed that its subject is Fannius. Hence Lambinus' view, which was adopted by Macleane and Palmer, falls to the ground at once.

The progress of knowledge is from the known to the unknown. Hence, in attempting to explain *ultro . . . imagine*, we must begin with the clause *cum . . . timentis*. The sense of these words is plain. Horace says of himself that he has no constituency of readers. Since by means of the adversative *cum* =

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although, *whereas*, this clause is opposed to the preceding one, it follows that *ultro . . . imagine* ought to refer in some way to the possession by Fannius of such a constituency or of some effort to secure one. Accordingly we may say that Schütz, Kiessling and Kirkland have taken a step in the right direction in interpreting Fannius' act as that of sending his books and his bust or portrait to a bookseller's shop, for this act is one whose purpose is the obtaining of a constituency of readers. But is this view entirely right? Can *deferre* of itself = "to send to a bookseller's shop"? Can the terminus *ad quem* be omitted, if the verb *deferre* means *to send* at all? I would suggest the following: (1) Take *capsae* as = *writings* (so *scrinia* is used satirically of the writings of Crispinus, Sat. 1. 1. 122). (2) Interpret *imago* as referring to the portrait of the author on the title-page: see Kiessling ad loc., and Friedländer Sittengeschichte 3^6, p. 239. (3) Take *deferre* here as meaning *to give*, and interpret the whole of the sending out of complimentary copies of one's published writings. For the practice of distributing such author's copies cf. Cic. ad Att. 2. 4. 1 Fecisti mihi pergratum quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti, ex quo quidem ego — quod inter nos liceat dicere — millesimam vix intellego: *pro eo tibi praesentem pecuniam solvi imperavi, ne tu impensum muneribus ferres . . .*; Mart. 4. 72, 4. 82, 7. 80, 12. 1. We have then this antithesis: Fannius voluntarily endeavors to give his writings the widest publicity; I do not, for I do not publish my writings (Sat. 1. 4. 71), nor do I recite promiscuously.

Remarks were made by Professors Sihler and Ashmore.

Adjourned at 6 P.M.

11. Remarks upon Gower's *Confessio Amantis* chiefly with reference to the text, by Professor M. W. Easton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper described the manuscripts of the *Confessio Amantis* in the British Museum, and gave some details relating to the text, with special reference to the edition of Pauli. The paper is now in press, and will form a part of the series published by the University of Pennsylvania.

12. A National Form of Verse the Natural Unit for the Thought, by W. C. Lawton, of Philadelphia.

The title indicates the thesis, which is perhaps to be regarded rather as a tendency than as a law. In that early stage of language when poetic forms and ideas are both most plastic, the union of song, dance, and music increases the need of strong emphasis and marked pauses. Naturally, the verse and the thought try to fit themselves to each other. In any sustained poem, like an epic, such a restful general effect is a necessity. Yet exceptions are needed no less, to prevent monotony.

Advance in culture may make the thought too complex, too large, for the old measure. Hence the doubling of the former unit, which it is generally believed produced the dactylic hexameter of the Iliad. Still, thanks to the elastic dactyls

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and the vocalic nature of Greek, the old suture, which we call caesura, is decidedly less marked than the end of the half-line in the Niebelungen. The new measure was, however, somewhat longer than the language required. This may have been largely the cause for the retention of "resolved" endings, and longer forms generally, side by side with shorter ones. The former must have been as a rule archaisms. The "fixed epithets" are also evidence in the same direction, being often unexplained or actually inappropriate.

The Greek verses invented later were all shorter than the hexameter. Trochaic tetrameter, the usual form in early tragedy (Aristotle's Poetics 4. 14), has but $7\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{8} = 22\frac{1}{2}/8$ notes as against $6 \times \frac{1}{8} = 24/8$ in the hexameter. To judge from the Persians, few trochaic lines exceeded the minimum of fifteen syllables, while a third of Homer's hexameters contain seventeen. The choral anapaests, and the iambics of later dialogue, were of course still shorter. Aristotle may refer partly to this question of length when he calls iambics the metre nearest to prose, though he doubtless alludes chiefly to the articles, prepositions, and other short monosyllables, with which most Attic — like German or English — word-groups normally begin.

There is a counter-tendency toward fuller expression, — because the thought is growing more complex, — shown by the increase of dactylic and other trisyllabic substitutions in, *e.g.*, the Iphigeneia at Aulis. (Shakspeare's Winter's Tale shows the same overweighting of lines by the crowding thoughts.) But on the whole the capacity of the language for curt, compact expression had steadily increased from Homer to Euripides.

The French Alexandrine, the Italian verse of, *e.g.*, terza rima with female rhyme, and English pentameter, perhaps indicate roughly the relative space needed by the three idioms to utter the same thought (12 : 11 : 10). But other facts blur this conclusion. The persistent retention of the final *e* in tragedy indicates that the French line is too long. Italian is astonishingly elastic. Dante often packs into a line what in prose might be sixteen or more syllables, *e.g.*,

Non ra-gi-o-ni-a-mo di loro ma guarda e passa!

And our blank verse hardly has a final pause at all. The first ten lines of Thanatopsis close without a comma! Indeed without rhyme our iambics are hardly distinguishable from prose movements. When rhyme marks the close clearly, the ten-syllable line is too long for our real needs, as would be expected in a speech so stript of all inflections. Nearly all such verse is padded with otiose adjectives or diluted with Latinisms. Scott's octosyllables are more forcible, though less dignified, than any pentameters, and Conington packed Vergil's meaning into the same space.

Though nearly all Latin metres of the classic period are confessedly exotic, Catullus' rushing hendecasyllables but labored elegiacs indicate (like Cicero's letters, Plautus, etc.), that colloquial Latin was swift and crisp.

Both the iambic tendency and the curt monosyllabic nature of English will always make any approach to the hexameter movement in it doubly difficult. Perhaps Latinized vocabulary and even occasional circumlocutions may be made apparent beauties by a masterful hand, but, especially in the fascinating task of a line-for-line version of Homer, the hexameter will always prove dangerously long.

Remarks were made by Professor West.

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At 3.30 P.M., in accordance with the vote of the day before, Professor Goodwin's motion was taken up.

Remarks in favor of its adoption were made by the following members: Wright of Harvard, Goodwin of Harvard, Ashmore of Union, Seymour of Yale, Kelsey of the University of Michigan, Lamberton of Pennsylvania, West of Princeton, Elwell of Amherst, Allinson of Williams, Harkness of Brown, Merrill of Wesleyan, Miss Webster of Wellesley, Miss Leach of Vassar, J. R. Wheeler of Vermont, Paton formerly of Middlebury, Harrington of North Carolina, Hale of the University of Chicago, and Weston of Standfordville (Christian Biblical Institute).

Professor Hale moved the following substitute for the motion of Professor Goodwin:

Resolved: That, in the opinion of the American Philological Association, in any program designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of instruction in Greek should be required.

Unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Professor Goodwin moved that "unanimous" be inserted before "opinion." Carried.

Professor Goodwin moved that a Committee of Twelve be appointed by the Chair to carry the motion into effect.

Unanimously adopted.

Professor West offered the following motion:

Resolved: That the question of the amount of Latin needed for the various courses in the secondary schools be referred to the Committee of Twelve.

Unanimously adopted.

Remarks were made by the Chair on the probable functions of the Committee.

The Committee of Twelve was subsequently appointed. It consists of:

W. W. Goodwin, Harvard University (Chairman).
C. F. P. Bancroft, Phillips Academy.
Franklin Carter, Williams College.
W. G. Hale, University of Chicago.
W. R. Harper, University of Chicago.
F. W. Kelsey, University of Michigan.
G. L. Kittredge, Harvard University.
Abby Leach, Vassar College.
T. D. Seymour, Yale University.
C. F. Smith, University of Wisconsin.
M. Warren, Johns Hopkins University.
A. F. West, Princeton University.

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13. Confusion of δέκα and τέσσαρες in Thucydides, by Professor Frank L. Van Cleef, of Cornell University.

Gow (Journ. of Philol. XII, 278 ff.) has shown that the first traces of the Greek system of numeral notation, in which the letters of the alphabet with the addition of stigma, koppa and san represent the units, tens, and hundreds in their order, are to be found in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Prior to this, the Herodianic method prevailed. At some time, therefore, in the Alexandrian period a change must have been made from the older system to the newer in the MSS. of those writers, by whom so frequent use of numerals was made as to render it probable that symbols rather than words were employed. When these symbols were finally translated into words, it becomes conceivable, if not quite probable, that the translator, familiar with both systems, may now and then have confused them. Such confusion, however, must have been quite limited in extent, because of the great difference in the significance of the same symbol in the two systems. But in the case of the symbol Δ the possibility of confusion was the greatest, signifying as it did in the older system *ten*, in the newer *four*. The following passages of Thucydides seem to indicate that Δ, denoting *four*, was occasionally translated *ten*.

1. I. 57. 6. The Athenians were on the point of sending thirty ships and one thousand hoplites to the coast of Macedonia Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγοῦντος. That the eleven here mentioned were not the official στρατηγοί of Athens, whose number never exceeded ten, but special military officers is disproved by the consideration of the use of στρατηγέω in Thucydides. A change being necessary, it is most probable that Krueger's τεσσάρων is to be read.

2. I. 103. 1. The Helots in Ithome, besieged by the Spartans, capitulated ἐν δεκάτῳ ἔτει. If this were correct, Thucydides would expose himself to the charge of unchronological treatment of facts, a thing reprehended in Hellanicus (I. 97. 2.). Furthermore the surprising endurance of the Helots is incredible. Classen emends to τετάρτῳ and the event falls into its proper place, no matter what view of the chronology of the pentekontaetia be taken. The emendation is approved by the later historians, Abbott, Holm, Busolt. It is another instance of the confusion mentioned, for the ordinal was represented by the same sign as the cardinal, the ending alone being added to show the case.

3. The two passages suffice to show the tendency to confusion. A third may perhaps be found in V. 25. 3., in which δέκα μῆνας, whether the *terminus a quo* be the σπονδαί or the συμμαχία of the spring of 421, would expire in mid-winter, when an outbreak of active hostilities is quite improbable. Ullrich's proposed change of τέσσαρας for δέκα removes much of the difficulty of the passage and would be merely another illustration of the confusion spoken of above.

By way of further confirmation, investigation of the use of δέκα (δέκατος) and τέσσαρες (τέταρτος) shows: (*a*) that the former largely prevails (74 to 39); (*b*) that in all but four instances in which the latter is used, the context demands the number *four* instead of *ten*, while in only half the cases in which the former is used is any information easily accessible to show that *ten* is meant and not *four*.

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14. Women's Speech in Classical Literature, by Dr. B. Newhall of Brown University.

It was noticed by Aristotle (Rhet. III. 7. 6) and by Theon (116. 2 Sp.) that women have a distinctive style of their own and use forms of expression not employed by men. Many writers, however, fail to imitate this peculiar style and none exhibit *all* its characteristics. In history and tragedy mimicry would usually seem too familiar for a dignified and lofty theme, and in Homer, though the manner is so naïve, much uniformity is also given to the language by the mechanical phraseology of the epic. Lysias is the only orator who introduces women into his speeches, Plato has no female characters, and even Lucian does not seem to vary the language of his speakers. The chief sources, then, for our study are the comedians and letter-writers.

I. *Discontinuity of thought* and lack of logical sequence are generally agreed to be essential to the female mind. The garrulity and diffuseness of Chaucer's Wife of Bath and of Juliet's Nurse illustrate this tendency in English literature. The woman in Or. 32 of Lysias exhibits incoherence by her asyndeton, polysyndeton, and excess of finite verbs, while in Alciphron and Herondas asyndeton is much more frequent in the language of the women than in that of the men. In Hdt. III. 53, however, the peculiar structure seems due to the gnomic character of Periander's wisdom (cf. Stein *ad loc.*). Donatus, too, notices the frequent insertion of a parenthesis (Hec. 87) to break the continuity; this is quite common in Alciphron and is found in Herondas (VI. 34. 70) and in Livy (26. 49. 12, 39. 10). The only specimens of Latin prose actually written by a woman are the two short letters of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi; in these we notice the frequent repetition of phrases, and indeed Donatus comments (Hec. 741) on the *femineum tardiloquium*. In Plautus and Terence, unfortunately, tricks of speech which might seem appropriate to women are usually as often employed by the slaves.

II. *Conservatism.* Plato tells us (Crat. 418 C) that *αἱ γυναῖκες μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σώζουσιν* and alludes elsewhere (Meno. 99 D, I Alcib. 120 B) to their tenacity in preserving old-fashioned modes of expression. Again, he intimates that they are fond of stories, proverbs, and gnomes (Rep. 350 E, Gorg. 512 E), while Cicero (De Orat. III. 12) tells us that Laelia spoke like Plautus or Naevius, since 'facilius mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant.' This tendency is exemplified in Cornelia's letters, where we find not only *laborem tradere* (cf. *malum dare, etc.*) and *preces expetere* (cf. Pl. Rud. 258), but one of the compounds with *per* so frequent in comedy, and the rare and old construction of *atque* with a comparative. In her vocabulary we note *deierare* and *pausa* with *quatenus* in the sense of *quoniam*, all ante-(or post-) classical. The only cotemporary of Cornelia that has so archaic a style is her son, C. Gracchus; and Cicero states (Brut. 58) that the perusal of her letters shows 'filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris.' The only other example under this head is furnished by Lysias, in whose Or. 32 the speaker employs *θέλω* instead of *ἐθέλω*, a usage confined in prose to old and familiar phrases. Women, too, use more proverbs than men in Herondas, and they come thick and fast in Theocritus' XVth Idyll, but elsewhere their frequency is not so noticeable. It has further been remarked that the Caribbean and Kafir women have a different set of words

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and phrases for certain objects and ideas, which is taboo for the men, and this is due to a desire to avoid words which resemble the names of their male relatives. The use of Prakrit by the women in the Sanskrit dramas shows no lack of conservatism, but simply an inferior education.

III. *Pathos.* Women are more often influenced by their emotions, so that their language manifests different forms of pathos (in the Greek sense of the word). The woman in Lys. 32 combines with asyndeton a passionate use of anaphora, and this figure is found with similar force in Alciphron (Frag. 5. 2), in Dionysius (Antiq. Rom. VIII. 40. 5) and in Cassius Dio (44. 13, Ante 36. fr. 4. 6). The last instance contains five different words, each repeated twice, while asyndeton adds to the effect. Similarly the fourfold *ecquando* in Cornelia's letter reflects the fiery energy of the writer, seen also in strong expressions like *relictos atque desertos.* This exaggeration abounds in Alciphron's letters and appears also in the address of Veturia (Rom. Ant. VIII. 51. 1), which exhibits constant pathos in thought as well in the versions both of Livy and Dionysius.

IV. *Oaths.* As early as the Wife of Bath we find English women swearing with great freedom, and Dame Quickly puts an oath into nearly every sentence. Hotspur's rebuke to Kate (1 Hen. IV. 3. 1. 240) shows that the women had peculiar oaths of their own, and such was also the case in Greece. There women swore by no god but Zeus, and men by no goddess save Demeter, for it was noted as a personal peculiarity when Socrates swore by Hera or Demosthenes by Athena. Oaths by Aphrodite and τὼ θεώ were especially characteristic of women (cf. Ar. Eccl. 156, 189, Phryn. § 171), and women swear more frequently than men in Aristophanes and the letter-writers. In early Latin Gellius (XI. 6) plainly states that 'neque mulieres per Herculem deiurant neque viri per Castorem,' and this is confirmed by the literature, though by the time of Apuleius women swore by Hercules. In Terence *pol* is the most common oath for both sexes, but in both comedians the women swear more often, the *matrona* most of all. So Cornelia's use of *Ne ille sinat Jupiter* seems unnecessary and Pantheia in the Cyropaedia is over-fond of oaths. Among interjections *au* is the exclusive property of women, while they never use *attat, euge, vah, ei, heus.* But this may be due to chance.

Remarks were made by Professors Sihler and Wright.

15. St. Paul and the *Lex Iulia de vi*, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of the University of the City of New York.

Under what specific legal safeguard was the life of St. Paul sheltered in his appeal to his *civitas*, both at Philippi, Acts 16, 37, and at Jerusalem, Acts 22, 25? — The name *praetores* (στρατηγοί) was not vain affectation on the part of the executive chief magistrates of the colony of Philippi, cf. Orelli-Henzen, Index, p. 156, Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II, 185, n. 3, III, 617. This point of stricture by Lewin and by Farrar is pointless. Cf. also Wettstein on Acts 16, 20.

Mommsen, indeed, on the other hand, unduly depresses the importance of the legal aspect of the occurrence at Philippi, Stsr. III, p. 819, n. 2. — he calling it a case merely calling for the maintenance of public peace — "ein Polizeiverfahren." . . . Do not the words, 16, 21, καταγγέλλουσιν ἔθη ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν παραδέχεσθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν Ῥωμαίοις οὖσιν, suggest the possibility of making a charge of introducing a *religio illicita?* Cf. Wettstein.

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The modern exegetical and biographical writers are in substantial accord as to the political laws which sheltered Paul. Lewin, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, 1875, 3d ed. II, p. 147, on Acts 22, 24–29, cites the lex Valeria Liv. II, 8, "de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum," and the lex Porcia "of 248 B.C.," also an edict of Augustus against beginning a quaestio with flogging, Digest. 48, 18, 1. Similarly, Holtzmann, Handcommentar z. N. T. I, p. 388, citing Cicero, Verres, II, 5, 57, and ib. 66, also Zöckler on Acts 16, 37 (1887), T. A. Alexander on Acts, 1864, Vol. II, p. 129. Conybeare and Howson, 1864, I, p. 310, cite the lex Valeria of 508 B.C., and the lex Porcia of 300 B.C., and Digest. 48, 18. The same references are found in Farrar, Life and Works of St. Paul, I, p. 502; Professor Lumby, of Cambridge, Eng., on Acts, Vol. II, p. 214. H. B. Hackett, Andover, 1877. Similarly Lange and Meyer. Baumgarten, Die Apostelgeschichte, Halle, 1852, cites Hugo Grotius. And indeed every antiquarian point of any specific value in all these writers is directly traceable to Grotius. Was Grotius right?

Was the *provocatio* of 500 and 300 and 200 B.C. the same as that of the Claudian and Neronian era of the empire?

Provocatio was essentially (cf. Mommsen, Stor. III, 351) a republican institution. This appeal ultimately lay not to the Senate, but to the *comitia* of the people gathered in their judicial character and actual bearers of the sovereignty of the state. Cf. Polybius, VI, 14, "*θανάτου δὲ κρίνει μόνος*," scil. *ὁ δῆμος*. The successive establishment of the *quaestiones perpetuae* (*peculatus, ambitus, de parricidio, de vi publica, maiestatis*) greatly limited that exercise of judicial sovereignty. At the beginning of the "principate," 28–27 B.C., the last fragments of the judicial function of the people vanished. The *ostensible* partition of the administrative and judicial functions between the *princeps* and Senate and the cumulation of almost all the important magistracies on the person of the princeps really emphasized the lapse of the sovereignty of the people. A citizen threatened with violence stood indeed still under the protection of laws; but these laws had their root not in the sovereign maiestas of the people, but in administrative regulations of the princeps, in checks placed on the administrative representatives and agents of the emperor. Such a check was contained in one of the several provisions of the *lex Iulia de vi*. The citation of statutes specifically republican in character on the part of Grotius may therefore be fairly called an anachronism. — We read in the Digest. 48, 6, 7, ad legem Iuliam de vi publica, from Ulpian, Book VIII, de officio proconsulis: "*Lege Iulia de vi publica tenetur, qui, cum imperium potestatemve haberet, civem Romanum adversus provocationem necaverit verberaverit iusseritque quid fieri aut quid in collum iniecerit ut torqueatur. Item quod ad legatos oratores comitesve attinebit si quis eorum* (*quem*) *pulsasse, eive iniuriam fecisse arguetur.*" Under this provision, Festus, too, even if he had desired to, would not have been permitted to disregard Paul's *provocatio* to Rome, and that appeal lay to the princeps. It seems impossible to determine whether this lex Iulia was devised by Caesar or by Augustus. There was a lex Iulia *de vi aut maiestatis* of the former, Cic. Phil. I, 9, from which oration, too, we learn that *aqua et igni interdici* was the penalty. Antony had proposed (promulgare) new legislation, subversive of these particular laws, viz. "ut et de vi et maiestatis damnati ad populum provocent si velint," which would have reduced the regular courts, i.e. the *quaestiones*, to absolute impotence. — Rein in Pauly v. *vis*, p. 2676, states that Sigonius, Bach, Ernesti, Löw, Petermann,

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Wächter, Laboulaye, assumed two distinct and successive legislations *de vi*, by Caesar and by Augustus, while others ascribe all to Caesar. Of more recent authorities, Bruns and Mommsen (Fontes Iuris antiqui, 5 ed. 1887, p. 110 sq.) unite the two categories as "Lex Iulia de vi publica et privata," remarking in the footnotes: "utrum Caesaris sit an Augusti non constat." Equally indefinite and uncertain the matter appears to Madvig (Verfassung und Verwaltung des Römischen Staates, Vol. II, p. 274): "Later we hear of a lex Iulia of Caesar (Cic. Phil. I, 9), perhaps the same which appears in the Digest. 48, 6–7, as two laws, lex Iulia de vi privata and l. I. de vi publica, with loose determinations of the differences between the two kinds."

Remarks were made by Professor Wright.

16. Some Spartan Families under the Empire, by Dr. James M. Paton, of Cambridge, Mass.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Professors Sihler and Wright.

17. Pliny's Laurentine Villa, by Professor H. W. Magoun of Oberlin College.

The plan of Pliny's villa here presented grew out of an attempt to give my class a better idea of the meaning of his description (II. 17) than they were able to obtain without a diagram. It was practically done before I knew of the existence of other plans, and was completed in all its details before any of them were available. The only one thus far seen (Hirt's) differs from my own in almost every particular save the points of the compass. Castell's, though daily expected for some time past, has failed to come. Cowan's and a plan in the Jahrbuch des deutsch. arch. Instituts for 1891, which I had confidently expected to have ere this, are still unfortunately not at hand There may be others. I do not know of any; but information concerning any which may have escaped me would be gratefully received. In the meantime, it has seemed best on the whole to publish my own plan just as it is with little or no discussion of the points at issue, and omitting the description from lack of space. In a later article, I hope to present copies of plans heretofore made, a brief review of the views of others, and a careful consideration of the reasons which have led me to the conclusions reached. For the present a few words of explanation must suffice.

The *duae cellae* of the letter (23 and 24 of the plan) seem to have been a *caldarium* and a *tepidarium* respectively, and the use of a special room for the *caldarium* is the ground for putting the *laconicum* (21 of the plan) next the furnace. Behind the *duae cellae*, I have placed the reservoir, which seems to have been a part of the regular outfit in such cases.

Although Pliny's statement that the rest of the side of the house first described was devoted to the use of his freedmen and slaves at first led me to divide the whole of the space not appropriated into small rooms, it has seemed best to make some changes. The inexpensiveness of keeping up the villa (II. 17), coupled with the fact that he had there only a house and gardens (IV. 6) indicates a comparatively small number of servants. Storerooms, a kitchen with accessory rooms, and a

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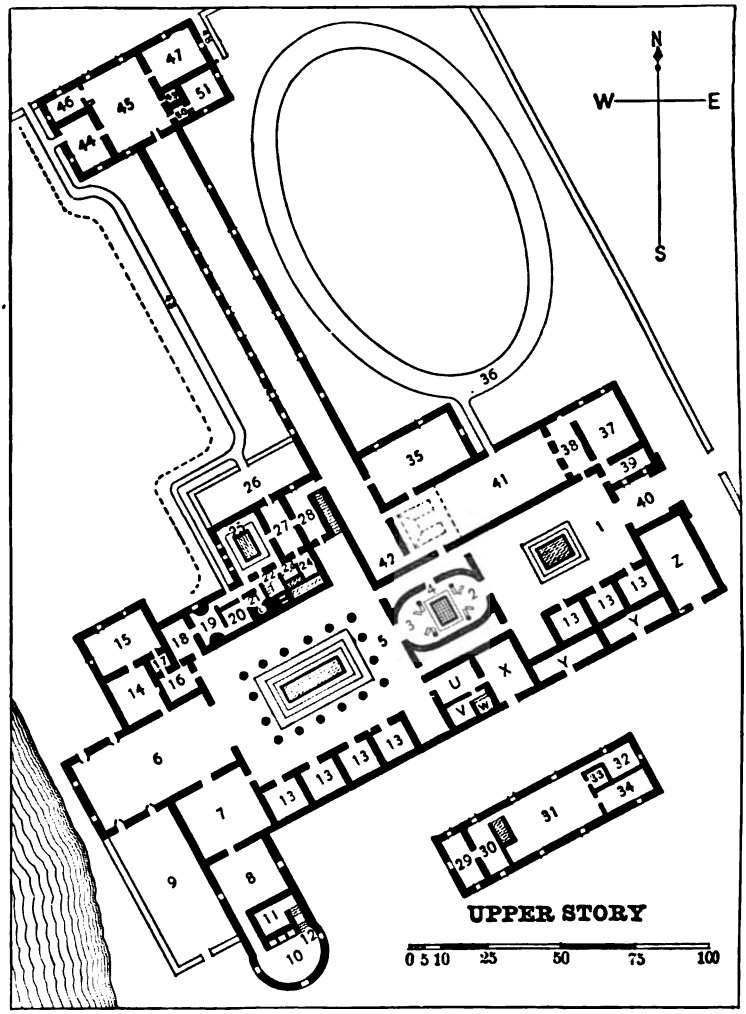
stable, must have been included in the estate, and I have finally come to believe that they were located as given.

There remains the question of the *atrium* and the *cavaedium*. In all that I have thus far read, it has seemed strange to me that no one has raised the



question whether the word *cavaedium* may not have varied in its application in different periods. It seems clear that in the early period the *atrium* and the *cavaedium* were the same practically, though the latter term seems to have been a more general one including the *alae* when there were any. VARRO, LING. LAT.

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IV. 45: *Cavum aedium dictum, qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum. . . . Atrium appellatum ab Atriatibus Tuscis.* In such villas as that of Diomedes at Pompeii which, in accordance with the new fashion in such houses, had no *atrium*, the word *cavaedium*, if used at all, must have been applied to the *peristylium*. There was no other room to which it could be applied, precisely as in the early days there was only an *atrium*. That it was so applied, I cannot doubt; for that it was a general term and not a particular one seems perfectly clear in spite of Becker and his school. On this ground, I have taken the *cavaedium* to be simply a *peristylium*, and have so represented it, supposing that it would come to be the fashion in villas which had an *atrium* to still apply the term *cavaedium* to the *peristylium*, and certainly nothing could be more natural. Indeed, as the family life ceased to concentrate itself in the *atrium* and withdraw into the expanding house beyond, the term *cavaedium* would naturally go with it and come to be used of the inner part of the house, as it clearly is used by writers of the later period. Cf. Vergil, Aen. II. 483 ff. Varro, in the passage cited, speaking historically, uses it of course, in its original sense as synonymous with *atrium*. We should expect the same usage in Vitruvius, the architect, and so indeed we find it. Believing that this is the solution of this vexed question, I have taken *atrium* literally and so represented it.

With the help of the list given below, it will be easy to follow Pliny's description (II. 17), which is to be found in almost all editions:

1. atrium
2. 3. porticus
4. area
5. cavaedium
6. triclinium
7. cubiculum (amplum)
8. cubiculum (minus)
9. hibernaculum
10. cubiculum (in hapsida curvatum)
11. dormitorium membrum
12. transitus interjacens
13. *servants' rooms*
14. cubiculum (politissimum)
15. cubiculum (grande)
16. cubiculum (munimentis hibernum)
17. procoeton
18. cubiculum (aliud)
19. cella frigidaria
20. unctorium
21. hypocauston
22. propnigeon
23. caldarium (?)
24. tepidarium (?)
25. piscina
26. sphaeristerium
27. 28. 29. 30. diaetae
31. cenatio
32. cubiculum
33. apotheca
34. horreum
35. triclinium
36. gestatio
37. cenatio
38. 39. diaetae
40. vestibulum
41. hortus (pinguis) [*with* trichila (?)]
42. cryptoporticus
43. xystus
44. heliocaminus
45. cubiculum
46. zotheca
47. cubiculum (noctis)
48. andron
49. hypocauston
50. procoeton
51. cubiculum

U. culina (?)
V. *larder* (?)
W. latrina (?)
X. *kitchen storeroom* (?)
Y. *general storerooms* (?)
Z. stabulum (?)

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18. The pre-Themistoclean Wall at Athens, by Professor John Williams White, of Harvard University.

Was ancient Athens protected by a city-wall before the invasion of Xerxes? If it was thus protected, when was the wall built and when was it destroyed?

These questions have had conflicting answers. The evidence is exclusively literary. Dörpfeld denies the existence of a city-wall prior to 479 B.C. Before this time the fortifications of Athens were confined to the Acropolis. Ernst Curtius believes that there was a wall; that probably it was built by the tyrants, but that it was not completed so as to be capable of defence against Cleomenes in 511–10 B.C. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff holds that Athens was a walled town in the time of Theseus, that the wall stood in the time of Cylon but was destroyed by Pisistratus, that at least it was not in existence at the end of the sixth century B.C.

The most important part of the literary evidence for the existence of a city-wall before the time of Themistocles is the following:

Thuc. I. 89, *καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἱστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν.* The town and the walls were to be *rebuilt*. Only small remains of the *περίβολος* were left standing. *ὁ περίβολος* must here mean an encircling wall, and is identical with *τὰ τείχη*.

Thuc. I. 93, *μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως.* That *περίβολος* here means enclosing wall (not 'circuit') seems to be established by Thucydides's use of the word. He employs it five times in addition to its use here: I. 89 (above); I. 90, *ξυγκαθελεῖν τοὺς περιβόλους*; II. 13, *ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ* (*cf. τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον* just above in the same chapter) *ὃν ἤμισυ τούτου*; III. 21 *bis* (the double wall of circumvallation about Plataea). The statement of Thucydides, therefore, in I. 93 seems, in its very form, to be a proof of the existence of a wall about Athens prior to the great wall of Themistocles.

Dörpfeld believes that the only wall which existed before the wall of Themistocles was the old Pelasgian wall which encircled two thirds of the summit of the Acropolis and was continued below as the outer wall of the Pelargicon. Is this view invalidated by the evidence of the two passages already quoted? In the numerous passages which refer to this old Pelasgian wall on the Acropolis and to the Pelargicon (*Paus. Descrip. Arc. Athen.*, Jahn-Michaelis, c. 28, 13) there is without exception an exact designation of the place, which is indicated by the introduction into the statement either of the word *ἀκρόπολις* or of the word *πελαργικόν* or its equivalent, and in no one of them is this encircling wall called *περίβολος*. The presumption, therefore, in Thuc. I. 89 and 93 is that Thucydides is not referring to the fortifications of the Acropolis. Further, in I. 93, *ὁ περίβολος τῆς πόλεως* cannot be interpreted as Dörpfeld proposes unless we give to *πόλις* a questionable meaning. I have endeavored to prove elsewhere ('Εφημερὶς 'Αρχαιολογική, 1894, *Sp.* 51 ff.) that in the time of Thucydides the word *πόλις* could not designate, as Dörpfeld claims, the Acropolis and the space at its foot included within the limits of the Pelargicon.

Dörpfeld's belief that there was no pre-Themistoclean city-wall at Athens seems to be contradicted by Thuc. VI. 57. In this passage *ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ* and *ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν* are explicable only on the supposition of a wall. The

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situation of the πύλαι is fixed by ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ as a starting-point and παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον as the scene of the slaughter of Hipparchus. The Leocorium, on the authority of Demosthenes (LIV. 7) and Harpocration (*s.v.* Λεωκόρειον) was ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ. The gate through which the conspirators rushed could not have been in a wall that encircled the summit of the Acropolis and an enclosed space at its western and southwestern foot.

The passage is so decisive that there is no escape unless you deny its validity as testimony. This is done, and the discrepancy between the account of Thucydides and that of Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 18) is cited to prove that the description in Thucydides is untrustworthy. A discrepancy does exist. Aristotle says that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were watching Hippias on the Acropolis and rushed down thence when they thought themselves betrayed and slew Hipparchus near the Leocorium, but this does not in the least invalidate the testimony of Thucydides as to the πύλαι. There is nothing in the account of Aristotle that casts doubt upon the existence of the gate; he simply has no occasion to mention it. His silence is indeed proof of its existence, for elsewhere in the narrative he is deliberately correcting Thucydides, and if the latter had invented the gate, — an impossible supposition, — we should have heard of it from his critic.

The evidence seems to prove then that there was a pre-Themistoclean city-wall. Later writers, who need not now be cited, believed that there had been such a wall. To the literary evidence that has been brought forward may be added the consideration that Athens was altogether singular, if she was not a walled town before the Persian Wars. Olynthus, Potidaea, Thebes, Eretria, these and many others, it can be proved, had walls at this time. The Lacedaemonians proposed to the Athenians, after the fight at Plataea (Thuc. I. 90), τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους. Xerxes and Mardonius had destroyed the defences of many cities in Northern Greece; the Lacedaemonians proposed that they and the Athenians should complete the work.

When was the wall first built? On the west side of the architrave of the arch of Hadrian is the inscription, αἵδ' εἰσ' Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις. This arch is conjectured to have marked an ancient traditional boundary; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff says that it marks a point in the pre-Themistoclean wall (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 98). But recent investigations have shown that it is probable that just here ran the wall of Themistocles, not east, but west of the Olympieum; further, with regard to the inscription itself, to speak of Athens as Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις would have been appropriate enough at any time before Hadrian. Such an expression must not be pressed, especially in the mouth of a would-be poet in the second century A.D. who was composing a bit of doggerel for a show gate.

Another argument urged by Wilamowitz, that the siege of Athens by Minos and by the Amazons implies a walled town, is hardly more convincing. These mythical events imply defences, but we must not forget that, before the pre-Themistoclean wall, Athens had an elaborate system of fortifications on and about its Acropolis.

The orator Lycurgus, in speaking of Codrus at the time of the Dorian invasion of Attica, says (86), κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὑποδύντα φρύγανα συλλέγειν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. So Pherecydes in Pollux X. 128. We may be disposed to dismiss the tradition about Codrus as a later invention, but still the words κατὰ τὰς πύλας and πρὸ τῆς

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πόλεως seem to imply a definite conception in the mind of Lycurgus, namely that Athens, at the time to which he refers, was a walled town. He can hardly be referring to the Acropolis with its defences, for Thucydides expressly testifies (II. 15) that the Athens which Theseus handed down to his descendants was a great city. We may doubt, however, the value of the orator's conception — however definite — as historical evidence.

A similar argument, based by Wilamowitz on the phraseology of Thucydides's account of Cylon in I. 126, rests on a bad misinterpretation. Thucydides does not expressly say, as Wilamowitz declares (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 100), that the altar of Zeus Meilichios lay, in Cylon's time, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. His language is ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια κτλ. Thucydides is speaking of his own time.

Curtius has repeatedly expressed the view that the pre-Themistoclean wall was never completed (last in his *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 90). His opinion is based on Herod. V. 64. The fact, he says, that the Pisistratids retired within the πελασγικὸν τεῖχος to make their defence against Cleomenes proves that the city-wall was not capable of defence. The conclusion is illogical. The tyrants may have preferred, for some other good reason, to make their stand in the Pelargicon. The reason is given, in fact, by Herodotus when he says that Cleomenes besieged them ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθεροῦσι. Aristotle is equally distinct (*Resp. Ath.* 19), ἐπολιόρκει μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Hippias was fighting not only Sparta, but also his own subjects. This evidence does not prove that the wall was at that time incapable of defence.

Wilamowitz argues from the silence of Herodotus that the pre-Themistoclean wall could not have been in existence at the time of the Persian Wars (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 97 f.). "Marathon und Salamis ist bei einem befestigten Athen undenkbar!" It is true that Herodotus in VIII. 51 and IX. 3 says nothing about the wall, but simply that Xerxes and Mardonius, on their arrival at Athens, found the town deserted; elsewhere, however, he speaks of the wall. In describing the withdrawal of Mardonius, he says (IX. 13), ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. The words τῶν τειχέων are not naturally referred simply and solely to the fortifications of the Acropolis, and they have not been so referred by the commentators.

Athens was at no time the scene of the great conflict, — either in 490, or in 480, or in 479. Herodotus, consequently, had no occasion to speak of its defences. There are, further, good reasons to prove that the Athenians *preferred* to fight at Marathon and Salamis. It is illogical, therefore, to conclude, that because they did not fight at Athens, Athens lacked the defence of a city-wall.

In their first struggle the Athenians expected the help of the Spartans, who had no experience in defending walls but were good fighters in the field. The moving spirit in the struggle was Miltiades. His urgent appeal to the polemarch Callimachus explains his determination to fight at Marathon in the open field. He had before his eyes the miserable fate of Eretria. The Eretrians, shortly before this, had retired within their own walls before the Persians, had stood a six days' siege, and then had been betrayed by two of their own citizens. There were many adherents of the tyrants still at Athens, and Hippias was now leading the Persian invaders. Miltiades preferred a decisive action in the field to such chances of a siege.

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The Athenians fought at Salamis and not at Athens, not simply because the land force that was coming against them was overwhelming, nor simply because, if they had fought behind the walls of Athens, they must have fought alone, but chiefly, as Lysias says (II. 33), in order that they might divide the enemy's forces. Fighting in their ships at Salamis, while practically bringing all their own whole force into action, they made the infantry of the Persians inoperative. Themistocles had already made them a sea-folk.

Against Wilamowitz's opinion, further, must be set the fact that the form of statement used by Thucydides in the first two passages quoted in this paper is the language of a man who is speaking not of something that has long since been destroyed, but rather of something that recently existed.

This brief consideration of the evidence seems to justify the following conclusions: that Athens had a city-wall before the great wall built after the battle of Plataea; that we cannot determine when it was built; that there is no evidence that it was not in existence at the time of the Persian Wars; on the contrary that probably it was then standing and was destroyed by the invaders.

19. The etymology of ἄρα and of μάψ, by Professor Hermann Collitz, of Bryn Mawr College.

A recent etymology (proposed by Brugmann in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil. hist. Cl., 1883, p. 37 seq.) identifies ἄρα with Lithuanian *ìr*, "and, also," and holds that both of these words originated from a Primitive Aryan syllabic *r*. This etymology, however, is open to several objections. First, it would reduce ἄρα to a connective particle, while ἄρα is in Homer more generally met with either in combination with a connective particle, where an additional connective particle would seem superfluous (e.g. δ' ἄρα, ἠδ' ἄρα, οὔτ' ἄρα, οὐδ' ἄρα), or in relative or causal sentences (ὅς ῥα, ὡς ἄρα, ὅτι ῥα, etc.). Furthermore, it would be hard to account for a Primitive Aryan word consisting merely of an *accented* syllabic consonant, while the development in Greek of an original syllabic *r* into αρα would also seem irregular.

We may arrive at a more satisfactory etymology by assuming that ἄρα was originally an adverb, like τάχα, κάρτα, ῥεῖα, ἧκα, μάλα, etc. The adjective *ἀρι-ς, from which it was derived, has in Greek generally been supplanted by ἀγαθός. Yet its comparative ἀρείων and its superlative ἄριστος were kept; and the adjective itself is still found, though in a rather faded meaning, in compounds like ἀρι-γνωτος, ἀρι-ζηλος, ἀρι-πρεπής (cf. *Am. J. of Phil.*, vol. 12, p. 308). The formation of ἄρα from ἀρι-ς is in accordance with the rule that adverbs derived from oxytone adjectives in -ι- or -ϋ- throw the accent back; e.g. τάχ-α : ταχ-ύ-ς; ὤκ-α : ὠκ-ύ-ς; ῥέ-α or ῥε-ῖ-α (or ῥῆ-α?) : *ῥη-ι-ς (cf. ῥη-ϊ-τερος and ῥη-ϊ-διος).

The adjective ἀρι-ς is identical with Sskr. *arí-* and closely connected with Sskr. *aryá-*, "loyal, faithful, devout," and *árya-*, "Aryan" = Avest. *airya*. The original meaning of both *arí-* and *aryá-* seems to have been very nearly that of German *treu*, i.e. "loyal, brave, true." The primitive signification of the adverb ἄρα may accordingly be assumed to have been that of English "truly, in truth, forsooth." There are in Homer a number of passages in which, according to Bäumlein (*Untersuch. üb. griech. Partikeln*, Stuttg. 1861, p. 21 seq.), ἄρα is used "um etwas ohne weiteren Beweis und eines solchen nicht bedürftig als un-

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mittelbar gewiss, unbestritten und ausgemacht hinzustellen." Bäumlein is right in starting from these passages and in urging their importance as a means of ascertaining the proper meaning of ἄρα, although his translation, "eben, nun einmal," is better replaced by "wahrlich," i.e. "in truth, forsooth." While in these passages ἄρα may be said to have still preserved (or at least very nearly preserved) its original function of an adverb, it serves more generally as an affirmative or emphatic particle; yet it may be doubted whether its meaning has anywhere in Greek faded to that of a mere connective.

ἄρ before consonants in Homer is analogous to πάρ = παρά, ἄν = ἀνά, or κάτ = κατά (in κάτ-θανε, κάβ-βαλε, κὰγ γόνυ, etc.). Like the latter forms in Homer it should be reckoned among the characteristics of the Aiolic dialect.

ῥα differs from ἄρα and ἄρ not only by its enclitic character and the absence of the initial vowel of ἄρ(α), but also in that it seems to have been originally confined to the combination with monosyllabic words like ὅς, ἦ, καί, ὥς, φῂ, βῇ, etc. (see Hiller, *Hermes*, 21, p. 563–569). It may also be argued that ἄρ(α) and ῥα, as regards their meaning, are not used quite indiscriminately; ῥα seems to have, as a rule, less weight than ἄρ(α), and is more apt to assume the part of an explicative rather than of an emphatic particle. These facts seem to indicate that ἄρ(α) and ῥα were originally two different words, although from the outset words of a similar meaning.

ῥα may be regarded as the nom.-acc. sing. neuter, used as an adverb, of the Primitive Aryan adjective *ṛt-*, the basis of Sskr. *ṛtá-* (=Avest. *aša-*) and *ṛtú*. The primitive signification of the adjective *ṛt-* having apparently been "righteous, just, due," that of its adverb may be rendered by Latin *rīte* and *vēre*, or by English "duly" and "just." This adverb in Greek passed regularly into ῥα. Its function at an early date changed to that of a particle, usually appended as an enclitic to monosyllabic words. Since from the outset its signification approached that of ἄρ(α), and Greek ἄρ(α) and ῥα had become much alike in form, it is only natural that both should have more and more appeared to be but slight variations of one and the same word.

As regards μάψ, it is noteworthy that in the nine passages in which it occurs in Homer this adverb is always followed by a word beginning with a vowel. Like the datives in -οις of the second declension (now generally explained as originated before vowels from the form in -οισι), or the adverb ἀγκάς (for *ἀγκάσι, the old locative plur. of ἀγκών), μάψ seems to have been originally a locative plural *μαψί, which form probably survives in μαψί-διος and μαψί-λογος. This theory would support the etymology given by Prellwitz in his Etymol. Dictionary, since Skr *makṣú* and Lat. *mox* may likewise be regarded as locative forms.

Adjourned at 6.25 P.M.

SATURDAY, December 29, 1894.

The meeting convened at 9.45 A.M. with Vice-President Minton Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University, in the chair.

20. The Literary Evidence for Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos, by Professor J. Irving Manatt, of Brown University.

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Was the only spring in primitive Athens — the Kallirrhoe which Peisistratos afterward transformed into a splendid city fountain — in town or out of town? That is the pith of the Enneakrounos problem — apart from its important bearings on other points in old Athenian topography. The writer believes that Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations, though still unfinished, have substantially settled this question in favor of the site at the base of the Pnyx; and this paper is simply an attempt to put together the literary evidence which has now been confirmed by the spade.

The main authorities cited are Herodotos vi. 137; Thoukydides ii. 15; Polyzelos (a poet of the Old Comedy quoted in the Etym. Magnum sv. Ἐννεάκρουνος); Isokrates *Antidosis* 287; [Plato] *Axiochos* i.; Pausanias i. 14; Harpokration; Photios and the Etym. Magnum (s v.); while the tradition is further traced in the Wiener Anonymus (xv cy.), Père Babin (1672), Spon and Wheler (1676) and the later topographers and travellers.

Of the ancient witnesses, Herodotos, Polyzelos, and Isokrates attest a city-fountain of popular resort under the sole name of Enneakrounos; while the Platonic Axiochos attests a Kallirrhoe on the Ilissos — which is *not* an Enneakrounos — at the very time when the Tyrant's new fountain, by its new name, is in everybody's mouth.

But the important witnesses are Thoukydides and Pausanias, and on the harmony of their evidence the question must turn.

Passing immediately from the statues of the Tyrannicides — a fixed point under Areiopagos — Pausanias groups four landmarks: Odeion, Enneakrounos, Eleusinion, Temple of Eukleia; in describing the pre-Theseian *polis*, Thoukydides groups with the Enneakrounos four *ἱερά*: of Olympian Zeus, the Pythion, of Gê, of Dionysos in Limnis, — all lying *ὑπ' αὐτὴν* [*τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*] *πρὸς νότον μάλιστα*.

Regarding Pausanias as an orderly observer and his text intact, we must look for his landmarks in the neighborhood of the Tyrannicides and not too remote from the Temple of Hephaistos ('Theseion'), whence he sets out on his next walk. Of these landmarks one at least is a fixed point. For the Eleusinion we have clear inscriptional evidence that it was *ἐν ἄστει* (C. I. A. i 1, 37 f., II. 834b); and *ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει* (ib. III. 5), confirming Clem. Alex. *Prot.* 13 *ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει*. Of course an Eleusinion in Agrai beyond the Ilissos could be neither under the Polis or Akropolis nor in the Asty. But the precise location is shown by Philostratos (life of Herodes Attikos ii. 15: description of Panathenaic ship's course), viz. under the Akropolis and adjoining the Pelasgikon on the Sacred Way to the citadel gate.

The other two monuments cannot be so positively placed. But Dr. Dörpfeld (Mitth. 1892), in an exhaustive account of Athenian Odeions, makes a strong case for identifying Pausanias' 'Theatre which they call the Odeion' with 'the theatre in the Kerameikos which goes by the name of the Agrippeion' (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 5, 4; 8, 4) and which may be placed provisionally over against the Areiopagos on the road to the Observatory (Nymphs' Hill). The Eukleia temple can hardly be any other than that of Artemis Eukleia, of whom Plutarch (Arist. 20) says: 'She has an altar *in every market-place* and offerings are made to her by brides and bridegrooms before marriage,' so that we should expect to find her in the Agora — not on the Ilissos — and near the fountain which furnished the bridal bath. Now Dörpfeld conjectures that this is no other than the shrine dedicated by Themistokles ('near his house in Melitê' by the Barathron)

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to Artemis *Aristoboulê*. The new epithet was but another iteration of Themistokles' claim to have been the 'best counsellor to the city and the Hellenes'; and what more natural than that the singular and odious name should give way to the familiar and yet kindred Eukleia, which carried no invidious suggestion? A temple of Eukleia, or of Eukleia and Eunomia, is attested by at least six extant inscriptions (C. I. A. ii. 2. 34; iii. 61; etc.); and it is highly probable that under the three kindred names the goddess had but one sanctuary, and that the one built from the spoils of Marathon by Themistokles in Melitê—the city deme which included Areiopagos and Pnyx.

Now for the landmarks of Thoukydides. The historian is aiming to show how small the ancient *polis* was, and on the Ilissos theory his instances carry us beyond the walls even of Hadrian's city. But Thoukydides is not in the habit of being incoherent, whatever be the case with Pausanias. He gives the impression of monuments grouped about the front of the Akropolis, and there, in fact, on ancient testimony, every one of them—with a single exception—may be demonstrated. (1) The Pythion is attested by Euripides (*Ion* 11 ff., 492 ff., 936 ff., 1400) as the trysting-place of Apollo and Kreousa—'the *northward* rocks 'neath Pallas' hill of the Athenians' land'—and as Ion's birthplace 'hard by Pan's adyta and altars.' It is confirmed by Pausanias, by Strabo (ix. 404), and decisively by Philostratos (l.c.) as the precinct by which the ship is moored after passing the Eleusinion and Pelasgikon. The Pythion is then the cave-shrine of Apollo under the Propylaea on the northeast. (2) The hieron of Olympian Zeus is fixed by Strabo (l.c.) in immediate contiguity to the Pythion: the watch-post of the Pythaistai is 'the hearth of the lightener Zeus between the Pythion and the Olympieion.' And here again Euripides (*Ion* 285) clearly associates this signal station with the scene of Apollo's amour and Ion's birth: 'this spot the Pythian honors and the Pythian lightnings.' (3) The hieron of Gê (Kourotrophos) is one of the last landmarks mentioned by Pausanias as he enters the Propylaia, and literary evidence is not wanting to fix it here at the Akropolis' front. (4) Dionysos in the Marshes cannot on this line of evidence be so positively fixed; but we may at least say that the data of Thoukydides (l.c.) and [Dem] *against Neaira*, p. 1371, cannot apply to the Dionysiac theatre and shrines as we know them.

We may claim then that Thoukydides and Pausanias are at one in reckoning the Enneakrounos with a complex of landmarks lying demonstrably or with a high degree of probability before the Akropolis; that the Platonic Axiochos gives us an Ilissos-Kallirrhoe which is not an Enneakrounos; and finally, that for an Ilissos-Kallirrhoe=Enneakrounos we have no earlier voucher than an eleventh century lexicographer, who in turn rests his case on an inference from a bit of horse-play in an old comic poet.

21. The Greek Duals in -ε,[1] by Professor Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of Cornell University.

The old and for a long time generally accepted view that the Greek dual ending -ω represented an Indo-Europ. -ō resulting from the contraction of the stem-vowel ŏ with the -ĕ which appears in the Greek -ε of πόδε must now be regarded as untenable, and for the following reasons: (1) The two Vedic endings

[1] This paper will be published in full in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*.

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-ā and *-āu* have been shown to represent an original I.-E. variation according to position before consonants and vowels respectively (Meringer, K. Z. xxviii, 217 ff.). The *-āu* < I.-E. *ōu̯* is therefore the original form. (2) The oxytonesis of Greek *-ώ* forbids the assumption of I.-E. contraction; cf. Streitberg, Dehnstufe, p. 71. (3) The genitive-locative dual, Skr. *-ōs* < I.-E. *-ou̯s*, has the appearance of a genit. sing. like Skr. *ɾ̥dtrōs*, Goth. *sūndus* from a stem in *u* : *ōu̯*.

As no bond of connection between the *ĕ*-ending and the other nomin. dual endings appears, our only recourse is to regard it either as an originally distinct device for indicating duality or as a later and secondary formation. That the former of these suppositions is *a priori* unlikely, following considerations tend to show: (1) All the other endings stand in close relation to forms of the word for 'two'; cf. *du̯ōu̯* > Skr. *dvâu*, Gr. *δύω*; Skr. *abhâu*, Gr. *ἄμφω*, Lat. *ambō*; Skr. *aṣṭâú*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octō*, etc.; so also neuter *yugé*, I.-E. *-oi* in its relation to the *u̯ei̯*, *u̯ī* of *u̯eikṃti* (Gr. *ϝίκατι*, Lat. *vīginti*). (2) The dual is a sharply individualized type of the noun with limited use. It stood for a unity made up of a natural alliance of *two*; it was *ambal* rather than dual. It was evidently originally a sort of collective singular referring to pairs. Multiplicity of inflexional signs is therefore improbable.

The traces of an ending *-ĕ* in I.-E. are scanty and uncertain. The ending has an assured existence only in Greek. Is it possible to account for its existence as a separate product of the Greek?

With the exception of *δοῦρε* and *δσσε*, which in various ways (cf. the use of *δσσε* with a singular and plural verb and the absence of an **δσσοιν*) show themselves foreign to the dual, the ending *-ĕ* is limited to consonant stems of masc. or fem. gender. If it be certainly ascertained that the ending is *n̥ot* Indo-Europ., it may be explained with perfect simplicity as a product of the proportion: **-ōs* : *-ō* :: *-ĕs* : *-ĕ*; *i.e.* **ἵππως* (old nomin. plur. of *o*-stems) is to *ἵππω* (nom. du.) as is *κύνες* (nom. plur. cons. stems) to *κύνε* (the new dual cons. stems). If the ending should be ultimately demonstrated to have an Indo-Europ. existence, then it must be regarded as a product of the last period prior to the separation, and according to the same proportion, stated, however, in terms of Indo-European elements.

22. A note on Alexander Polyhistor (Euseb. *Chron.* I. 15, 16 Schöne), by Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University.

In preparing for publication the paper on "A Votive Tablet to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu," read at the Williamstown meeting, I have had occasion to examine an important and much discussed passage in Berosus as reported by Alex. Polyhistor (*ap.* Euseb., *ap.* Syncellum, 52, 15 ff.), which relates to "Homoroka" and Thamte ("Thalatth"). The following reconstruction of the passage is proposed, as probably nearer the text of Polyhistor than what is given us by Syncellus:

(Monsters) . . . *ὧν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βήλου ναῷ ἀνακεῖσθαι, ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα ἣν* <*Βῆλος ἔσχισεν* [*ᾧ ἦν* >*ὄνομα*] *ὁ Μορδόκα. εἶναι δὲ ταύτην Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Θᾶμτε Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεται θάλασσα* [*κατὰ δὲ* <*τὸ*> *ἰσόψηφον σελήνη*]. *οὕτω δὲ τῶν ὅλων συνεστηκότων ἐπανελθόντα Βῆλον σχίσαι τὴν γυναῖκα* . . .

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In line 3, W. Robertson Smith's certain correction of Θαλάτθ to Θᾶμτε is adopted. In line 2, the Ms. of Syncellus reads ἥ (for ἣν), and in line 3, τοῦτο (for ταύτην). All clauses, words, and letters within angular brackets <> are supplied by me. The passages within square brackets [ ] are what appear to me to be interpolations of Polyhistor's. He perhaps took OMOPΔOKA to be one word; the Armenian Version, however, gives us Mar<do>kaje. Μαρδόκα would be the closest transliteration of the forms of the first syllable most common on the Babylonian Tablets. The Ptolem. Canon, however, has, in one word, — μορ (Μεσησιμορδάκου, gen., = Mušiši-Marduk); *cf.* Mordekhai.[1] — At lines 3, 4, Polyhistor may have given κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Φρύγας σελήνη, which, as written in "uncials," would, from the palaeographical point of view, easily pass into κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἰσόψηφον.

I. Hitherto Homoroka (Omoroca, Omorca) has been accepted as a proper name referring to the female demon of unorganized nature and the watery abyss, who is mentioned below as Thamte, and on the Babylonian Creation Tablets as Tiamat, and various explanations of the word have been proposed. But her name is not needed at this point, since it is given with unusual fulness below. As the Tablets report that Bel-Marduk conquered and dismembered Tiamat, it is highly probable that the name Marduk was used by Berosus, who transcribes from the Tablets (ἀναγραφαί). ὄνομα suggests that ὁμορ<δό> κα was an epithet, evidently of Βῆλος, to distinguish him from Bel as mentioned in the preceding clause. The words Βῆλος ἔσχισεν ᾧ ἥν are, of course, not the only possible reading; they give merely the general sense of a clause or line, the loss of which, for whatever cause, led to the present corrupted text. Perhaps for ἔσχισεν, which I have taken from line 4, we should write ἔπαυσεν, following Berosus as reported by Abydenus (Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* IX. 41): λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι θάλασσαν καλουμένην Βῆλον δέ σφε ἔπαυσεν χώρην ἑκάστῳ ἀπονείμαντα [Cod. reads σφεα, but the Arm. Vers. has . . . mare dicebatur, *quod* quidem Belus compescuit].

II. The clause κατὰ δὲ ἰσόψηφον σελήνη has been rejected by many scholars as a post-Eusebian, perhaps Syncellian, interpolation. A. v. Gutschmid defends it as early: he would read Ὁμόρκα (which is Scaliger's emendation of the Ms. ὁμόρωκα), since the sums of the numerical values (κατὰ ἰσόψηφον) of the several letters of Ὁμόρκα and of σελήνη are identical (301). Ingenious as this is, we are not obliged to adopt a meaning of ἰσόψηφον that forces the emendation Ὁμόρκα upon us. As Dindorf remarks: "nugarum metam . . . attigit qui ἰσόψηφα in numeris et non in sensus parietate quaerit." ἰσόψηφον may mean 'equivalent to,' in a general sense. If, then, we retain ἰσόψηφον, we shall have as a probable translation of the passage: "This woman, in Chaldean, was called Thamte, which translated into Greek is Sea, and is equivalent to Moon." Now the Phrygians, about whose antiquities Polyhistor, himself a native of Miletus, wrote at least three books, had a double god known as Μὴν Τιάμου. Polyhistor, in transcribing from Berosus, throws in the clause "equivalent to Moon (σελήνη, Μήνη, Μήν)," because he regards Tham-te, Tiāmat (Hebr. *tʰōm*, Aramaic **Tʰhām*), as identical with Τιάμου.

If, however, we are ready to adopt for κατὰ δὲ <τὸ> ἰσόψηφον the emendation

[1] Several other forms of the word have been cited and discussed by the writer in a note on "Homoroka a Corruption of Marduk," in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, X, 1895, pp. 71–4.

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κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Φρύγας, which well fits the course of thought (Χαλδαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί, κατὰ τοὺς Φρύγας), the sense becomes: "Thamte (i.e. Tiamu), according to the Phrygians, is Μήν." — The difference in sex between Tiamat, fem., and Τιάμου, masc., is not a fatal objection to the identification. On the figured monuments the demon is often represented with masculine attributes. It may be that in the Aramaean regions of the West, through which (*ex hypothesi*) the conception passed on to Phrygia, the divinity was viewed without reference to sex. The monsters over which Tiamat presided were bisexual as well as amorphous.

We may therefore assume, supposing our reasoning to be sound, that the identification of Tiamu, in the Phrygian pair Mên Tiamu, with the Babylonian divinity was believed in as early as B.C. 50 at least by Polyhistor, and if we adopt the reading κατὰ τοὺς Φρύγας, probably also by the Phrygians. This new example of the wide extension of a very ancient mythological conception is, to say the least, interesting and significant.

23. On Greek Tragic Anapaests, by Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College.

In the extant tragedies there are about twenty-eight hundred anapaests.

It was the object of this paper to attempt their division into such classes as shall mark, first, their metrical construction and ἦθος, and secondly, their dialectal affinities. Indirectly, certain results were reached in reference to the value of the Mss. in general, and of some Mss. of Euripides in particular, in respect of the transmission of such delicate and elusive stylistic artifices as the forms of Doric complexion.

No one scheme of dividing tragic anapaests is entirely satisfactory, as no one principle will explain all the dialectal phenomena. There are cross-divisions and chronological distinctions that cannot be overlooked. Euripides' later procedure is different from his earlier procedure; and Sophocles in the Trachiniai may have been influenced by Euripides.

On the basis of their metrical construction the whole body of anapaests may be divided into two classes:

March (or severe, or legitimate).	Melic (or free, or illegitimate).
A. Anapaests of the parodos.	*A*. Complete systems.
B. Anapaests at the beginning of the episodes.	*B*. Isolated verses.
C. Anapaests at the end of the episodes or of the play.	
D. Anapaests between strophic songs.	

March Anapaests.

I pass over any description of certain peculiarities of the severe class. It is sufficient to state that a melic anapaest is not to be inferred necessarily:

1. When the dimeter shows syllaba anceps or hiatus in violation of Bentley's law.
2. When the dimeter shows elision.
3. When the third foot of the paroemiac is a spondee.
4. When the caesura falls in the middle of a word.

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Monometers are not a standard of divisions between melic and severe anapaests. But when a dimeter would end in the middle of a word, we may assume the existence of a monometer that we otherwise might not suspect.

1. If we now examine in detail the four classes of the march type of anapaests, we find that the first division, viz., anapaests recited by the coryphaeus on the entrance of the chorus, is represented by the Suppliants, Persai, Agamemnon, Eumenides of Aischylos, by the Aias of Sophokles, and by the Hekabe of Euripides (273 verses). The language is contemporary Attic with a slight admixture of the so-called poetic dialect, such as κοῦρος, ξεῖνος. For the few forms that do not show contemporary Attic phonetics, I would formulate the following rule: No form with ᾱ is admissible except it occurs in trimeters, either in exactly the same, or in an analogous, word. Thus ναός etc., νάϊος, ταγός, recur in trimeters; φυξανορία, πολυάνορος recall φιλάνωρ, ὀξυβόαν recalls βόαμα. There are but two possible exceptions: (1) Ἀτρειδᾶν, Agam. 44, where many editors read ξεῦγος Ἀτρείδαιν; and (2) ἀγανά in a corrupt passage in Agam. 101. Verrall's suggestion that ν, like ρ, evinces a preference for a following α is worthless. The non-Attic Ἀσιῆτις of M in Persai 61 is not unassailable, though it would give to the word an Ionic and over-sea coloring.

2. Anapaests recited at the beginning of an episode, either by the coryphaeus, who announces the arrival of a new actor, or by the actor himself, especially when he takes the part of a god or goddess. (About 400 verses.)

It is almost invariably the case that, when a new personage appears, his arrival is made known by anapaests of the march type. It occasionally happens however that melic anapaests are employed; as in the Trachiniai where the dying Herakles is borne in. The language is Attic as a rule. When, as in the Persai, the chorus turn aside from their salutation of the approaching Xerxes, to bewail, in the proödos, the disaster that has befallen his expedition, the change from Attic to Doric is instantaneous. Aischylos and Sophokles admit Doricisms only under special circumstances, as in the monometer in the Septem (861), where the chorus say that it is meet that they should "sing the cruel triumph of Death" (Ἀίδα τ' | ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν). Like stress on a proper name may be seen in the Οἰδιπόδα of Antig. 380. The Greek understood the pathos that is in proper names. In fact such a preference for non-Attic forms is not remarkable, when we recall the fact that even in the Attic prose of Thukydides, Xenophon, and Plato, proper names often occur in the epichoric form. Names of divinities too tend to appear in Doric dress. Thus in colloquial speech the Athenians said ὦ Δάματερ, as they said Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ. A certain aloofness may be seen in the use of τᾶλις Antig. 629, a word called Aiolic for νύμφη. μάκιστος in O. T. 1301 has its counterpart in trimeters; but δύστανος here and in Troades 573 is suspicious. In the matter of Doricisms, Euripides is practically as strict as his predecessors. εὐπατρίδαν is used (in the Hippolytos) of Theseus by Παλλὰς Ἀθάνᾱ, as she calls herself, — the Doric forms to enhance the glory of the Attic hero and goddess. εὐπατρίδαν is a noteworthy exception to the tendency to use only Attic forms in the introductory speech of an actor. If θνᾱτός gives more emphasis than θνητός, it is possible to retain it in I. A. 598 and Suppl. 1120, but the Mss. are very inconsistent in respect of the use of this word; and it may be shown that, with the exception of the Lipsiensis of Aischylos, the tendency of the Mss. to substitute Doric for Attic in anapaestic passages, is more marked than the contrary. This

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is especially the case with the Palatinus 287 (*B*) and the Florentinus 32 (*C*) of Euripides. Finally there are one or two irregular Doricisms in the Troades, but, even in the case of these irregularities, the rule holds that only such Doricisms are permissible as have a place also in choric songs.

3. The anapaests at the end of an episode or at the end of the play are full of sententious wisdom derived from the events that have just been witnessed; oftentimes they express praise, blame or lament, sometimes exhortation; or they even rise to the elevation of an appeal to the gods. All of Euripides' plays, except four, end in anapaests. About 550 verses belong to this class.

As the tone of this class is not unlike that of the trimeter, the language rarely rises from the level of the normal Attic. *Οἰδιπόδα* occurs again in the Septem, and is the only Doricism in Aischylos. Sophokles uses only Attic. In Euripides cases of Doric are exceedingly few and all are suspicious. *δύσταν᾽ος*, Medeia 357, is the only possible exception, apart from *τάνδε* in the Bacchai 1374, a place called exceedingly corrupt by Kirchhoff. The passage may, however, belong in the next class. It is noteworthy how few anapaests there are in the Bacchai, considering Euripides' excessive fondness for this metre in his early plays.

4. The fourth class of severe anapaests stands midway between the three divisions just described and the Melic type. The metrical structure is analogous to that of the severe anapaests, but the verses in question (about 600 in number) are placed between strophic songs and laments, and are thus not far removed from purely melic metres. The mesodic systems are rarely antistrophic in character. The tone of these verses is often that of ordinary dialogue, but it often rises to that of a sustained lament, such as we frequently find in the free anapaests. It must be emphasized that the severer systems may be employed for longer threnodies, such as we observe in the Prometheus, the Medeia, and the Hippolytos. In Euripides there are many verses that fall under this class, which do not differ a whit from the iambics of unimpassioned dialogue. While the mental excitement may be intense, I venture the statement that the tone of the laments is in general milder than in the melic verse. In single speeches or songs composed in this form of anapaestic verse, Doricisms are permissible, provided the word in question is capable of receiving the emphasis, and therewith attaining the dignity, that follows from the use of this dialect. In scenes of mental tension of every kind, only Doric is used; but when the passion has given way to calm, only the quieter Attic is in place; but occasionally both dialects are employed, as the psychic state fluctuates.

When the anapaestic systems of this class are independent, that is, when they are clearly separated from measures to which Doric is appropriate, they contain no Doricisms. Attic forms are adopted when it is clear that the anapaests are intended to afford "a relief to the lyrics before and after them." The Doric forms however pass over into the legitimate anapaests when it is imperative that the "continuity of the lyric character" should be preserved.

From the many interesting topics for discussion that fall under this class, I single out some matters that are especially significant.

After the murder of Agamemnon, wherever the coryphaeus speaks, Attic is the dialect used; so too Klytaimestra employs Attic (except *Πλεισθενιδᾶν*); but the three *στίχοι* of the chorus make use of both dialects.

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Both Aischylos and Sophokles avoid mesodic anapaests that require Doricisms, and Euripides employs Doricisms sparingly in his older plays.

In cases where a personage of elevated and one of inferior station sing amoebaean songs, the first named uses Doric, the latter Attic. This is not due so much to the difference in rank in itself, but to the greater capacity for emotion on the part of the more elevated character. Examples in point are the scenes between Medeia and the nurse, Phaidra and the nurse, Hektor and the chorus of guards, Agamemnon and the πρεσβύτης. In the scene in the Trachiniai, Herakles speaks Doric at first, the old man Attic. Later on, however, the agitation of the hero abates, and he has recourse to Attic. But this scene may be regarded as an example of melic verse, because the change of person and caesura do not agree.

MELIC ANAPAESTS (about 900 verses).

Melic anapaests are sung, now by the chorus, now by the single actor in threnodic monodies, now by the chorus and actor alternately (commatic passages), now by two actors alternately. The melic anapaests of Aischylos and Sophokles are closely conjoined with melic parts, and are themselves either completely antistrophic or nearly so. In Euripides, a fact not noted by Hermann, antistrophic anapaests are conjoined with other melic verses (Medeia, 148–150, 173–175). Anapaests are found in an antistrophic threnos only once in Euripides. Melic anapaests may also be alloeostrophic.

When the tone is that of a resigned melancholy, spondaic verses are especially common, while the long syllables begin to be resolved as soon as the hero gives way to agitation, and the ἦθος of the measure changes.

The mint-marks of the melic anapaests are: Their occurrence in close conjunction with bacchics, syncopated iambics and troachaics, logaeodic verses, and dochmiacs, from which they are hard to distinguish when a catalectic prosodiac consists entirely of long syllables. A succession of paroemiacs is also a sign of the presence of melic anapaests. In the fourth class of severe anapaests two paroemiacs may not occur in immediate succession, but in the free anapaests sometimes even more than two follow each other. The paroemiac often abandons its position at the end of a series of cola in favor of an acatalectic dimeter. The absence of a paroemiac at the end of a system is sometimes an indication of mental excitement.

Furthermore, in melic anapaests, we find dactyls followed by anapaests, even in paroemiacs; and dactylic or proceleusmatic feet are not very rare.

When paroemiacs occur only at the end even of short systems, it is a question whether we should not regard the verses in question as belonging to the fourth division of the severe anapaests. Many passages which have been regarded as melic I should prefer to put in the fourth class, either entirely or in part. But I cannot admit that we should remove to the fourth class those passages which contain a few catalectic dimeters, even in a mass of regular, severe anapaests.

When catalectic dimeters occur, save at the end of a system, we have melic anapaestic verse. The greater the prominence of these dimeters, the more pronounced the Doric coloring. But Sophokles, in the anapaests preceding the strophes of the parodos, uses Attic forms even in the catalectic dimeters of Elektra's monody.

Aischylos uses Doric throughout (except μήν) in the commos of the Persai.

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Some general considerations may be noted in conclusion.

As anapaestic verse is constructed in systems, the tendency is to adhere to the same dialect in each system, — a principle that occasionally gives way to the higher requirements of pathos. And in one and the same lament we may expect a series of gradual transitions from agitation to calm and from calm to excitement, varying usually with the different systems.

When diction and tone remain the same, the dialect will remain the same.

Due regard, too, must be paid to the possible preferences of the fine Attic ear. We shall therefore hold to the Ms. δυσφήμους φάμας, ἄτλητα τλᾶσα, and to some cases of participles in -ησας, where an iron system of uniformity might induce us to adopt the ᾱ forms throughout. In certain words, such as ψυχά, θνατός, δύσταν-ος, there is an element of doubt. Many erroneous Doricisms may be explained by the assumption of the influence of the dialect of the preceding or following verses. But in the case of these words it is difficult to reach any consistent conclusion. It is here that delicacy of judgment and fine philological tact are indispensable to the editor.

24. Two Ancient Persian Names in Greek, Ἀρταύκτης and Φαιδύμη, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College in the City of New York.

The formation and signification of these two ancient Persian names preserved in Herodotus may be illustrated from the Avesta. The name Ἀρταύκτης of the Persian governor of Sestos, who was put to death by being nailed alive upon a plank (Hdt. 7. 33, cf. also 7. 78; 9. 116–120, 122), contains in its first part the element *arta-* 'right' (= Old Pers. *arta-*, Avestan *aša-*) familiar in Persian proper names. The name is cited among the examples of *arta-* in Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, p. cxviii. The second element -υκτης becomes clear by comparison with the Avestan *uxta-* (√*vac-*), or *aoxta* 'spoken' in *aoxtō-nāman-* 'having one's name mentioned,' √*aoj-*, cf. Bartholomae, A. F. iii. 11. The entire name thus answers to Av. **ašaoxta-* or 'Bene-dict'; compare the similarly formed adjectives Av. *ərəzuxδa-*, *aršuxδa-* (√*vac-*).

The second proper name, Φαιδύμη, the name borne by the daughter of Otanes who discovered the imposture of the false Smerdis (Hdt. 3. 68, 69), has not been identified, so far as I know, with any Persian form. Rawlinson, reading Φαιδίμη (Herodotus translated, Vol. IV. p. 214), speaks of the name as having a suspiciously Greek appearance. The variant Φαιδίμη may, it is true, be due to the influence of the Gk. adj. φαίδιμος 'shining,' common also as *nomen proprium* Φαίδιμος 'Bright' but Φαιδύμη (*sic*) may be etymologically explained, I think, as a genuine Persian cognomen.

Phonologically the appellation Φαιδύμη would answer to an old Iranian **Hvaētumā*; compare the derivative adjective Av. *hvaētumaiϸya-*. The fundamental element **Hvaētu-* would be the Av. *hvaētu-* 'family, kin,' a word of special religious significance in Zoroastrianism, cf. Geldner, B. B. xv. 253. The phonetic correspondence between Av. *hv* and Gk. (Pers.) φ may be illustrated by the familiar names Φαρναδάτης = Av. **Hvarənō-dāta-s* 'Glory-given,' cf. adj. *hvarənōdāh* 'majestät verleihend' (Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, *s.v.*); Ἀρταφέρνης, cf.

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Av. *ašhvarənah-* 'right glorious,' Gk. (Pers.) Φαρνάσπης, Φαρναξάθρης, and similar names which contain the Av. word *hvarənah-* 'glory.'

The final element of **Hvaētumā*, Φαιδύμη is simply a formative suffix found also in the Av. patronymic *Spitāma*, and in the adjectives Av. *zaṇtuma-*, *dahyuma-* 'belonging to the tribe or nation.' The suggested proportion might thus be given, **Hvaētumā* (Φαιδύμη) : Av. *hvaētu-* 'kith, family' :: Av. *zaṇtuma-* : Av. *zantu-* 'clan.' The notion conveyed by the name would seem to be pretty nearly 'Patricia, Generosa, Gentilis, Nobilis.'

25. Some Remarks on the Moods of Will in Greek, by Mortimer Lamson Earle, Ph.D., of Barnard College.

In the imperative — the mood of command — the issuer of the command, the speaker, is always distinct from the grammatical subject. Commands imply superiority on the part of the speaker. But let the speaker be one of a body the members of which act, or are to act, together: in urging to action the speaker will be urging to joint action, he will include himself with the others, he will use the first pers. pl. The resultant verbal form will be the first pers. pl. of the subjunctive. In the case of this "hortative subjunctive" as in that of the imperative, it is the speaker that urges to action; the grammatical subject (in this case including the speaker) is to carry out the action. Exhortation addressed to oneself takes the form of the first sing. of the subjunctive. In exhortation the attitude of the speaker is one of confidence: he is, to a certain extent, the leader. But let an element of hesitation or uncertainty enter the exhorter's mind and instead of an exhortation we shall have an appeal. This will take the interrogative form. Thus: ἴωμεν "let us go"; ἴωμεν "wilt thou (will ye) that we go?" (That such is the meaning that the Greeks attached to the interrogative expression is shown by the prefixing of βούλει [βούλεσθε] and θέλεις [θέλετε]. This is not a case of parataxis proper. We might fairly term the prefixed verb a *verbal preposition*.) In the exhortation the speaker constitutes himself, to a certain extent, a leader; in the appeal he defers to the will of others, and, in so far, constitutes himself a subordinate. This element of subordination leads to the wider use of the subjunctive in appeals to persons not included in the grammatical subject, whether such persons be human superiors or supernatural entities (gods, fate, &c.). I have chosen to treat the extended appeal in its interrogative form, as more obviously evolved: but the exhortation is similarly extended. (I use the term "appeal" to cover both.) So it comes, at length, that the imperative is the mood of the ruler, the subjunctive that of the "man under authority." From logical the subjunctive passes to grammatical subordination. (In Od. 5, 465 the construction is simply a formal extension of the appeal. Both in this passage and its parallel, Il. 11, 404, Odysseus appeals to his θυμός. The context is against Professor Hale's interpretation [*Anticip. Subjunctive*, p. 13].) — The appeal may be more or less abject: yet the form of expression remains the same. The attitude of the speaker is thus dwelt upon in order to draw attention to the fact that in the subjunctive *the will of the speaker is always conditioned.* He desires, he strives, he urges, he appeals; but he is always limited in his action by some one or something external. He is always conscious of an obstacle. *He is never con-*

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sciously free. I would, therefore, call the subjunctive the mood of *trammelled effort.* — The reflex of trammelled effort might well be an expression of resignation — naturally negative. Thus ἴωμεν "let us go," μὴ ἴωμεν "let us not go"; but οὐκ ἴωμεν "we shall not go." This may explain Il. 1, 262. Should we resort here to the familiar Greek device of emphasizing the negation by making it a separate sentence, we should expand this passage to οὐ γάρ πω — οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅπως ἴδωμαι. We shall thus have traced to its origin a form of expression that has given much trouble. For a different view cf. Professor W. G. Hale's valuable *Extended and "Remote" Deliberatives in Greek* [Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc., Vol. XXIV.] and *The Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin* [Stud. in Class. Philol. of the Univ. of Chicago, Vol. I.]. In the former of these treatises Mr. Hale has proved (as I cheerfully concede) that the attempt made by others (and by myself) to bring οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως with the subjunctive into the category of "final" constructions (in the generally accepted meaning of that term) rests on no sound basis. The thanks of scholars are due to Mr. Hale for putting the case in clearer light. But I cannot draw the sharp line that he does between what he calls the "volitive," I the "hortative" and "deliberative" or the "mood of trammelled effort," on the one hand, and what he would call the "prospective" subjunctive, I (tentatively) the "mood of resignation or resigned effort," on the other. Nor can I think that the "final" subjunctive is not a development of the subjunctive on its stronger rather than on its weaker side. The wide range of meaning in the subjunctive makes it impossible to subdivide it certainly without some external sign. That this is to be found in the ἄν of subordinate clauses I cannot concede. —The optative is also a mood of trammelled effort, like the subjunctive. It starts as a prayer to a superhuman power, declines to a wish (a prayer with the god left out), then to an expression of inclination, then to one of concession or resignation. The weakened opt. with οὐ instead of μή and with ἄν in Att. Gk., bears traces of the wish (paraphrased by βουλοίμην ἄν w. inf.) and of the inclination (paraphrased by ἡδέως ἄν w. opt.), while the feeling that the action of the verb is possible under conditions (the condition being indicated by ἄν as in the case of the corresponding subj.) is brought out clearly when we have a paraphrase in the form δυναίμην ἄν w. inf. The opt. appears from the start as logically dependent or contingent, as an appeal to the will of the gods. (A careful analysis of the meanings of the opt. according to the grammatical persons might be of value.) — If what has been said of the attitude of the speaker in the case of the subjunct. be true, that mood could not be that by which "the earliest expression of the will of the speaker for his own act, *i.e.* the statement of resolve" (=Eng. "I will") was made, as Mr. Hale affirms (*Anticip. Subjunct.*, p. 14). The subjunct. is the mood not of "willing" but of "shalling," and in Gk. we can trace the same distinction as in Eng. The modal form that expresses the "free will" of the subject (in this case "willer" and grammatical subject are identical as in the Eng. *will*-forms) is the so-called "future indicative." This fact we find brought out frequently by a paraphrase of the future after εἰ consisting of βούλομαι or θέλω with the inf. The special "modal" force of the εἰ-protasis, which has been so admirably brought out by Professor Gildersleeve, seems most readily explained in this way.

Remarks were made by Professors Hale and Goodwin.

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26. ARYAN *gn* = LATIN *mn*, by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University.

This phonetic change occurs in Greek (cf. Brug. Gr. I, § 428) and in Umbrian, cf. *umen* (<*ummn- <*umbn- <*ung^{w}n-): Lat. *unguen* 'ointment,' *unguo* 'to anoint.' Was there a similar phonetic change in Latin? I offer the following comparisons by way of an affirmative answer. 1) *uveo* 'be wet' || *umor* 'water.' Assuming *r/n* inflexion, *umor* gen. *umnos* (<*ug^{w}nos): ὑγρός 'moist'; 2) *fluvius* || *flumen* 'river,' gen. **flug^{w}nós*, cf. *fluc-tus*. 3) *ructus* 'belching,' *rumen* 'throat,' *rumor* 'outcry'; 4) *femur* 'thigh,' gens. *feminis* || *femoris*, cf. πῆχυς 'forearm,' Skr. *bāhús* 'fore-foot'; 5) *vomer* 'ploughshare': O. H. G. *waganso*; 6) **omen* 'fat' (inferred from *omen-tum*) : *unguen* 'ointment'; 7) *germen* || *virga* 'sprout': **g(τ)órθos*; 8) *flamen* ('fire-kindling priest'), *flagro* 'burn'; 9) *āmāne* || *māne* 'dawn': ἄμαρ 'day' : Skr. *dhan*, Germ. *abend*, Eng. *dawn*; 10) *manus* 'hand' (<*g^{w}nós) : χείρ (χερ-ι, χερ-σί); 11) *mando* 'chew,' *mentum* 'chin,' *monile* 'collar' : *gena* 'cheek'; 12) *minae* 'threats' : *manus* 'hand' or *mentum* 'jaw' (?); 13) *mānus* 'good,' compv. *melior* : ἀγαθός (<*g$_{\text{h}}$+ *gu*+ *dho*) 'good,' βελ(τ)ίων; 14) *mulier* : γυνή 'woman,' γρ-αῦς 'old woman,' cf. *domina* : δάμαρ 'housewife'; 15) *damnare* 'try by the fire ordeal' : Skr. √*dah* 'burn'; 16) *amor* 'love' : τάφος 'astonishment.'

NOTES: 4° *femur* <*fagw-nos* (*w* from *u* in πῆχυ-ς); *ē* for *ă* as in *fēnum* 'hay' : φαγ-εῖν 'eat' (cf. the author PROC. 1894, X). For the semasy cf. Kluge s.v. *bug*. Here belong παχύς 'stout,' Skr. *bahús* 'thick,' superl. *bāṅhista-*; Lat. *pinguis* 'fat' has been affected in its consonant initial by the πιων group (cf. *pī nus* <'fat)pine' and *pinguis taedae* 'rich pine-torches,' Luc. iii, 681). 5° Cited from Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre, § 34. 5. I add ἄμαξα 'plough-frame' (Hes) <**vamānsu*, with affection from ἄξων 'axle.' 6° Prognostic change as in Umbr. *umen* (see above), cf. Bréal, T. E. 270. 7° Grk. παρθένος, Lat. *virgo*, maiden) (πτόρθος, *virga* 'shoot' vouch for the semasy of Eng. *scion*. Back of *germen* lies a reduplicated Italic stem **g^{w}erg^{r}en- || *gi̯g^{w}en* (= *grāmen* 'blade of grass'). I note also *germāna* 'sister' (with suffix like *ku-mānus*: Ger. *mann*?). 8° But possibly from **flagmen*; why after all must the old comparison with Skr. *brahmán* (: √*bhrāj* 'shine') be given up? The transfer of aspiration causes no difficulty. The Aryan root was *bhrāǰh-* || *bhrāǧ-* (cf. the kin of Skr. *budhnás*, Noreen, l.c. § 51. 2, § 60, anm. 6). 9° *amane*, so the *mss.* of Plautus, Poen. 650, all but A, whose readings are not always best (Brix. Trinumnus[4], 13, Fennell, Stichus, xix); *amane* is clearly the *lectio difficilior*. The genesis of *mane* is simple: *amane ad vesperum* 'throughout the day till evening' was understood as *a mane*, etc., 'from morn till eve,' cf. πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα ι 161. *noctem . . . donec iniciat . . . dies* Prop. v. 6. 85, and Wh.[2] 302 b, 276 c). The *ā* is due to *mānāre* 'to dawn' (Fest. p. 158, Müll.). For ἄμαρ (which is a different word from ἡ-μέρα, cf. the author, Mod. Lang. Notes, ix, col. 267), note that in Aryan *ghn* gave *gn* (Noreen, l.c. § 51. 3). I add in Greek χνόος || μνόος 'moss,' μν-οία, χερ-ν-ήτης 'laborer' (with *r/n* inflexion, see next note). For Germ. *abend* cf. the author Mod. Lang. Notes ix, col. 269. In *dawn* we have the inconstant *d*) retained. For the semasy cf. Skr. *dhanī* 'day and night' (the author A. J. P. xv 430 n. 1). 10° Part of body, *r/n* inflexion; Lat. nom. *hīr*, gen -abl. **m^{e}nos* (in *eminus* 'from the hand') <**gnós*, loc. *m^{e}nū* (cf. *noctu*); Skr. *hā-sta* <**ghu-sto-* (cf. on this suffix the author, A. J. P. xvi 15); Germ. *han-d*. Heart and hand were associated as seat and sign of feeling, *dextram dare*) (*credere*, whence Skr. *hṛ́d* affected by *hásta*, and Germ. *hand* affected by *herz*. An interesting parallel group for hand is seen in Grk. θέναρ, O. H. G. *tēnra*, O Ir. *derna* 'palm,' contaminated *r/n* forms belonging with Skr. √*dhṛ* 'hold,' as χείρ belongs with Skr. √*hṛ* 'take'; congeneric is δῶρον 'palm,' an *r*-form showing the initial *dh/d* variation (cf. Noreen, l.c. § 51, anm. 1, and the author, A. J. P. xvi 23). It seems hard to separate Germ. *mund*, Grk. μάρη 'hand' from *manus*: query, is *mund* from **g^{w}n-to-*? This would correspond to *mund*, 'mouth': Lat. *mentum* 'chin,' *gena* 'cheek,' Skr. *hánus* 'jaw.' Germ. *minne* (?) in gradation with *wonne*, 'love,' Lat. *venus* (*u*-forms): χάρις (*r*-form) coincides with the same supposition. On the interchange of *-r/n* in roots cf. the author, PROC. for 1894 vi, A. J. P. xvi 23. 13° ἀγαθός:

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√*gen* 'become'; for the form and semasy, note Lat. *in-gen-nus*, and further *genuinus*, ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθα (: √*es* 'to be'); congeneric is ἀγανός 'kindly,' and Eng. *kind*, which seems to have the same suffix as ἀγαθός. In βελ(τ)ιων, *melior*, the *l* is due to the interchange of the demonstratives *la*, *na* (the author, A. J. P. xvi 9). 14° Here the root is the same (*ĝen* ‖ *gen*, cf. Noreen, l.c. § 55). For *r*-forms I cite γρ-αῦς 'old woman,' Germ. *frau*, i.e. *vrau* (<$g^{w}r$-). The sense 'old' is not original, cf. O. Ir. *gĕrat* 'hero': γέρων 'old man'; so Germ. *alt* seems to have originally meant 'grown up.' Both *r*- and *n*-forms are seen in the compounds δάμαρ. *domina* 'house-wife' <*dṃ* + *gr* /*gn*· In *mulier* (**murier*) the suffix is the same (cf. the author in Cl. Rev. viii, 455, n. 2); but *mulier* may belong to *molo* 'grind' (for the semasy cf. Plaut. Merc. 396–7). 15°, 16° √*dagh* with inconstant *d*); for the semasy note *lamina* 'red hot plates' with *d*/*l* (?), and *damnatas ignea teste* Prop. v. 7. 38; compare also *amor*, τάφος. I note that words meaning '*burn*' are widely used of the passions in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. Possibly ἀγαπάω, ἄγαμαι 'love,' 'admire' are also to be ascribed to √*d*)*agh* ‖ *d*)*ag*.

Violations of the above law are due to the etymological consciousness; thus *āgnus*)(*avilla* 'lamb' are affected by *agere* 'drive cattle' (cf. Skr. *ajá* 'goat') and by *ovis* 'sheep'; *pugnus* 'fist': *pugil* 'boxer'; *beni-gn-us*, etc.: *genus*; *segnis* 'lazy': *sagīna* 'fatling,' with vocalization as in *femur* above (note *piger* 'lazy,' *pinguis* 'fat'); *signum* 'statue,' 'sign': *seco* 'cut' (cf. *sīca* 'dagger'); *pignus* 'bond,' *pinguo* 'paint' (the earliest writing); *ligna* 'fire-wood': *ligo* 'bind' (cf. δεταί, δέω with the same meanings); *tignum* 'wood for building': *tectum* 'house'; *stagnum* 'swampy place': στάζω 'ooze'—a popular connection with *aquae stativae* (: *stare*); *dignus* 'worthy': δείκνυμι 'greet,' 'honor,' √*dēk* ‖ *dīk* cf. the author, A. J. P. xvi: 22); *magnus*, *magis* (the author, PROC. 1894, x). There remains *ignis* 'fire,' Skr. *agni* (√*d*)*agh*?), with no root associates; there was however association with *lignum* (Liv. iv, 33. 2 *ignibus* ‖ *facibus*, Juv. i, 134 *ignis* = *lignum*), cf. Maced. ἄξος· ὕλη ('fire-wood'?).

I have not taken account of the difference between palatals and 'velars,' believing as I do that the latter are developments from the former by anticipative rounding (cf. PROC. 1894, ix, xi, A. J. P. xvi 14); the distinction is acknowledged to break down in many places (cf. Noreen, l.c. § 55).

Remarks were made by Professors Warren, Buck, Bloomfield, and by the author of the paper.

27. The Passive in Oscan-Umbrian, by Professor Carl Darling Buck, of the University of Chicago.

The paper forms a portion of an article entitled 'The Oscan-Umbrian Verb-system,' published in the 'Studies in Classical Philology' of the University of Chicago, Vol. I.

The Oscan-Umbrian 'passive,' though agreeing with the Latin in its chief characteristic, the *r*, stands, in the details of its formation, in marked contrast to the uniformity of the latter. Four types may be distinguished:

1. Forms in which *r* alone appears as the personal ending. Examples: pres. indic. U. *ier*, O. *lovfir*; pres. subj. U. *ferar*; perf. subj. O. sakrafír, U. *pihafei*, herifi; fut. perf. U. *covortuso*, *benuso*.

2. Forms in *-ter* and *-tur*, answering to the Latin formation with *-tur*, e.g. O. *vincter*, sakaratęr, U. hertei; pres. subj. O. sakahſter, U. emantur.

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3. Modal forms in which the subjunctive-sign stands between the *t* and the *r*. Examples: U. *hertei* (i.e. *herter*), O. lamatír.

4. Forms in which the mode-sign appears both before and after the *t*. Examples: O. krustatar, kaispatar, sakraíter.

The two last-named types are plainly of secondary origin, due to a confusion of 1 and 2. In regard to the relative antiquity of 1 and 2, the writer agrees with Zimmer in seeing in forms like U. *ferar* the most primitive type. U. *ferar* is a by-form of *ferant*, *ier* of **ient* (cf. *sent*), *-so(r)* of **sont* (Lat. *sunt*). The usage is the impersonal, e.g. O. sakraffr 'there shall be a dedication of.' The variation *-er* : *-or* is connected with that of the unthematic *-ent* : thematic *-ont*. Likewise that of *-ter* : **tor* (*-tur*). But Zimmer's explanation of the origin of forms like Lat. *vehitur* (as a compromise-form of *vehur* and *vehit*) is weak, and it may be well to hold to Brugmann's view that *-tur* is the middle ending *-to* + *r*. Only, rather than set up with Brugmann a middle ending *-te* for which there is no collateral evidence, the *-ter* is to be regarded as formed to *-tor* after the analogy of *-er* to *-or* in the forms of type 1.

Remarks were made by Professor Warren.

28. Magical Curses written on Lead Tablets. By Professor W. J. Battle, of the University of Texas (read by title).

In recent years a number of lead tablets bearing curses of a magical character have been unearthed in various places. To collect and treat them together has been my aim.

In order fully to understand the force of these magical imprecations and prove them but a variety of the ordinary curse, it seems not unfitting to consider the history of curses in general. A curse is essentially a religious formula, a prayer express or implied to certain gods to send harm on persons whom one hates, but is unable otherwise to reach. The mere words of the formula were indeed held to have a compelling force.

Among the Greeks the curse first appears as employed by fathers against contumacious sons; and history and tragedy alike are full of its use by individuals helpless to defend themselves against their personal enemies. From this the step was easy for the state to curse criminals unknown or beyond the reach of its power, and especially as a preventive of a crime forbidden. Lastly curses operative in case of failure to keep an oath were thought materially to strengthen its validity, and were in every one's mouth.

At Rome the curse is seen first as a public, religious ceremony directed against certain classes of great criminals. There were, of course, the Greek usages; but, besides these, special forms were in vogue in the siege of towns after the evocation of their gods, and in the ceremony of devotion by the commanding general in order to appease the gods and bring victory to his forces.

Curses on gravestones against violators of the tomb are common to both Greeks and Romans and extremely numerous. A few cases also are found where the curse is directed against the person who caused the untimely death of the deceased.

To the magical curses proper of our subject we have several, albeit not very

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detailed, allusions in both Greek and Latin writers. The most important is Tacitus' remark about the death of Germanicus that spells and devotions scratched on lead plates were found buried under the floor and hid in the walls of the house where he lay. This was but an instance of what had been brought about by the mass of superstitious practices arising on the downfall of the old religions. Magical rites came into universal use, and of these perhaps most prominent were the καταδέσεις or κατάδεσμοι of the Greeks, the devinctiones or devotiones or defixiones of the Romans. Our knowledge of them from literature is scant — hardly more than that magical formulae under whatever name when properly uttered, or carved on walls, or scratched on lead or copper tablets and concealed under the floor or in the walls of a house, were all but universally believed to have the power of bringing death, insanity, sickness or other misfortune to an enemy.

Several Egyptian magical papyri which have only recently attracted attention give us much more light. Of varying length, one containing 3277 lines, they exhibit a conglomeration of magical directions, spells, devotions, and the like — in short, handbooks or compends of magic. In several places the formula of the curse is given and its management prescribed. For example, in one case it is ordered that the spell be written on a lead plate, tied with a string to certain clay images and buried at sunset at the grave of somebody untimely dead, to the accompaniment of a magical song and the offering of flowers. The analogy with curses actually preserved on lead tablets, rolled up and tied with a string, and buried in graves, is apparent. Moreover, the language of the papyri and the tablets is at times almost identical.

These tablets have been found in the East, in Attica 14, Corcyra 1, Alexandria 1, Cnidus in Asia Minor 16, Cyprus 17; in the West, in Italy 17, Africa 11, Spain 1, Britain 2, Dalmatia 2, Germany 9, Raetia 1. In age they extend from the fourth century B.C. to the sixth A.D. They are all written on thin lead plates of varying size, except five, one of which is on bronze, one on pewter, one on marble, and two on household utensils. Lead seems to have been chosen for its cheapness, durability, ease of handling, and because the writing on it was hard to make out. I do not think there is any difference of conception in the case of the tablets not of lead. The papyri as a rule prescribe lead, but not always; for sacred paper and pewter or tin are twice distinctly named for the same purpose.

The tablets may be divided into two classes, according as they were put in a public or secret place. Of the first (the public or conditional) class all have been found on the sites of temples or shrines; and from the holes in the corners, as well as from their language, it is clear that, being nailed to the walls of the sanctuary, they were meant to be generally seen. Most of them were found by Sir Charles Newton at Cnidus. None except one of the Newtonian curses gives the name of the victim. Most often the writer does not know it, but enraged by some loss or violence or theft, he wishes compensation by the return of the stolen goods, or the cessation of the injury, and to effect this exposes in a public place, where the criminal is likely to see it, an awful curse, to be inoperative, however, if compensation be made. The idea was that the guilty man would be frightened into doing this without delay. Such a notion is current now in Greece, and not unknown among our negroes.

But not always is the criminal unknown. Sometimes the writer, from fear or other cause, is unwilling to post the name, and writes the curse in general terms, but

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clear enough for the criminal to recognize it. In one tablet the curse is actually repeated on the back with the names given in full. Two name the enemy outright. Perhaps the writer was too angry to be prudent.

In a few tablets there is no condition about compensation being made, and the curse is therefore absolute. The writer wished either to allow no room for repentance or, in cases where the harm is irreparable, merely to prevent a repetition of the offence.

In the tablets of the second or absolute class the writer wishes to injure his enemy safely but speedily, and he puts his curse where it will surely reach the gods of the lower world whom he addresses. This, of course, is a grave, which, being the home of a body whose soul is in the infernal regions, was held pre-eminently under the domain of the gods of those regions. The dead man seems to have served as a connecting link between the kingdoms of dead and living, and might therefore play postman to deliver the curse deposited with him to the gods invoked.

The tablets were variously treated, sometimes doubled or rolled and fastened with a thread or transfixed by a nail, by an actual piercing typifying the magical defixion of the curse. Oftener, however, the tablet was nailed to the inner tomb-wall, or the coffin itself. Occasionally it lay directly on the body or bones of the dead, but most often of all the curser got the tablet in the tomb as best he could without rolling or nailing of any kind. Where the tablets were rolled, it was probably for convenience or for added magical force or for secrecy's sake. Certainly if detected, the writer stood in imminent danger both from the person devoted and from the law.

The great majority of the absolute curses have been found in graves, and though the exact locality of a few is doubtful, it is extremely probable that they were all originally in graves except two found in hot springs, so placed because invoking the spring deities. As to the kind of grave selected, the tablets themselves are silent, but two of them were found on skulls whose bodies were not to be seen, and the papyri regularly prescribe graves of persons untimely dead. As to whether the tablets were inserted at the burial of the dead or afterwards, we cannot always be sure. The eleven Carthage tablets, however, were dropped down a ventilating pipe of the cemetery vault.

Of auxiliary aids to the working of the curse there is no proof. One mentions a cock bound as illustrating its desired action, and others show cocks' heads with perhaps the same design. The papyri and poets, however, speak of wax or clay images, needles, etc., etc., and Tacitus mentions bones, herbs, bloody ashes and the like.

The causes assigned for the curses are various. Many cases are doubtful. Most common is theft. Three are due to a denial of a deposit, 5 to jealousy, 3 to marital infidelity, 6 to a desire for victory in the chariot race by the destruction of one's rivals, 3 to a lost case in court, 3 to a charge of being a poisoner, 1 to the use of false weights by a shopkeeper, 1 to assault and battery, 1 to adversity, 1 to religious zeal.

In contents, the tablets present many peculiarities. Sometimes there are figures connected with the curse itself, such as a diagram of a circus, or a cock's head, or a likeness of the demon invoked, but more often magical signs, unintelligible now, but then thought of great potency. Four tablets are written back-

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wards, wholly or in part, doubtless for increased magical effect, and for the same reason the lines of another are queerly jumbled. So in three written in concentric squares beginning on the outside and continuing till the whole was filled, so involving the words that no exit was possible, the writer, perhaps, typified the entanglement of horses and drivers for which he prayed. In one of the papyri a ring is directed to be drawn round the devoted names to serve the same purpose. In the case of the cock already mentioned, such an analogy is expressly stated, and in others the cold and lifeless lead of the tablet, the dead habitant of the tomb, the water of the hot spring, are employed in the same way.

That the social position of the writer was low oftentimes, the extreme illiteracy of the curses shows plainly. Sometimes, however, names and language reveal people of education and rank. As to the writers' sex, only thirty-eight cases are clear, — sixteen by women, twenty-two by men. Frequently the writer adds to the curse a deprecation of evil from himself; for a curse was thought capable of reflex action, and dangerous therefore. It was hazardous, too, to associate with a devoted person, and this was provided for by a special disclaimer: "May it be well with me, and may I be safe in associating with the accursed one, whether under the same roof, or in the same bath, or at the same table."

As to the person devoted, almost the same may be said as about the writer. Any number of enemies, however, can be devoted in one curse, while there is no case of two writing one together. Still, the formula is usually repeated for each enemy, and, accurately to mark him out, all his names are given, and often those of his father and mother as well. He is, of course, always a living person.

The gods invoked are almost always infernal, — Pluto, Demeter, Persephone, Hecate, Hermes, being most in vogue. Many curses specify none; others address a whole host of Egyptian magical divinities. These are late.

Generally the curse begins with a word of binding or of dedicating. Some form of δέω is usual in Greek, — a magical term, used first, doubtless, in a literal sense of binding a name or image with a thread, typical of the magic binding of the enemy. The word of dedication carries the idea of formal consecration to the use of the god invoked, implying a speedy destruction of the person thus consecrated. In the Latin curses more frequent than words of binding or dedicating are those of commending, intrusting, — such as mando, commendo. They are clearly euphemistic.

Sometimes the word of binding, dedicating, or commending constitutes the whole of the curse. More often other and particular punishments are added. Of great variety, these nearly all relate to the bodily harm of the enemy. From death there are all grades, down to the payment of a fine. Several times the writer wishes only that the devoted become hateful to a given third party. In the statement of the penalty, the most minute care is taken so as to allow no loophole of escape. There is much repetition. Sometimes the punishments asked are inconsistent, and often a light is put after a severe one. The writer wrote first that most desired; but, to provide for all contingencies, he added others. If the god would not grant one, he might another.

How general was the use of these tablets, the large number now extant plainly shows. We have also a votive tablet giving thanks for delivery from a man who dealt in magical defixions; and another, relating how a curse was duly answered; and grave inscriptions mourning the success of magical spells are also known.

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Whether the tablets produced these results or not, people thought they did, and so used them.

Such are the curses so far found. Those yet in hiding will doubtless give us more detailed knowledge, but I do not believe they will alter our general conceptions.

When the above was written, I had been unable to get a sight of certain of the tablets enumerated on page lv. An examination of these adds to the number of cases where the writer's sex is plain, and shows one where several persons joined in writing the curse — quite contrary to the usual practice. The text of all the curses, with a detailed treatment of the subject, will be ready for publication at an early date.

29. Lexicographical Notes, by Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College (read by title).[1]

In the preparation of the *Notes* four books were constantly consulted: the Lewis and Short Latin Lexicon, Nettleship's Contributions to Latin Lexicography, Georges' Ausführliches Deutsches-Lateinisches Wörterbuch (7th edition), and the same author's Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen. Nothing was included in the paper which had been at all adequately treated in any of these works. The whole number of words treated in the paper was 140. Of these three have not as yet been recorded in our lexicons. In a number of instances serious errors of Lewis and Short or of Georges were corrected. The bulk of the paper, however, consisted of new citations for words already recorded. Most of these notes came from Gellius, the paper being in this respect a continuation of an article entitled "Corrections and Additions to Lewis and Short in connection with Aulus Gellius," contributed by the author to the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XIV. pp. 216–225. In the citation of new passages for words already known, a definite principle was followed, to wit, that only such be given as would add materially to our knowledge of the history of the individual words considered. For example, in the case of very many words, our lexicons cite no passage from authors later than Tacitus, or the elder Pliny, or Quintilian, though the word may be found in Gellius, or even in Tertullian. *Perendie* is cited only from Plautus and Cicero, but occurs in Gell. 6, l. 10, and Fronto, p. 84, Naber (bis). *Iniussus*, on the other hand, is cited first from Cicero, but is used by Terence Phorm. 231 and by Cato De Re Rustica c. 5.

A specimen of the *Notes* is appended.

Condecōrē is to be added to our lexicons from Gell. 14. 4. 1. *Condigne* mehercule et *condecore* Chrysippus . . . os et oculos Iustitiae vultumque eius severis atque venerandis verborum coloribus definxit. For a commentary on this sentence, compare the lemma of the chapter: Quod *apte* Chrysippus et *graphice* imaginem Iustitiae modulis coloribusque verborum depinxit. *Condecore = fittingly, aptly.*

Īsopsēphus, a, um, is to be added to the lexicons from Gell. 14. 6. 4 (which Liddell and Scott, s.v. *ἰσόψηφος* wrongly cite as 14. 4). In § 1, Gellius relates that one of his friends, volunteering to help him in the compilation of the Noctes

[1] This paper will appear in full in vol. xvi of the *American Journal of Philology*.

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Atticae, had loaned him a *liber doctrinae omnigenus praescatens.* In addition to many other wonderful things contained in this volume, there was a question as to what verses in Homer are *isopsephi.* Each letter of the Greek alphabet had, as is well known, a definite numerical value (cf. Hadley-Allen, § 289). Hence, *versus isopsephi* are verses in which the combined numerical value of all the letters is the same. Examples are, Iliad, 7, 264, 265, in which the sum of the letters in each line is 3498, and Iliad, 19, 306, 307, in which the sum of the numerical values of all the letters is 2848. Words, too, may be *isopsephi.* Thus, in Νεῖλος and μέτρος the sum of the letter values is 365. See further, Muretus, Var. Lect. 14, 13, and Plutarch, Symposiaca, 9. 3. 3.[1]

Macriusculus, a, um = *lean, juiceless,* is not recorded by the lexicons, though it may be found in Gell. 20. 8. 3, Quae (ostreae) cum adpositae fuissent et multae quidem sed *inuberes macriusculae*que essent "luna" inquit "nunc videlicet senescit; ea re ostrea . . . *tenuis exsucta*que est." Contrast Pliny's (ostrea) multo lacte praegnatia, 32. 59.

Ignitabulum or *incitabulum?* L. and S., as well as Georges, cite the latter of these words as ἅπ. εἰρ. In Gell. 15. 2. 3, crebris et ingentibus poculis ingenium omne ingurgitabat, fomitem esse quendam dicens et incitabulum ingenii virtutisque, si mens et corpus hominis vino flagraret. Hertz' reading, *ignitabulum,* is preferable. The combination, *fomitem et ignitabulum . . . flagraret,* is thoroughly in accord with Gellius' habit of coupling words of closely allied meaning, and harmonizes well with his predilection for strong metaphors. Further, in Macrob. Sat. 2. 8. 4 (a passage evidently based on the one under discussion) Eyssenhardt reads qui aestimavit fomitem esse quendam et ignitabulum ingenii virtutisque . . . This was noticed by Gronovius, who himself read incitabulum. Finally, for the existence of a word, *ignitabulum,* we have independent testimony (see the lexx.); whereas, for *incitabulum* no authority exists apart from the present passage. Therefore, expunge *incitabulum* from the lexicons, and s.v. *ignitabulum,* add reference to Gell. l. l. and s.v. *fomes* (L. and S.), correct the reading of this passage as cited there.

In addition to the above papers, communications were presented by Professor W. G. Hale of the University of Chicago: 'On the Latin subjunctive and Greek optative in indirect discourse;' and Professor M. Bloomfield of the Johns Hopkins University: 'On the Etymology of ἀείδω.' These papers are withdrawn from publication for the present by their authors. The former paper was discussed by Dr. Earle, Professor Ashmore, and the author; the latter by Professors Smyth, B. I. Wheeler, Collitz, and the author.

Upon request, Professor Bloomfield then made some remarks on Professor Streitberg's Theory as to the origin of certain long I. E. vowels, in continuation of his paper presented at the General Session of December 28. This paper appears in full in the Transactions. Pro-

[1] For the substance of this note I am indebted to Weiss, the translator of Gellius.

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fessors B. I. Wheeler, Bloomfield, Buck and Collitz participated in a discussion of the theory in question.

At the General Session of December 28 a paper on "The Athenian γραφὴ παρανόμων and the American Doctrine of Constitutional Law" was presented by Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University; and one on "The Contribution of the Latin Inscriptions to the Study of the Latin Language and Literature," by Professor Minton Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University. The latter paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS; an abstract of the former is inserted below.

30. The Athenian γραφὴ παρανόμων and the American Doctrine of Constitutional Law, by Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University.

This paper discussed some points in the working of the Athenian γραφὴ παρανόμων, which was suggested by recent discussions of the "American Doctrine of Constitutional Law." In the treatment of the latter subject it has usually been assumed that the United States government was the first to recognize the right of the judiciary to declare legislative acts invalid on the ground that they conflicted with some higher code of law which the legislature had no power to change or repeal. The striking analogies between the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States and those of the Heliastic Court of Athens in this respect have been clearly set forth by Professor Goodell, of Yale University, in the *Yale Review* for May, 1893; and it is well known to classical scholars that the power to decide whether an ordinary legislative act is in accord with permanent enactments based on an authority above the legislature, and to annul the former in case of a conflict, was exercised by the Athenian courts through the γραφὴ παρανόμων. It is, indeed, wonderful that any government having a written constitution to which the legislature is subject, and which cannot be abrogated by the legislature, can dispense with such a power. But it appears that no modern European government has given it to its courts of law. In the United States it grew up naturally and gradually, almost without the knowledge or recognition of our early judicial authorities. Professor James B. Thayer, of Harvard University, in a most interesting and instructive address delivered at Chicago in August, 1893, has clearly described the history of this important power. In our complicated system of State and Federal governments such a provision is an absolute necessity. In England, however, where there is no written constitution to direct the legislative power, no such protection against hasty legislation exists or could possibly exist; and no act of Parliament, the meaning of which is plain, "can be questioned in a Court of Justice."

Professor Thayer devotes a large part of his address to a consideration of the important safeguards by which this power in the United States is protected from abuse, especially the fixed principle by which "an act of the legislature is not to be declared void unless the violation of the constitution is so manifest as to leave no room for reasonable doubt." This discussion of the "American Doctrine"

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suggests to the classical scholar many important points of difference between our process and the Athenian γραφὴ παρανόμων.

1. The United States gives the power in question to the highest bench of judges, men learned in the law. Athens gave it to a jury of 500, 1000, or 1500 ordinary citizens, chosen by lot, who had no one except the parties to the suit or their counsel to expound the law to them. But this was the highest judicial tribunal that Athens had to try ordinary suits at law.

2. The Athenian code of permanent laws, which could be changed or repealed only by the joint action of the Senate, the Assembly, and a court of law, contained far more details and provided for a far greater variety of cases than the United States Constitution, so that the γραφὴ παρανόμων had less to do with the discussion of legal principles than with the verbal comparison of special enactments.

3. The γραφὴ παρανόμων was a criminal, not a civil, suit; and it aimed not merely at the abrogation of the legislative act, but also at the punishment of its mover. The personal responsibility of the mover was, however, limited to a year after the passage of the act.

4. The γραφὴ παρανόμων could be brought by any citizen of good standing, no personal interest in the case being required or assumed; while the United States Court acts only on cases of appeal brought from a lower court by interested parties.

5. Owing to the popular character of the Athenian courts and the diminished sense of responsibility which their great size produced, the γραφὴ παρανόμων degenerated into a test of the popularity of rival politicians, and ceased to be a trial of judicial questions. Thus the chief and the decisive question in the famous case of the Crown was whether the statement of Ctesiphon in his decree that Demosthenes was a patriotic statesman was "false and therefore illegal," it being illegal "to put a false statement into the public records."

These considerations show that the Athenian process lacked most of the safeguards by which our own is amply protected. They also show plainly the points at which our own is open to attack unless it is constantly guarded. The important principle which lies at the foundation of both processes is one on which democratic government must always depend for its security against dangerous legislation, and this amply justifies the exalted position which the Attic orators give to the γραφὴ παρανόμων as the great bulwark of Athenian liberty.

On motion of Professor Wright, the vote of thanks passed in the General Session of December 28 was reaffirmed:

The several societies here assembled in the CONGRESS OF AMERICAN PHILOLOGISTS, viz.:

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY,
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION, and
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

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unite in expressing their hearty thanks to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their unstinted hospitality; to the Local Committee, with its efficient Chairman and Secretary, for the considerate provision made for the convenience of every guest; and also to Dr. Horace Howard Furness for his memorable words of welcome. They further desire to record the grateful recognition of the courtesies generously extended to them and their friends by the

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
THE PENN CLUB,
THE UNIVERSITY CLUB,
THE ART CLUB,
THE ACORN CLUB, and
THE NEW CENTURY CLUB.

Adjourned at 1.30 P.M.

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JOINT MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION

AND THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

AT

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA

DECEMBER 27–29, 1894.

JOINT SESSIONS.

OPENING SESSION.

Thursday, December 27, at 12 M.

Address by Mr. C. C. Harrison, Acting Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, introducing the Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, of the Johns Hopkins University, President of the Modern Language Association of America.

Address of Welcome by Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Philadelphia.

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SECOND JOINT SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 10 A.M.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Prof. John Henry Wright, of Harvard University, President of the American Philological Association.

Dr. J. P. Peters, New York, and Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Philadelphia:

1. The last results of the Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.

Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University:

2. The Athenian γραφὴ παρανόμων and the American doctrine of constitutional law.

Prof. Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University:

3. The contribution of the Latin inscriptions to the study of the Latin language and literature.

Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia College:

4. Cyrus's dream of the winged figure of Darius in Herodotus.

Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College:

5. Some Modern German etymologies.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University:

6. On Prof. Streitberg's theory as to the origin of certain long Indo-European vowels.

Prof. Federico Halbherr, University of Rome:

7. Explorations in Krete for the Archæological Institute (read by Prof. Frothingham).

Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University:

8. The work of the American Dialect Society, 1889–1894.

THIRD JOINT SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 8 P.M.

MEMORIAL MEETING

IN HONOR OF

WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, President of the American Oriental Society.

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1. Reading of letters from foreign scholars.

2. MEMORIAL ADDRESS by Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University.

3. Whitney's influence on the study of modern languages and on lexicography, by Prof. Francis A. March, Lafayette College.

4. Whitney's influence on students of classical philology, by Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.

5. Address by Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University.

6. Address by Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, New York.

7. Concluding address by President Daniel Coit Gilman.

SPECIAL SESSIONS.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

(Organized 1842.)

FIRST SESSION

Thursday, December 27, at 3 P.M.

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania:

1. Note on the term Mušannitu.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University:

2. Two problems in Sanskrit grammar.

Prof. G. A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College:

3. Some notes on the Semitic Ishtar-cult.

Mr. Talcott Williams, *The Press*, Philadelphia:

4. Some unpublished Arabic inscriptions, in Morocco and elsewhere.

Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College:

5. Notes on Dyāus, Varuṇa, and Viṣṇu.

Mr. Stewart Culin, University of Pennsylvania:

6. The origin of games and divination in Eastern Asia.

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SECOND SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 2.30 P.M.

Dr. Theodore F. Wright, Cambridge, Mass.:

7. Note on the Julian inscription described by Dr. Isaac H. Hall, at the meeting of March, 1894.

Dr. Hanns Oertel, Yale University:

8. The Agnihotra-section of the Jāiminīya-brāhmaṇa.

Prof. D. B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary:

9. Description of the recent Būlāq edition of the Jamhara Ashᶜār al-ᶜArab of Abū Zayd al-Qurashī.

Dr. Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian Institution, Washington:

10. Some Hebrew Mss. from Egypt.

Prof. H. Hyvernat, Catholic University of America:

11. On some Coptic manuscripts from Egypt. (Presented by Dr. Cyrus Adler.)

Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, U. S. National Museum, Washington:

12. The emphatic prefix *le* in Hebrew.

Prof. Edwin W. Fay, Washington and Lee University:

13. Agni Mātariçvan and related divinities.

Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, Columbia College:

14. The Sanskrit root *manth-math* in Avestan.

Rev. F. P. Ramsay, Augusta, Ky.:

15. Psalm xxiii.: an essay on Hebrew verse.

Prof. G. A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College:

16. A note on the god Mut.

THIRD SESSION.

Saturday, December 29, at 10 A.M.

Dr. Theodore F. Wright, Cambridge, Mass.:

17. Report of excavations at Jerusalem by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Prof. G. A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College:

18. Was Ilu a distinct deity in Babylonia?

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania:

19. A fragment of the Babylonian Etana-legend.

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Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College:

20. The vocabulary of the eighth Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda. (Read by title.)

Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College:

21. The Bhārats and the Bhāratas.

Dr. Hanns Oertel, Yale University:

22. An emendation of Sāyaṇa on ṢB. i. 3. 2.

Prof. D. B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary:

23. On a complete verbal index to the Fiqh al-Luqha of ath-Thaʿālibī. (Read by title.)

Papers by Prof. M. Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, and Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia College, were read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

(Organized 1880.)

Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College:

1. On the interpretation of שבט ספר, Judges v. 14.

Dr. Isaac H. Hall, Metropolitan Museum, New York:

2. On the new Syriac Gospels.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary:

3. Did Amos approve the calf-worship at Bethel?

Dr. T. F. Wright, New Church School, Cambridge, Mass.:

4. The Songs of Degrees.

Prof. J. Henry Thayer, Harvard University:

5. σὺ εἶπας, σὺ λέγεις, Mat. xxvi. 64, John xviii. 37, etc.

Rev. Benjamin W. Bacon, Oswego, N. Y.:

6. The displacement of John xix. 4–14.

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania:

7. Hebrew proper names compounded with יה and יהו.

Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University:

8. On 2 Samuel i. 23.

Rev. William H. Cobb, Boston:

9. Julius Ley on Isaiah xl.–xlvi.

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Colgate University:

10. **Μαραν αθα**, 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

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Prof. M. S. Terry, Garrett Biblical Institute:

11. The scope and plan of the Apocalypse of John.

Prof. George F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary:

12. 1 Kings vii. 46 and the question of Succoth (read by Prof. Lyon).

Rev. W. Scott Watson, Guttenberg, N. J.:

13. Two Samaritan manuscripts of portions of the Pentateuch (read in abstract).

Papers by Prof. J. P. Peters, New York, and Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Pennsylvania, were read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

(Organized 1883.)

First Session.

Thursday, December 27, at 3 P.M.

Prof. W. T. Hewett, Cornell University:

1. The life and works of Prof. Matthias de Vries.

Dr. K. Francke, Harvard University:

2. The relation of early German romanticism to the classic ideal.

Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University:

3. *The Friar's Lantern.*

Prof. Edward H. Magill, Swarthmore College:

4. The new method in Modern Language study.

Second Session.

Friday, December 28, at 3 P.M.

Prof. Frederic Spencer, University of North Wales, Bangor, Wales:

5. On the reform of methods in teaching the Modern Languages, together with an experiment in the teaching of German.

Prof. Alex. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C.:

6. A note on syllabic consonants.

Prof. Henry R. Lang, Yale University:

7. The metres employed by the earliest Portuguese lyric school.

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Dr. J. Hendren Gorrell, Wake Forest College, N. C.:

8. Indirect discourse in Anglo-Saxon.

Prof. O. F. Emerson, Cornell University:

9. A parallel between the Middle English poem *Patience* and one of the pseudo-Tertullian poems.

THIRD SESSION.

Saturday, December 29, at 10 A.M.

Mr. W. Henry Schofield, Harvard University:

10. Elizabeth Elstob: an Anglo-Saxon scholar nearly two centuries ago, with her *Plea for Learning in Women*.

Dr. C. C. Marden, Johns Hopkins University:

11. The Spanish dialect of Mexico City.

Prof. C. H. Ross, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Ala.:

12. Henry Timrod and his poetry.

Prof. James T. Hatfield, Northwestern University:

13. The poetry of Wilhelm Müller.

Dr. L. E. Menger, Johns Hopkins University:

14. Early Romanticists in Italy.

FOURTH SESSION.

Saturday, December 29, at 3 P.M.

Dr. Edwin S. Lewis, Princeton University:

15. On the development of inter-vocalic labials in the Romanic languages.

Dr. L. A. Rhoades, Cornell University:

16. Notes on Goethe's *Iphigenie*.

Mr. Alex. W. Herdler, Princeton University:

17. On the Slavonic languages.

Dr. Thomas A. Jenkins, Philadelphia:

18. Old French equivalents of Latin substantives in *-cus, -gus, -vus*.

Prof. A. R. Hohlfeld, Vanderbilt University:

19. Contributions to a bibliography of Racine (read by title).

A paper by Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, was read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

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AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

(Organized 1888.)

Prof. E. S. Sheldon, Harvard University, read a paper at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION.

(Organized 1876.)

Friday afternoon, December 28.

1. Opening remarks by President March: "The movement for spelling reform."

2. Paper by H. L. Wayland, D. D., Editor of the *Examiner:* "The obstacles to reform."

3. Remarks by James W. Walk, M. D., Commissioner of Charities and Correction, Philadelphia: "The advantage of a reformed orthography to the children of the poor."

4. Remarks by Charles P. G. Scott, Ph. D., Editor of *Worcester's Dictionary:* "The attitude of philologists toward the spelling reform."

5. Remarks by Patterson Du Bois, A. M., of Philadelphia.

6. Remarks by J. H. Allen, of Massachusetts.

7. Remarks by Mrs. E. B. Burns, of New York.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

(Organized 1879.)

FIRST SESSION.

Friday, December 28.

Mrs. Sara Y. Stevenson, University of Pennsylvania:

1. The antiquities from Koptos at the University of Pennsylvania.

Rev. W. C. Winslow, Boston, Mass.:

2. The explorations at the temple of Queen Hatasu.

Mr. Talcott Williams, *The Press*, Philadelphia:

3. Local Moorish architecture in North Morocco.

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Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago:

4. Retrograde inscriptions on Attic vases.

Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University:

5. History and work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Prof. William R. Ware, Columbia College, N. Y.:

6. The New American School of Architecture at Rome.

Prof. William H. Goodyear, Brooklyn Institute:

7. A discovery of Greek horizontal curves in the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.

Rev. John P. Peters, New York:

8. The Excavations of the Babylonian Expedition at the temple of Bel in Nippur.

Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University:

9. A study in Greek architectural proportions.

Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College:

10. The new faun of the Quirinal.

Prof. W. C. Lawton, Philadelphia:

11. Accretions to the Troy myth after Homer.

Mr. Barr Ferree, Brooklyn:

12. Architecture of mediæval houses in France.

Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Princeton University:

13. Byzantine influence upon Mediæval Italy.

14. The ivory throne at Ravenna.

Mr. William Rankin, Jr., Princeton University:

15. Some early Italian pictures in American galleries.

Prof. Alfred Emerson, Cornell University:

16. The archæology of Athenian politics in the fifth century B.C.

A paper by Prof. Federico Halbherr, University of Rome, was read at the Second Joint Session, on Friday, December 28.

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OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1894–95.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

BERNADOTTE PERRIN.

MINTON WARREN.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The above-named Officers, and —

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN.

ABBY LEACH.

FRANCIS A. MARCH.

BENJAMIN I. WHEELER.

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MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION (CLEVELAND).

Sidney G. Ashmore, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y.
C. W. Ayer, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Robert Baird, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Francis Kingsley Ball, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
W. W. Bishop, Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
Demarchus C. Brown, Butler University, Irvington, Ind.
F. W. Brown, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.
Isaac B. Burgess, Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill.
M. L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
V. J. Emery, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O.
A. L. Fuller, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo.
Karl P. Harrington, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
George Hempl, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
G. L. Hendrickson, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
W. H. Hulme, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
M. W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
George B. Hussey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O.
Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
Arthur Hull Mabley, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
H. W. Magoun, Oberlin, O.
J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.
F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie Female Seminary, Plainesville, O.
William F. Palmer, Lake Forest, Ill.
Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O.
B. Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
L. S. Potwin, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Ernst Riess, Baltimore, Md.
H. F. Roberts, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.

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H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.
M. S. Slaughter, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.
Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Charles W. Super, Ohio University, Athens, O.
Guy V. Thompson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
A. M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 47.]

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 9, 1895.

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Session was called to order at 3.20 P.M. in Clark Hall, by the President, Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, presented the following report: —

1. The Executive Committee has elected as members of the Association: —

W. W. Bishop, Instructor in Greek, Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
B. L. Bowen, Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
William Lewis Bulkley, Professor of Latin and German, Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.
H. J. Burchell, Jr., Instructor in Greek, Barnard College, N. Y.
Donald Cameron, Assistant in Latin, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Mary Emily Case, Professor of Latin, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
Frederic T. Cooper, Ph.D., 177 Warburton Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
W. T. Couper, Assistant Professor of Greek, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
Heber D. Curtis, Professor of Greek and Latin, Napa College, Napa, Cal.
Samuel C. Derby, Professor of Latin, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
B. L. D'Ooge, Professor of Latin and Greek, State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Louis H. Dow, Instructor in Greek, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
Edgar A. Emens, Professor of Greek, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
Charles Mills Gayley, Professor of English Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
T. F. Hamblin, Professor of Greek, Bucknell University, Lewisburgh, Pa.
Adelbert Hamilton, Instructor in Latin and Greek, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
W. A. Harris, Professor of Greek, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
George Hempl, Junior Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
George A. Hench, Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

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Mrs. Frances Hardin Hess, Library of New York University, New York, N. Y.
W. H. Hulme, Instructor in German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
George Wesley Johnson, Acting Professor of Latin, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
J. C. Kirtland, Jr., Assistant in Latin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
Camillo von Klenze, Instructor in German, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
L. Oscar Kuhns, Professor of Romance Languages, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
W. B. Langsdorf, Professor of Latin, Miami University, Oxford, O.
Emory B. Lease, Professor of Latin, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
Alexander von W. Leslie, Marston's University School, Baltimore, Md.
C. B. Martin, Professor of Greek Literature and Classical Archaeology, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
Charles L. Michener, Professor of Greek and Latin, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia.
Edwin L. Miller, Englewood High School, Chicago, Ill.
Richard A. Minckwitz, Kansas City High School, Kansas City, Mo.
William K. Prentice, Instructor in Greek, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Ferris W. Price, Professor of Latin, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Leon J. Richardson, Instructor in Latin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Edmund Y. Robbins, Instructor in Greek, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Alfred G. Rolfe, Instructor in Greek, High School, Pottstown, Pa.
Charles S. Smith, Instructor in Latin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Arthur Tappan Walker, Assistant in Latin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
C. R. Watson, Assistant in French, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Margaret M. Wickham, Assistant Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.

2. The TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS for 1894 (Vol. XXV) were issued in March. The PROCEEDINGS of the Special Session held in Philadelphia, in December, 1894, in conjunction with the Congress of Philologists, were issued in May. Separate copies of the PROCEEDINGS may be obtained from the Secretary or the Publishers.

3. The Report of Publications by members of the Association since July 1, 1894, showed a record of books and pamphlets by over seventy-five members. To ensure the completeness of this report, it is earnestly requested that every member enter his publications upon the blanks to be sent out in June of each year. It is desirable that only those publications be entered on the list which have a distinctly philological character. The Report for 1894–95 will be incorporated with that for 1895–96 in volume XXVII.

4. A set of TRANSACTIONS was presented to the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, and to the American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

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Professor Smyth then made his report as Treasurer for the year 1894–95 : —

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1893–94		$987.28
Fees and Arrears	$1221.00	
Life Membership	50.00	
Sales of Transactions	283.29	
Authors' offprints	44.50	
Dividends Central New England & Western R. R.	6.00	
Interest	19.75	
Total receipts for the year		1624.54
		$2611.82

EXPENDITURES.

Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXV)	$997.40	
Proceedings Extra Session, December, 1894	331.80	
Salary of Secretary	250.00	
Postage	53.41	
Stationery and Job Printing	77.50	
Expressage	3.75	
Binding	.40	
Incidental	9.09	
Total expenditures for the year		$1723.35
Balance, July 6, 1895		888.47
		$2611.82

The reading of papers was then begun. At this time there were present about thirty members. At subsequent meetings about fifty members were in attendance. Vice-President Perrin took the chair during a part of the afternoon.

1. Is there any trace of the Terpandrian Νόμος in Tibullus? by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

It cannot be said that we know very much about either Terpander or his work. That he was a Greek melic poet, who established in Sparta the musical contests of the Karnean festival (about 670 B.C.), that he is said to have been the first composer of melic poetry with an accompaniment throughout on the lyre, and that the remains of his work are so meagre that no satisfactory conclusion of any kind can be drawn from them, save that they were chiefly *nomes* (νόμοι), that is, hymns to the gods, — these statements have been generally accepted as true. That he was regarded as the father of systematic Greek music, and was often a winner in the Pythian games, are assertions not so easily verified.

Nomes were hymns of a very early period, sung by individuals to the accompaniment of the lyre before the altar of the god addressed; but hymns sung by a

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chorus took the place of the νόμος in early times and were distinguished by the name ὕμνος.

The very word νόμος (custom, law, ordinance) implies a fixed character in these productions, if not, indeed, a regular system of composition. The only thing from his own writings to indicate what this system was, as followed by Terpander, is a couplet quoted by Strabo (although even he doubted the authenticity of the verses):

> Σοὶ δ' ἡμεῖς τετράγηρυν ἀποστέρξαντες ἀοιδὰν
> ἑπτατόνῳ φόρμιγγι νέους κελαδήσομεν ὕμνους.

This seems to mean, 'No longer loving the four-toned song, we will loudly sing to thee new hymns to the accompaniment of the seven-toned lyre': and therefore the apparent reference is to the legendary improvement in the lyre invented by Terpander, whereby the number of strings was increased from four to seven. Th. Bergk, however, in the *Rheinisches Museum* XX. 288 (1865) (= Opuscula II. 742), has interpreted the passage as referring to the seven divisions of the νόμος, and suggested a comparison with the hymns of Callimachus and the works of Theocritus.

This seems to be supported by a passage in the works of Juba II. quoted by Julius Pollux in his *Onomasticon* IV. 66. The passage referred to states that the seven divisions of the Terpandrian νόμος were: 1. ἀρχά (the beginning). 2. μεταρχά (after-beginning). 3. κατατροπά (the attack). 4. μετακατατροπά (the further attack). 5. ὀμφαλός (the main argument, the kernel, the central thought) (a word very likely derived from the Apollo-worship, with which the Terpandrian *nomes* were chiefly concerned). 6. σφραγίς (seal) (the clinching of the argument (?)). 7. ἐπίλογος (conclusion). The following arrangement shows the symmetrical arrangement of this scheme:

- I. 1. ἀρχά
  - 2. μεταρχά
- II. 3. κατατροπά
  - 4. μετακατατροπά
- III. 5. ὀμφαλός
- IV. 6. σφραγίς
- V. 7. ἐπίλογος

Literary critics have naturally sought for imitations of Terpander's *nomes* in Greek and Latin literature. Westphal tried to make them out in Pindar, Aeschylus and Catullus. Bergk thought he saw them in Callimachus. But the scheme has frequently been severely wrenched in these attempts; emendation of the passage in Pollux, transposition of the μετακατατροπά to a place after the ὀμφαλός, and other suggestions, have had to be resorted to; and, whatever may be said of Callimachus, no very general acceptance has been found for the theory that either Pindar or Catullus employed any such plan.

It has been reserved for Prof. Crusius, of Tübingen, in more recent times, to revive the attempt to fasten the Terpandrian scheme on Pindar, Callimachus and several Roman poets, including Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. (See the proceedings of the 39th Assembly of Teachers at Zürich, Sept., 1887, whence some of the preceding facts have been drawn.)

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As far as Tibullus is concerned, this doctrine is certainly somewhat startling. Readers of his beautiful poems have been wont to consider them as artless in manner as they are simple in thought and elegant in expression. Crusius, however, to put the case briefly, would have us believe that Tibullus in his poems written for festive occasions is a very different poet from the love-lorn devotee of Delia, and is not only Alexandrian in tone, but also actually exhibits the whole scheme of Terpander's *νόμος* in several cases.

1. While there is, of course, a distinct difference in tone between the amatory and the laudatory elegies of Tibullus, on *a priori* grounds one would hesitate to believe in the existence of any such difference in the particular manner of composition between the two classes of poems, and it seems as foolish to try to fit the Terpandrian scheme to one as to the other.

2. The example chosen by Crusius for illustration in Tibullus is II. 5 (122 vv.). He divides it as follows:

"I. 1. vv. 1–4: Phoebe, fave, novus ingreditur tua templa sacerdos — huc age veni.

2. vv. 5–10: Ipse veni, *im Feierkleide*, qualis laudes concinuisti Jovis.

II. 3. vv. 11–16: Tu procul eventura vides, te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla.

4. vv. 17 f.: Phoebe, Messalinum sine tangere chartas vatis —, quid canat illa doce.

III. 5. vv. 19–104: Haec dedit Aeneae sortes: *ihre Weissagungen sind eingetroffen; aber du Apoll wende schlimme Zeichen und segne uns!*

IV. 6. vv. 105–120: Pace tua pereant arcus, *with which Amor inflicts his wounds* — usque cano Nemesim —, at parce, puella, ut Messalinum celebrem.

V. 7. vv. 121 f.: Adnue, Phoebe."

When we examine this plausible scheme we find (*a*) that the divisions are wrongly made. They should be something like this: (1) vv. 1–18: 'Phoebus, accept the new priest, who to-day enters thy service; and show thine approval by thy presence, decked in festal attire. (2) vv. 19–66: It was thy Sibyl that prophesied to Aeneas, on his arrival in Italy, the future greatness that should come out of the wilderness. (3) vv. 67–82: All these things are now accomplished, as well as other Sibylline prophecies. But, Apollo, let dreadful portents now cease, and give us a favorable omen of the future. (4) vv. 83–104: If the omen is propitious, let rustic merriment abound, even to the petty quarrels of a lover and his lass. (5) vv. 105–122: But perish Cupid's darts! and may my Nemesis spare me till I can sing the proud praises of Messalinus triumphing over conquered cities.' In such a scheme we recognize more readily the familiar gentle ebb and flow of Tibullus's thought.

(*b*) The natural and simple connection of sentences is interrupted in the scheme of Crusius. For example, who would naturally think of making any division between verses 4 and 5? The thought is one, viz., 'Come in the form of Apollo Citharoedus.'

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(*c*) Crusius makes an episode the central and principal thought in the poem, viz., the prophecy of the Sibyl foretelling to Aeneas the future greatness of Rome. In such a formal arrangement as he defends, something relating to the particular occasion of the poem or to Messalinus would seem to be required.

3. To show the artificiality of all this, the scheme may be applied to one of the other class of Tibullus's elegies, a typical Delia-elegy, e.g. No. 1 of Bk. I. It can be made to work equally well, and may run thus: —

I. 1. ἀρχά: 1–6: 'I care not to grow rich amid trouble and danger.
2. μεταρχά: 7–14: I can be content with my simple rustic life.

II. 3. κατατροπά: 15–28: To the gods of field and fold I will bring offerings, if I may enjoy such a peaceful existence.
4. μετακατατροπά: 29–44: Nor will I be ashamed of my poverty, I have enough.

III. 5. ὀμφαλός: 45–68: A home and my Delia's love! Who wants more? She will love me till my dying day.

IV. 6. σφραγίς: 69–74: Let us, then, my Delia, love while we may!

V. 7. ἐπίλογος: 75–78: In love's battles I am a valiant soldier, and in my modest competence am rich!'

All this, however, serves as a *reductio ad absurdum;* for no living being believes Tibullus had any such scheme in his mind in this case.

It appears, therefore, (1) that on *a priori* grounds Crusius's theory is improbable; (2) that when tested it has serious faults; and (3) that it would apply equally well (i.e. *not at all!*) to any of Tibullus's poems.

2. German Methods of Philological Statement, by Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, of Radnor, Pa.

The abstract of this paper has been withdrawn from publication. Remarks were made by Professors Wright, C. F. Smith, and by the author.

3. The more complicated Figures of Comparison in Plato, by Dr. George B. Hussey, of the University of Chicago.

Plato's especial doctrines more than those of any other ancient philosopher depend for their understanding upon argument by analogy. Thus it comes about that certain comparisons act as an essential part of his system. Others again he uses as mere literary ornament. We therefore find him richer than any other prose writer in the classical period in the use of this kind of figure. But his comparisons are not only very numerous: some are also very complicated. Certain of these complications allow of classification: and to discuss such as these will be the object of the pages that follow.

The simplest of these irregular comparisons (and under comparisons are included metaphor, simile, and allegory) is the mixed metaphor. Mixture of metaphor usually leaves a rather confused impression on the mind, but the figure

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really consists, not so much in a confusion, as in a rapid succession of pictures. An example may be taken from Republic 533 D where dialectic "leads and drags upward the eye of the soul as it lies buried in barbaric filth." In Timaeus 81 C there is also a mixture of several metaphors. It reads "but when the root of the triangles relaxes, because of its having fought many fights over a long space of time against many, it is no longer able to cut the entering elements of nourishment." Sometimes even five or six different pictures may thus be set together. Mixture of metaphor is often made by variety in the verbs, as in Republic 440 C: *ζεῖ τε καὶ χαλεπαίνει καὶ ξυμμαχεῖ τῷ δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ*. Noun metaphors as in 614 A, where Plato speaks of the *ἆθλά τε καὶ μισθοὶ καὶ δῶρα* of virtue, are much more rare. These noun metaphors seem stronger in effect than verb metaphors, and when they are thus mixed, they are apt to stand in too harsh a contrast to one another, unless carefully chosen. The mixture of verb and substantive in metaphors is, however, far more prevalent than is either verb or noun mixture by itself. Examples of this would be Republic 470 D: *τροφὸν καὶ μητέρα κείρειν*, or Laws 718 D: *πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύειν*.

Compound simile arises when one object is compared with several others by means of the same particle or word of comparison. It is decidedly a note-book figure. It is therefore more frequent in the Laws than in all the rest of Plato, as this dialogue seems to have been stopped in the process of construction. Thus at 902 D the gods are compared to physicians, captains, generals, housekeepers, statesmen, stonemasons. In the case of such compound similes the comparison is in thought with the whole genus; but finds its expression by enumerating all the concrete species. In a few cases a simile of this compound sort is carried from one point in a dialogue to another, so as to be intermittent.

Secondary metaphor or simile is another kind of complication in the use of figures. In the abstract it is a case where A is compared to B and then, to illustrate B, it in turn is compared to C. Republic 495 E will serve for an example. There the common man in his attitude toward philosophy is like a little bald tinker dressed up *like a bridegroom*, and about to marry his master's daughter. An example of secondary metaphor thus inclosed in a simile would be Republic 329 C: *αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγών*.

Secondary transfer may also be found in one of two adjacent metaphors. This case is, however, hard to separate from mixed metaphor, as they do not differ in effect, but only in origin. Take, for instance, Republic 573 D: "the tyrant in his soul rules and captains him." Here the first comparison is of soul to state, and the second is of state to ship. Had it been soul to state and then soul to ship, it would have been mixed metaphor. But this would seem to be a less natural way of regarding its origin. Another example of secondary transfer is Laws 690 D: *στάσεων πηγήν τινα ἀνευρήκαμεν ἣν δεῖ σε θεραπεύειν*.

The cases of secondary transfer thus far discussed have involved three different objects. Yet by a doubling back of the line of transfer upon itself, secondary comparison may come to involve but two. Thus, in the abstract case, A is compared to B and then B compared to A. The second comparison is thus the converse of the first, and forms with it a sort of circular analogy. Conversion is necessarily rare in the carefully written dialogues, as it arises either from poverty of expression or inaccuracy of thought. An instance might be taken from Laws 840 D. Here men are compared to birds and then within this com-

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parison metaphors are used which represent the birds as men (ἡθεοι, ἀγνοί). All of the conversions in Plato occur in the intermittent comparisons, where, owing to their great length, confusion easily arises.

Metaphors may also be converted. But as with the secondary transfer of metaphor so with this converted metaphor, — it is much more difficult to detect than the corresponding kind of simile. An example is found in Republic 520 B or better in Politicus 301 E, where the statesman is called a "king such as grows in hives, solitary, preëminent alike in soul and body." The hive was first compared to the state by those who used the term βασιλεύς for the queen-bee. Then in this passage, as often elsewhere in Plato, the state is compared to the hive. Two transfers are thus united in the same word.

The effect of conversion is also produced, when a literal word stands in close grammatical relation to one of the figurative words of a simile or a metaphor. This produces a confusion of the picture and of real life, as in Sophist 266 C, where a painting is called a "man-made dream for men that are awake." The μαινόμενος οἶνος of Laws 773 D or the ἀνάπηρον ψυχήν of Republic 535 E will serve as further examples. These are cases of noun and adjective. Less forcible usually are the cases where a noun and its genitive of material are one of them figurative, the other literal. Republic 569 B: φεύγων ἂν καπνὸν δουλείας ἐλευθέρων, εἰς πῦρ δούλων δεσποτείας ἂν ἐμπεπτωκὼς εἴη, is an example of this. When the grammatical relation between the words is less close, the feeling of confusion seems to die out altogether.

A much easier combination of comparisons to unravel than the foregoing is the argument by analogy. In it the comparisons are in syllogisms or groups of three. A is like B, B like C, and A like C. In such a case there results a single transfer and also a secondary one. A simple case of a single group is this one from the Republic:

Truth, the sun (Rep. 509 A–D).
Truth, a king (597 E). | Sun, a king (509 D–516 B).

In such a group of comparisons as this, some are usually of considerable extent or possibly intermittent. Any one of the comparisons in the group may come first in the text, but one term (B) always remains the middle term or bridge between the other two. Several groups of comparisons having the same middle term may unite into a system. The system of the microcosm in the Republic is one of the more important of these:

Soul compared to state (329 C–608 B).

Soul a	State a
human body (352 B–611 C).	human body (372 E–567 C).
sheepfold (440 D).	sheepfold (375 A–539 B).
harmony (401 D–591 D).	harmony (430 E–432 A).
ship (573 D–591 E).	ship (389 C–551 C).
wild animal (410 D–606 A).	wild animal (493 B).
bird's-nest (573 E).	bird's-nest (548 A).
hive (573 A–577 E).	hive (520 B–567 D).
himation (561 E).	himation (557 C–558 C).

Besides the two just given, a group of comparisons is found in the Phaedo and in the Timaeus, and two apiece in the Laws and the Politicus. In each system there are generally some further complications. In certain cases, for instance, a

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comparison may be extended until it forms a tertiary transfer; or it may be converted, or compounded, as in any one of the simple cases previously considered.

Remarks were made by Professors Fowler, Smyth, Ashmore, and the author.

4. The Languages of Africa, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

No abstract of this paper has been received.

5. Some Plans of Pliny's Laurentinum, by Dr. H. W. Magoun, of Oberlin.

Through the kindness of the Harvard librarian and members of the faculties of Adelbert College and the University of Michigan, it has been possible for me to obtain copies of eight additional plans of Pliny's Laurentinum. (See PROC., Dec., 1894, p. xxxiii.) The list is now as follows: I. Scamozzi, 1615; II. Felibien des Avaux, 1699; III. Castell, 1728; IV. Marquez, 1796; V. Hirt, 1827; VI. Haudebourt, 1838; VII. Bouchet, 1852; VIII. Cowan, 1889; IX. Winnefeld, 1891; X. Magoun, 1894. The plans differ widely; III. and VII. are very elaborate; V. and VIII. are plain and simple; the others range between the two extremes.

While the lack of the author's description makes the details somewhat doubtful in the case of some of the plans, the following comparisons may perhaps be made with safety.

All agree in regarding the first mentioned *triclinium* as corresponding to the *oecus* of a city house, though its proportions and relative size differ widely: II., IV., VII., and X. follow the rules of Vitruvius, making length : width = 2 : 1; III., V., and VI. adopt essentially 3 : 2; the others, not far from 4 : 3.

Plans III.–IX., inclusive, place the villa facing NE.; I. makes it face N.; II. and X., approximately ENE. In like manner III.–VIII. make the *cryptoporticus* run NW.; I. and IX. make it run due N.; II. and X., approximately NNW. All except IX. and I., therefore, place it at right angles to the house; I., II., IV.–VI., VIII., and X. connect it directly with the house, though IV. does so by a division of the *cryptoporticus* running NE.; III. and VII. join it to an open court in front of the house; while IX. separates it entirely from the main house and unites it with a building containing the second *turris*, the *apotheca*, the *cenatio*, and the *diaetae*. Observe also that IX. makes it run N.; but the *heliocaminus*, the last-mentioned *cubiculum*, and other requirements of the description, in addition to the strong probability that it was connected directly with the house, make this solution extremely doubtful. Moreover, the compromise of II. and X. meets essentially the difficulty concerning the sun; for in this latitude, about the same as Chicago, N. 41°+, a building running NNW. would cast so little shadow in summer at noon that it might easily then be spoken of as "especially free from the sun when the latter was hottest on its roof." The other requirements are met by X. alone in a way that seems less objectionable; for the *cryptoporticus* appears to open directly (*hinc*) from the *hortus pinguis et rusticus*, and the position of

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the latter within the walls of the house is sustained by excavations at Pompeii, notably in the house of Sallust. Furthermore, in the cold months, when this villa was most in use, a "kitchen garden" thus enclosed would do much better than one exposed to the winds from the mountains, and, not to mention other reasons which might be urged, it would not be subject to the ravages of the cattle which seem to have ranged freely about the house (II., 17, *nam illuc . . . pecora conveniunt*). It is also to be observed that the *cenatio* in X. is at the corner of the house where the *diaetae* can be spoken of as surrounding it on the back (*cingitur . . . a tergo*), and the reading is *subjacet* (not *subjacent*) *vestibulum villae et hortus.*

Plans I.–IV. and VII. represent the *cavaedium* as an open court enclosed by buildings; VIII. is doubtful, but inclines to the same view; V., VI., IX., and X. regard it as a *peristylium.* (See PROC., Dec., 1894, p. xxxiv f.)

The two *turres* are placed by IV.–VII., IX., and X. near together on the N. side of the house (NW., strictly speaking), and, excepting IX., parallel to it; III., and probably II., adds two *turres* and places all four on the front of the house, the two extra ones S. of the entrance; VIII. rejects the added *turres*, but otherwise follows the same arrangement; I. has them on opposite sides of the house near the centre. The first plan, parallel to the house, seems best to meet the requirements.

The most striking thing about the *balneum* is the size given to the rooms composing it. All but I., II., and X. either add a side extension, between the main house and the tower or towers, to accommodate them, or make the breadth of the house much greater than its length and give to them most of the space on the N. side thus obtained. This may be due to the old reading, which III. certainly follows, *si nare*, or *si innare*, instead of *si mare*, the reading of three Mss., which alone gives a satisfactory sense to *in proximo.* Ep. V., 6. 25, *si natare*, etc., has probably helped to maintain *nare* and support the sense, "sufficiently large, if you plan to take a swim in the nearest [place]"—an odd remark, certainly. The reading *mare*, giving the sense, "sufficiently large, if you bear in mind the sea close at hand," implies that the *baptisteria* are really small. Two considerations, apart from the greater natural probability of the reading, support this view. First, from the baths thus far discovered it appears that, as a rule, the *frigidarium*, properly so called, was a room relatively small; second, the reading is, not *frigidarium*, but *cella frigidaria.* Even if it is *spatiosa et effusa*, it is still a *cella*, which in itself implies relative smallness. From the lack of a scale, except Hirt's, the size imagined by the designers cannot be given; the scale of X. is certainly small enough (the whole villa a little over twice as long as the longest *atria*), and the very small relative space there given to the rooms of the baths still equals that devoted to the same purpose in the villa of Diomedes at Pompeii. The others, then, as planned, can hardly represent baths smaller than the public *balneae* of Pompeii, excavated in 1824. That they were so large is not likely, and it is not probable that such a view would be seriously entertained. The reduction in the space given to the baths allows the villa to maintain the general form of a normal Roman house, a matter disregarded by at least half the plans, though observed more or less closely by I., VI., VII., IX., and X.

Only VI., VII., IX., and X. represent the *atrium* as such, and only IX. and X. give it the proportions required by Vitruvius, IX. apparently regarding it as

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testudinatum; II. and V. make it the same as the *vestibulum*; III. makes it an open paved court or yard; I., IV., and VIII. represent it as an ordinary room, but of various proportions. The first view, as adopted by IX. or X., seems the only tenable one.

The plans of the *porticus* have already been noticed in the *School Review*, June, 1895, p. 368, where certain changes have been shown to be necessary in some minor details of X. A careful study of the others, however, seems to confirm the soundness of the method there laid down, according to which X. was constructed, taking the normal Roman house as a model, since they all show serious defects. For example, in every instance the *cubiculum minus* is so placed that the condition, *altera fenestra admittit orientem, occidentem altera retinet*, cannot be fulfilled in some particular. A Pompeian model for the *cubiculum in hapsida curvatum* and the *dormitorium membrum* (villa of Diomedes) enabled X. to meet the condition. If we allow the change (*Sch. Rev.*) proposed in the *porticus* (for plan, see PROC., Dec., 1894, p. xxxiv.), it leads to the equation (Pliny's L.) *atrium* : *porticus* : *cavaedium* : *triclinium* = (normal house) *atrium* : *tablinum* : *peristylium* : *oecus*, which seems reasonable, but must not be pressed too far. *Tablina* were from 14 ft. to 24 ft. square, while the corresponding *atria* were from 30 ft. to 100 ft. long. Pliny's villa can hardly have fallen much below the average (19 ft. for *tablinum*), which allows space enough for the *area* ("a little bit of a one," *parvula*), unless the height required demands considerable breadth in the *porticus* themselves to maintain a due regard for proportions. This must be considered as a factor in the question and has doubtless been influential in causing so much space to be given to the *porticus* in some of the other plans, one of which (VII.) adds a *tablinum* and *fauces*; but it is difficult to escape the conviction that the villa, which is evidently old-fashioned, resembled a town house so strongly that the equation is in the main correct and that the *porticus* have in some way either displaced the *tablinum* or have in a new guise revived in a sense and extended what appears to have been the original form of *tablina* in country houses. (See Preston and Dodge, *Private Life of the Romans*, p. 32 f.)

A few things not directly mentioned in the letter seem to be demanded by other considerations. The fact that Pliny drove back and forth calls for a *stabulum*, and it appears in III., VII., and X., though in different forms: X. puts it beside the *vestibulum* as a part of the house, which Vitruvius (VI. 9) seems to require; the other two place it without the house, but in the same relative position S. of the entrance. A *culina* was necessary, and III., VI., and X. (possibly also II. and VII.) have recognized the need. All three put it on the S. side, not far from the centre. It is safe to assume a *latrina* and possibly a *cella penaria*, as is done in X.; but beyond this it is hardly safe to go, although a few, especially III., have done so.

To what extent the plans have influenced one another, it is hard to say. In constructing IX., use was made of I., II., IV., and V.; and III. was used in making VIII. Beyond that I have no evidence; but a certain similarity in the general principles of construction lead to the suspicion that II. may have influenced III. It cannot be said, however, with certainty, and the author of III. makes no mention of any other plan.

Remarks were made by Professor Ashmore.

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6. An Examination of Vitruvius and others in regard to the *atrium* and *cavum aedium* of a Roman Dwelling, by Professor Sidney G. Ashmore, of Union University.

The object of this paper is to show that the terms *atrium* and *cavum aedium* were originally employed to designate the central or principal portion of an ordinary Roman house, and that they never became entirely dissociated; but that *cavum aedium* (*cavaedium*) was used in the period of the Empire often of an interior *atrium* (*atriolum*) when there were two *atria* in the dwelling — one near the front entrance, another beyond the *peristylium*, as perhaps in Pliny's villa at Laurentum. That the *cavaedium* was simply a *peristylium* (say in Pliny's time) is unlikely. It was rather, as Marquardt says, a second *atrium*; and the fact that Vitruvius mentions *cava aedium* as distinct from *peristylia* makes it hard to believe that Pliny considered the two words identical.

What difference then existed, if any, between the *atrium* of a Roman house and the so-called *cavum aedium?* The question is discussed at length by Becker (Gallus), who endeavors to prove that the two terms were always significant of two different and distinct parts of the dwelling, "the first," as he expresses it, "corresponding to our hall, the second to our court." He rests his conclusion upon the evidence, as he sees it, of the more important passages in ancient authors, that bear upon the subject. Chief among them are: Varro, Ling. Lat. v. 161; Vitruvius, vi. 3 and vi. 5; Pliny, Epist. 2. 17. In the passage cited from Varro, *cavum* means "cavity," "hollow," as in Varro, R. R. 3. 15, 2 *facere iis cavos oportet laxiores, ubi pullos parere possint*, and elsewhere, and *cavum aedium* is the central space or interior of a simple dwelling. This interior being broad and roomy, as compared with the other divisions of the house, is described as *patulus*, and it is to be observed that it was roofed (*tectus*). Neither *cavum* nor *patulus*, however, have any necessary reference to an opening in the roof. The interior space between the walls is the cavity in question, and *patulus* alludes to the size of the main chamber as compared with that of each of the *cellae, cubicula*, or other small compartments which surrounded it.

It was important, however, that this interior and central chamber should admit the light, and also emit the smoke of the hearth; and so at an early date a mode of building common among the Etruscans was adopted by the Latins, whereby an opening in the roof was constructed for these purposes. Varro remarks that such a *cavum aedium* was called *Tuscanicum*, and adds that it received the name of *atrium*, from the Tuscan town of *Atria*, where it originated. The *atrium*, then, according to Varro, was a species of *cavum aedium*, so called because it had an opening in the roof to admit the light, after the manner of building customary in the Tuscan town of Atria; the ordinary *cavum aedium*, as will be seen by reference to the passage cited, being known as *testudo*, because, like a general's tent (or the back of a tortoise), it had no such opening. *Atrium* then is the same with *cavum aedium Tuscanicum*. Such is the testimony of Varro. Yet Becker (Gallus) actually compels Varro to support his theory that *cavum aedium* and *atrium* were two different things.

Vitruvius, Bk. vi. ch. 3, distinguishes five kinds or varieties of *cava aedium*, of which the *Tuscanicum* is one, and says: "*Tuscanica sunt in quibus trabes in atrii latitudine traiectae habeant interpensiva* (cross beams)," etc. That the

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word *atrii* in this passage can refer to any part of the house other than the *cavum aedium* it is difficult to see, and yet argument has been made to that effect (as by Schneider, cited by Becker, p. 243).

Vitruvius then is at one with Varro, to the extent that *atrium* is a term correctly applied to the *cavum aedium Tuscanicum*. The question then arises whether it may not also be so applied to the other four species of *cavum aedium* mentioned by Vitruvius. The answer is clear that it may. An examination of the text of Vitruvius will show this, for it is there made evident that the failure again to use the word *atrium* is due merely to the absence of any necessity to do so, and not to a radical difference in the meaning of the two terms. The classification is made according to the shape of the roof in each case, i.e. to the peculiar construction of the *compluvium*. But it must not be overlooked that in speaking of the breadth of the *cavum aedium*, across which run the *trabes*, Vitruvius employs the term *atrium* (i.e. *in atrii latitudine*), because when thinking of the space itself, apart from the peculiar structure of the roof-opening, the term *atrium* rather than *cavum aedium* seemed appropriate. This is borne out by what follows; so that there is positive evidence not that the *atrium* is distinct from the *cavum aedium*, in the mind of Vitruvius, but that it is the appropriate name for the principal apartment of the house, when considered with reference to its dimensions only, and without regard to the distinctive character of the *compluvium*. This involves a slight difference between Varro and Vitruvius in the point of view; but suggests nothing that would point to a positive difference in meaning between the terms.

But Becker says that the words of Vitruvius: *Atriorum vero longitudines*, etc., place *atria* in opposition to *cava aedium* (since otherwise he would have said: *latitudines vero atriorum*), and so prove *atria* to have been different from *cava aedium*. How then does Becker account for the fact that the dimensions of the *atrium* are given in full by Vitruvius, whereas the dimensions of the *cavum aedium* are omitted? Nay more, Vitruvius gives directions respecting the length, breadth, and height of each and all of the divisions of the Roman house, yet refrains from adding those of the *cavum aedium*. The inference is unmistakable. The measurements that belong to the *atrium* belong also to the *cavum aedium*. The two expressions are practically the same.

The paper then proceeds to examine Vitruv. vi. 5: *Animadvertendum est quibus rationibus privatis aedificiis*, etc., which is the passage chiefly relied upon by Becker to sustain his position. The fact is, however, that this passage, instead of proving what Becker appears to claim for it, simply leaves the question an open one. Vitruv. vi. 7: "*Atriis Graeci quia non ubuntur, neque aedificant*" is also considered, since from this passage Becker, while correctly remarking that *atrium* and αὐλή were different, incorrectly concludes that the *atrium* and *cavum aedium* could not have been the same, because αὐλή (as he alleges) was equivalent to *cavum aedium*. Upon what authority does Becker make this last statement? The one may have resembled the other at a late date, especially if the classification known as *cavum aedium Corinthium* be kept in mind. But the origin of the *cavum aedium* was Tuscan, of the αὐλή, Greek, and the Greek word from the very first had reference to an open space, while the Latin term was meant to designate an interior. The later similarity of the two in structure and appearance resulted from the use of columns in the Roman building to support a

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roof through which an aperture had been made to admit the light. It is only this accidental resemblance of the αὐλή to the *cavum aedium* of the more elaborate sort, that occasioned the substitution of the Greek word for the Roman by Augustan poets, notably Horace, and it is easy to show that Horace's use of *aula* is a general one, and employed because, being Greek, it was suggestive of luxury. Another word, such as *atrium*, *cavum aedium*, or *peristylium*, would have conveyed his meaning with equal precision, for he writes without regard to technical differences. Vitruvius, on the contrary, whose business it is to take account of technical distinctions, is careful not to use either *atrium* or *cavum aedium* in his chapter *de Graecorum aedificiorum eorumque partium dispositione* (Bk. vi. ch. 10). Indeed, he confines himself to the word *peristylium*, to which αὐλή is a near equivalent, since the αὐλή included the *peristylium*. But the *peristylium* was early imported into Italy, so that it was a common thing for a Roman house to have an *atrium* and a *peristylium*, the two being confessedly distinct, and so regarded by Vitruvius in Bk. vi. ch. 8, where the words *vestibula regalia, alta atria et peristylia amplissima* are sufficient to establish a difference. But Vitruvius has already enumerated: *vestibula, cava aedium, peristylia, quaeque eundem habere possunt usum* — which is also sufficient indication that in the architect's mind *cava aedium* and *peristylia* were not one and the same thing. If then *cavum aedium* was different from *peristylium*, it was also different from αὐλή, and Becker's assertion of the identity of αὐλή with *cavum aedium* is disproved.

In regard to the passages in Pliny (Epist. II. 17), descriptive of the Villa Laurentina, the question is: was the *cavaedium hilare* only a second *atrium*, or was it something totally different from an *atrium?* If the latter be true, Becker has this much at least of unfailing evidence in his favor. Light is thrown on the question by Cicero (ad Q. Fr. 3. 1. 2). The brother of the orator wanted to build an *atriolum*, a little *atrium*, in connection with a certain portico; but Cicero himself prefers to omit it on the ground that those houses only in which there is an *atrium maius* should have an *atriolum*. This *atriolum* Marquardt identifies with the *cavaedium hilare* of Pliny, and it would seem that he is right in doing so. Yet Cicero's words do no more than suggest the identity. They show merely that a country villa might be without an *atrium* of any kind, and that it was customary to add the smaller *atrium* in case the house were constructed with an *atrium maius*. Vitruvius, however (Bk. vi. ch. 8), states that in the country house the usual order of things was changed — that the *peristylium* came first and then the *atrium*. Now this is exactly what happens in the *Laurentina*, supposing *cavaedium* to be the same as *atriolum*. It does not affect the argument that there was an *atrium* near the entrance. Many country houses, as has been seen, had two *atria*, and the natural place for the first was near the front door — the place occupied by the *peristylium* when there was one *atrium* only. Now the term *cavum aedium* referred primarily to the central or innermost part of the dwelling. The term *atrium* was also so applied, as has been pointed out. But *atrium* became a more frequent designation than *cavum aedium*, as time went on. When the *peristylium* and other Greek elements were added to the Roman house, the *atrium* was no longer necessarily the central or even the principal apartment; but might be (as in the city it was) a sort of entrance hall or waiting room for clients and guests, or else (as in the country) a room beyond the *peristylium*, the latter serving (when there was but one *atrium*) the purposes

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of a waiting room, etc. From this it will be seen that when there were two *atria* in a country villa, the interior *atrium* might easily and naturally have been distinguished as a *cavaedium* — a word suggestive at once of an inner apartment, and the epithet *hilare* would recall the kind classified by Vitruvius as Corinthium. This is what we believe to have been the case in Pliny's villa.

The fact is that Becker is wrong in maintaining a fundamental difference between the *atrium* and *cavum aedium*. By Pliny's time the two terms may have grown somewhat apart. The truth lies perhaps between the extremes, yet certainly on the side of the identity of the two expressions. Varro has shown that the terms were originally synonymous. Vitruvius has been proved to be at one with Varro, although admitting a difference in the point of view; and there is nothing sufficiently distinctive in Pliny's use of the two words to justify the inference that Varro and Vitruvius were mistaken.

Remarks were made by Dr. Magoun and by the author.

7. Verbals in *-τέος*, *-τέον*, by Professor J. H. T. Main, of Iowa College.

The purpose of this paper was to give a preliminary report of a study of the verbals in *-τέος* and *-τέον*, with particular reference to the Greek tragic poets.

The traditional treatment of the verbal in *-τέος* and *-τέον*, as found in the various treatises on Greek syntax, is inadequate, particularly from the stylistic point of view. The form in question occurs in lyric poetry, but with extreme variety. Tragedy adopted it, but used it with careful discrimination. In Aeschylus there are less than a half-dozen occurrences. Sophocles uses it with greater freedom, notably in two or three of his plays. Euripides' use of the form closely parallels that of Sophocles. The total number found in Sophocles is about thirty-five. Two thirds of this number are found in three plays; namely, Ajax, Antigone, Oedipus Rex. The total number found in Euripides approaches sixty. Of this number nearly half are in the four following plays: Iphigenia Taurica, Hercules Furens, Ion, Phoenissae.

A detailed study of passages in which verbals occur has been made, and the following suggestions are offered as representing approximately the real tone of the form:

The verbal denotes 'necessity,' but preëminently necessity of an unqualified type; a necessity that is not relative, but one from which there is no appeal. As compared with *δεῖ* and *χρή* plus the infinitive, it is clearly more distinct and peremptory, and has an individuality that is much more strongly marked. It may imply moral or logical necessity; it may indicate the necessity of expediency; it may denote the resignation of despair. It is a favorite construction in passionate appeal, order, threat, or warning.

With these points in mind, it at once becomes plain to the student of Greek tragedy why the proportion of verbals is larger in the Ajax and the Antigone than, for example, in the Oedipus Coloneus; and again why it is larger in the Iphigenia Taurica than in other plays of Euripides. On the basis indicated, the lines of usage throughout tragedy are easily traced. Naturally not many would be expected in comedy. When found, there is usually a strong suggestion of exag-

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geration or parody. Especially may this be observed in the Clouds. Lyric poetry would manifestly have slight use for such a construction.

The department to which belongs preëminently the verbal construction is philosophy. Even here it is not used indiscriminately. The constant tendency shown in his dialogues toward the massing of this construction, shows more clearly than any thing else, perhaps, that he felt keenly its specific force. In the statement of accepted truths, in drawing conclusions, and in the dogmatic recapitulation of a long discussion, the verbal always becomes prominent. In the ordinary levels of discussion it is not common. In the peirastic dialogues, it is rare; in the constructive and dogmatic dialogues, it becomes more frequent. There may be passages in Plato in which there is shown a tendency to conventionalize the form. As Plato uses it with such frequency, this would be expected. In Aristotle we should expect it to become much more conventionalized, taking on in many cases merely the tone of the professional teacher and dogmatist.

In the orators there is no marked tendency toward the form. Its tone excludes it from general use. It occurs in the passionate appeals of the Philippics. Isocrates uses the verbal in some orations with noteworthy frequency. But Isocrates affected philosophy, and was fond of stating the teachings of history and experience. He points out the inevitable trend of things and states his warnings accordingly.

Adjourned at 6.05 P.M.

Evening Session.

At eight o'clock the members, together with a large number of the citizens of Cleveland, assembled in Clark Hall to listen to the address of the President of the Association. The speaker was introduced by President Charles F. Thwing, who extended a welcome to the Association on behalf of the Trustees and Faculty of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

8. The Function of the Imagination in Classical Philology, by Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University, President of the Association.

The address opened with a reference to the late Professor Whitney, and with a quotation on the functions of the Association, from his Presidential Address in 1870, which, in the judgment of the speaker, should be publicly read at least once every twenty-five years.

I. Dismissing Boeckh's definition of classical philology as too vague, that given by Ritschl was accepted as satisfactory: "the reconstruction of classical antiquity by means of a knowledge and vision of its essential manifestations" (*die Reproduktion des Classischen Altertums durch Erkenntniss und Anschauung seiner wesentlichen Aeusserungen*). Greek and Roman antiquity has left a manifold record of itself, in the exploration of which and in the reconstruction from which the classical philologian finds his life-work. These ancient peoples

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recorded themselves, — either collectively, or individuals within them made the record. The collective record is found primarily in all the institutions of society (religious, political, and the like), and especially in that great social institution (as Whitney used to call it) language, — language as form and instrument. The individual record was left in the various forms of individual expression, chiefly in art and in literature, which is language as form and content. Inasmuch as so vast a part of the record of classical antiquity has been made in and through language, whether as form or as content, it follows as a matter of course that the chief concern of the classical scholar will be the ancient languages and their testimony. He examines the record to ascertain exactly what these people were, especially in what was essential to and characteristic of them, and by the knowledge thus gained he seeks to reconstruct the ancient world. He differs from the historian, who to a large extent may be concerned with the same circle of facts, in that his effort is chiefly directed toward ascertaining conditions, whereas the historian is interested in tracing changes and their causes. Thus the philologian must furnish the data upon which the historian builds: he clarifies the evidence, sifts and makes the texts, views classical antiquity in its statical conditions rather than in its dynamic relations. — Why he does all this we need not here ask. In classical antiquity the spirit of man had many of its best moments. As the scientist delights in Nature because she speaks of herself, so the philologian delights in the ancient records of humanity because they reveal the soul of man in its beautiful youth.

In the United States the classical philologian, hardly without exception, stands in a twofold relation: he is, or ought to be, a scholar or master in his subject; and, secondly, he is a teacher. For him in each of these relations there is an ideal, of which he should have a correct, a vivid, and a masterful conception. As a scholar he is above all a knower of the past; but knowledge comes only through observation, reason, discovery. He is a knower of the ancient world at first hand, — from the inside. The instinct for expression possessed by every normal person will impel him to show as well as to know. As Fichte insisted urgently, every scholar should be, not only a person of all-sided and rounded culture, but also an extender of knowledge and a specialist. But the classical philologian in the United States is more than a scholar bound to know and to extend his subject. He is a teaching-scholar: while as scholar he is primarily a knower of the past, as a teacher he is at once a reporter and an interpreter of the past. The latter functions involve at least three things: knowledge of the past, knowledge of the present, knowledge of the language of interpretation or of other interpretative media. As teacher he has a very large pupilage: there is, first, the public, lay and learned. For the former he is to popularize classical learning; to the latter he is to impart the refined gold of his own discoveries in out-lying fields of research. As a teacher, at school, college, or university, of students in the undergraduate or liberal stage of their education, and of advanced students who intend to make a profession of classical study, he has special tasks and special duties. Now, as the sum and aim of the teacher's energies and activity for himself as a scholar are to behold and, as it were, live in the ancient world of Greek and Roman thought in all that is nobly characteristic of it, — it should be the sum and aim of his work as a teacher of youth so to lead his pupils on that they too may gain, immediately, or may be enabled to gain, some adequate

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and enduring vision of the world in which he lives. Who had the fullest and completest conception of the Greek and Roman world? The Greek and the Roman himself. Hence we may define it as the teacher's highest aim that he is so to inform, instruct, and train his pupils that for the time they are to behold the ancient world with something of the sense of vivid vitality with which the Greeks and Romans themselves beheld it. In reading an ancient book, for example, it is the teacher's first duty to put the pupil into the place of the ancient reader. In the study of a piece of literature, or of a work of plastic art, this book or monument should do for us and be to us, as far as may be, what it was for those for whom it was originally created. The book was not composed for us: it was composed under certain circumstances, by a certain author, for a certain public. In so far as it is a perfect piece of literature, satisfying in bodied form the author's ideal, it was that public alone that could best appreciate it. We, then, teachers or pupils, in order best to understand it and appreciate it, must put ourselves in the place of that public. Difficulties and obscurities of all sorts will need elucidation. Of course, in the conduct and guidance of such work the imperative necessity of perspective and proportion will always be felt by the conscientious teacher. Indeed, the teacher is an artist, and woe betide him as a teacher if he allows his science as a scholar, or rather his mass of scientific information, to confuse or obscure for him the simple and severe outlines of his ideal. In organizing the work of education, he will not forget that there are three stages in classical studies which must be ascended in proper order, though at times the methods of the one may profitably be followed in the other. The first stage is that wherein we seek to put the American youth into the attitude of the Greek or Roman youth; the second stage, to which the first is preliminary, is that in which are garnered up, as it were, the most precious things in antique life and thought, and laid with our other treasures, compared and combined with them. In the second stage the point of view changes: we are, so to speak, outsiders — ourselves in fact — taking an estimate and account of stock. The third stage is that of the scientific study and investigation of antiquity, or rather of items and features of it, now become a technical pursuit, when we seek to find out all that is knowable about the phenomena, a scientific knowledge such as the ancients did not possess, but which as true men who have at heart the enlargement of the bounds of human knowledge we must ever cherish.

II. Are these ideals realized? From the point of view of scholarship, we have to note a sad lack of broad specialists, and as teachers we are often criticised because of the fruit we yield in our pupils. Where we have succeeded in promoting genuine scholarship, there has often been a one-sided development. Antagonisms are supposed to exist between different branches or departments of classical studies: 'literary' and 'philological' study are looked upon as mutually destructive, or at least as incompatible. "Scholarship," says Professor Corson, "philological scholarship — is a great obstacle to the truest and highest literary culture."

III. In so far as these and other criticisms are just, and the deficiencies adverted to are actually present in our scholarship and teaching, it becomes us to look for a remedy, a cure, a reconciliation. Such will be found if we place ourselves and our work constantly under the dominion of the Idea of the Whole, — another way of saying that we must fully recognize the function of a disciplined,

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well-informed, and constructive imagination in the prosecution of classical studies. By this faculty are here meant chiefly the two closely related powers of the mind, designated in German, as Professor Tyndall has already suggested, by *Anschauungsgabe* and *Einbildungskraft*. The former is in its essence a passive faculty, the opening of the windows of the soul to behold the panorama of ancient thought and life: it might be called Vision. The latter is a constructive, and in a sense a creative faculty: from faint hint or suggestion, from fragmentary evidence, it divines as with the penetrating eye of a creating spirit the obscure truth, and flashes it forth clear and coördinate; this is Divination. Midway between the two stands the organizing imaginative faculty — Organizing Vision — which, guided by reason, frames scattered items of conviction and knowledge into a great conception of the ideal. The imagination, in this threefold aspect, is exercised by us, as scholars and investigators, upon the phenomena of the ancient world, and it reveals to us the solution of the problems taken in hand; for us as teachers it shapes our ideal of our work, framing not only the world or body of related knowledge and feeling which we seek to enable our pupils to refashion in their own souls, but also the ideal of the methods to be pursued in this great task. Nature has endowed men differently. While the powers of Vision and of Organizing Vision are possessed by all, and can be deepened and developed, that of Divination seems to be a special endowment, though it sometimes appears as a sort of pentecostal dowry bestowed upon those who have ever cultivated earnestly the best gifts, have been true to the vision, and have lived in the pure air of high scholarship.

The mere knowledge of many items, or even of all the items, unless seen in their organic relations, by the power of trained vision, is inadequate and even false. With the true vision, however, all things fall into their proper place, and each item tells its whole story. The very dust that we gather in our passage is flooded with a radiant light, as is the dust of the roadway to the eye of the seeing geologist. And if to the passive, merely observant vision of the casual traveller we add the organizing vision of the topographer, — the scientific investigator, — our knowledge of the field traversed becomes more complete even than that of the native inhabitants! Each man must, of course, obtain his own vision. Each man must focus the telescope for himself; otherwise there is a penumbral haze which, obscuring definition, is likely to distort the object of vision and to flood the field of view with fictitious figures and fancies.

How may the vision be won? (1) From the fullest, direct or first-hand information on cardinal matters, obtained (*a*) through the reading and re-reading, by preference, of the great vision-authors, who are their own best interpreters; (*b*) through a knowledge of the several forms of ancient art, those that address the eye, the ear, and the literary æsthetic sense; (*c*) from travel in classical lands, which introduces the student into something of the physical world in which the ancients lived, as literature and art introduce him into their spiritual world. (2) And next in importance to the knowledge obtained is the temper and spirit in which it is sought: it should be a spirit of sympathetic and sensitive appreciation, as also one of accuracy and thoroughness, candor, caution, patience, and well-reasoned endeavor. Indeed, the vision, especially in the case of scientific research, will often come only as the result of very hard constructive work carried on in the dark. In his recent Bryn Mawr address Professor Gildersleeve

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urged that there were really three stages in the prosecution of a piece of scientific work, and for that matter, one might add, in the development of philological character: first, simple observation of facts; second, and of course dependent on the former, discovery of law; and, finally, the vision of the cosmos. As Tyndall says: "Bounded and conditioned by coöperant reason, imagination becomes the mightiest instrument of research in the physical world." Still more in the world of thought.

Some special hints may be added. The field of our work and interest is a vast one, and we should deal chiefly with facts in it that have large and not merely minor relations. In any case let us remember that every item with which we have to do is part of a large whole: in every minutest detail of investigation (or of instruction) let us ever bear in mind these broader aspects and connections, loving and searching into the small, not because it is small and presumably less troublesome, but because, if we have eyes to see, it contains and reveals the soul of the whole. In the organization of work for our advanced students, much remains to be done in this direction. While it is most true that "enthusiasm lies in specialization," so also may narrowness there lie, unless one also cultivate the larger outlook.

IV. The recent reproductions of Greek and Latin plays at some of our colleges are interesting attempts to put American youth into the place of the youth of antiquity, and as such have a distinct educational value, as is shown in particular by the testimony of persons chiefly concerned. They furnish not a few suggestions of the greatest practical value for the conduct of reading courses in our colleges. [Extracts from letters received from actors in the *Phormio*, as represented in Cambridge, April 19, 1894, were here read by the speaker.]

V. So long as we see only in part, so long as knowledge grows from more to more, the vision and conception of the ancient world, for the scholar, and of the ideal of the classical teacher's work, must be subject to modification, expansion, illumination; with these must come newer interpretations, demanded by the incessant, though almost unobserved, changes in the media of interpretation and in the æsthetic standards that regulate expression. It has been so in the past. Again and again the phenomena of the ancient world, their spirit and significance, have been loosely grasped and cheaply explained. Antiquity has been understood in terms of the times in which it has been passed under review, just as the ancient languages have been pronounced by students of these languages according to the genius of their own vernacular. The early Christian Church, the leaders of the Renaissance, the motley crew of recent Neo-Pagans, have each and all had their own conception and interpretation of antiquity — and how far from the truth! And yet even these views, dark, or highly colored, or distorted, or inadequate, have been fraught with instruction. And thus — apart from the consideration that the vision, like religion, has to be obtained by each individual for himself — the task of the classical scholar is never finished, and can never be finished. As the Pilgrim Fathers held that new truth was yet to break forth unto them out of Holy Writ, so unto him that has the eye to see — Wordsworth's "visionary eye" — shall new light and truth ever spring from the ancient world of Greece and Rome.

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CLEVELAND, July 10, 1895.

The meeting was called to order at 9.30 A.M. by President Wright.

The following committees were then appointed by the chair: —

On Officers for 1895–96: Professors D'Ooge and Hale, Dr. Scott.
On Auditing the Treasurer's Report: Professors Humphreys and Platner.
On Place of Meeting in 1896: Professors Hart, Ashmore, and J. R. Smith.

The foundation of Fellowships in connection with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the like-named School at Rome was then announced by the Secretary and Professor Hale respectively.

The Managing Committee of the School at Athens will award annually two Fellowships in Greek Archaeology, each of the value of $600. These Fellowships will be awarded chiefly on the basis of a written examination (to be held in May), but other evidence of ability and attainments will be considered. They are open to Bachelors of Arts, both men and women, of universities and colleges in the United States. Each candidate must announce his intention to offer himself for examination. This announcement must be made to Professor John Williams White, Cambridge, Mass., by April 1. Since the establishment of the School in 1881 there have been nearly seventy students in attendance, three-quarters of whom have held, or now hold, professorships or instructorships in American colleges. Information concerning the work of the School may be obtained of Professor T. D. Seymour, New Haven, Conn.

The School at Rome, which was opened in 1895, has in its award three Fellowships, two of the value of $600, and one of $500. Applications for the Fellowships and for membership should be made to the Director of the School, Casino dell' Aurora, Via Lombardia, Rome, or, after October, 1896, to Professor W. G. Hale, University of Chicago.

Bachelors of Arts of American colleges in good standing, and other persons as well, may become members of the School on submitting satisfactory proof that their studies have been such as to enable them to pursue advanced courses of work at the School.

The full school year will be ten months. The School will be in session for stated instruction from October 15 to June 1. During this period members of the School shall ordinarily reside in Rome, but may also under direction pursue investigations elsewhere in Italy or Greece. The work, during the remainder of the school year, will be on a plan approved by the Directors.

Regular members of the School, those enrolled for a full year's work, are candidates for a certificate, but students may also become members for a part of the year, without being eligible for a certificate, provided their membership lasts for a period of at least three months. No charges are made for tuition. Americans residing or travelling in Italy who are not members of the School, may at the discretion of the Directors be admitted to its privileges.

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9. The *Acta Ludorum* and the *Carmen Saeculare,* by Prof. M. S. Slaughter, of Iowa College.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

10. The Great Fire in Rome in the time of Nero,[1] by Vernon J. Emery, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

This fire broke out July 19, 64. According to an inscription of Domitian (*C. I. L.* VI. 1, 826) it lasted nine days. This statement can be reconciled with that of Tacitus, who, after saying that the fire was checked on the sixth day, adds that it broke out again immediately in the Aemilian gardens of Tigellinus (*An.* 15, 40). We may assume this second fire to have burned through three days.

It is impossible to base an estimate of the amount of destruction upon the duration of the fire. Compare, for example, the duration, area burned over, and number of buildings destroyed in the great fires of London and Chicago. Note also the fire of 80 A.D. which raged for three days, though confined to the Campus Martius and the Capitoline hill (Dio, 66, 24). When Dio says (62, 18) τῆς τε λοιπῆς πόλεως τὰ δύο που μέρη ἐκάυθη, he probably means the old city within the Servian wall. Tacitus' description of the rapid spread of the fire (*An.* 15, 38) can apply only to the more crowded quarters occupied by tenement houses and small shops. The general terms and sweeping statements of the historians in describing the fire bear upon their face the marks of exaggeration. Of the subsequent measures of Nero to raise money Tacitus says (*An.* 15, 45): "In eam praedam etiam di cessere, spoliatis in urbe templis egestoque auro, quod triumpho quod votis omnis populi Romani aetas prospere aut in metu sacraverat." "In urbe" leaves no doubt that the temples meant were in Rome. Had the destruction been sweeping, there would have been few such temples left to rob. For other general considerations, see Jordan, I. 1, § 8.

The fire started in the S.E. end of the Circus Maximus, and was driven by a S.E. wind toward the Forum Boarium. At the same time it is likely that the fire spread slowly up the valley between the Palatine and the Caelian. The woodwork only of the Circus was destroyed, and the damage was quickly repaired, for in April of the following year both the Circus and the temple of Ceres near by were again in use (Tac. *An.* 15, 53). In this direction the fire spread through the Forum Boarium and the Velabrum to the river, the foot of the Capitoline, and the Servian wall. The destruction on the Palatine was only partial. First, the massive foundations of concrete and tufa would offer resistance to fire in the valley below; second, the direction of the wind was unfavorable to the spread of the fire up the west side of the hill; third, there are considerable remains of buildings of an earlier date. In 68 and 69 the temple of Apollo was in use (Suet. *Nero,* 25; Tac. *Hist.* 1, 27; 3, 65). The house of Augustus could not have burned without damaging the temple in its rear. The house of Livia is still a well-preserved specimen of Augustan architecture with much of its painting intact (Middleton). The house of Tiberius was in existence in 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 1, 27). The greatest destruction must have been on the east side. Here, we know, were burned the house of Nero and the colonnade connecting it with the

[1] This paper appeared in full in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for January, 1896.

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Esquiline (Tac. *An.* 15, 39), the temple of Jupiter Stator, and some private houses, *e.g.*, that of Crassus (Pl. *N. H.* 17, 5). The marble blocks of the walls of the Regia, on which the consular fasti were engraved, have been found. The walls of this building demonstrably antedate the time of Nero (Jordan). The Regia could not have been destroyed; possibly it was damaged. There is no evidence to show that the fire reached the Forum. The remains indicate that it did not. Many old statues remained in the Forum at a later day (Pl. *N. H.* 34, 20, 22, 77; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 120; Mart. 2, 64). It is, of course, possible that statues might survive a general conflagration. It depends upon their material and location. Trees could not survive the burning of all the buildings around them. Of old trees in the Forum and immediate vicinity living after this fire, we know of a fig, an olive, a vine, and a lotos (Pl. *N. H.* 15, 77, 78; cf. Tac. *An.* 13, 58). The temple of Janus, the Basilica Aemilia, and the temple of Concord are spoken of subsequently in such a way as to lead to the inference that they were not burned (Pl. *N. H.* 34, 33; 36, 28; 36, 102; 37, 4). The Forum of Augustus was surrounded by a massive peperino wall 109 feet high, sufficient to check the fire had it reached so far. The abrupt face of the Capitoline hill on the south side would form an effective fire wall. The first building on this side was the great temple, which was not burned (Tac. *Hist.* 3, 71, 72). It seems unlikely that the fire reached any portion of the hill.

On the side next the Tiber the fire cannot have gone much, if any, beyond the Servian wall. The first buildings of importance beyond the wall were the theatre of Marcellus, the temple of Apollo Sosianus, and, farther on, the porticus Octaviae. The temple of Apollo contained a statue of cedar wood which had been presented in 34 B.C. Pliny says, "cedrinus est Romae in delubro Apollo Sosianus" (*N. H.* 13, 53). The columns of the porticus Octaviae, as well as the pictures and ornaments placed in the enclosed temples on their reconstruction by Augustus, were existing in their original state when Pliny wrote (*N. H.* 36, 42, 43). The theatre and porticus of Pompey seem to have been uninjured. The statues of the fourteen nations around the porticus in Varro's time were there later than the date of the fire (Pl. *N. H.* 36, 41). In 65 Nero used this theatre for his performances (Tac. *An.* 16, 42). Twice Pliny speaks of the Pantheon and the decorations it received at the time of its construction by Agrippa as still existing (*N. H.* 34, 13; 36, 38). On the eastern side of this region, near the Via Lata, was the Diribitorium, remarkable for the span of its wooden roof. "Non et tectum diribitori ab Agrippa facti [inter magnifica dicamus?]" (Pl. *N. H.* 36, 102). The evidence of Pliny, weak in itself, becomes conclusive only in connection with the absence of any record of the destruction at this time or subsequent restoration of the public buildings which he mentions. During the progress of the fire the people took refuge in the Campus Martius and in the monumenta Agrippae. These buildings in the Campus Martius were the Saepta Julia, Diribitorium, Pantheon, Thermae Agrippae, and porticus Vipsania (Tac. *An.* 15, 39). So far as our evidence goes, it is to the effect that none of the buildings in the Campus Martius were destroyed, with the single exception of the theatre of Statilius Taurus (Dio, 62, 18), the location of which is uncertain.

From the Palatine the fire could spread eastward over the western portion of the Caelian and Esquiline and the adjacent valleys, finding, doubtless, more inflammable material in this direction. From the pulling down of buildings on the

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Esquiline near the limits of the future Golden House (Suet. *Nero*, 38) to check the spread of the flames, we may conclude that the limit of the burned district was near the eastern end of that house. Besides this we have only the statement, "Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus" (Tac. *An.* 15, 40). Probably the northern slope is meant.

The second fire broke out "in praedis Tigellini Aemilianis." This was a district of the city between the Capitoline and the Quirinal, probably near where the Forum of Trajan was afterwards constructed. As to the extent of the destruction we are even more in the dark than in the case of the first fire. Although breaking out so near the Via Lata, it seems to have done little damage west of that street. It must have burned over either the Campus Martius or the Quirinal. Some circumstantial evidence is against the former alternative, and as the records are silent with respect to the latter, we may assume it as the more probable.

The evidence shows that neither the Forum Romanum nor the Palatine were among the regions totally destroyed. The only others which come into consideration are Circus Maximus, Isis et Serapis, and Templum Pacis.

As to the four regions unaffected by the fire, every one is agreed on Trans Tiberim. Almost equally certain is Porta Capena. Circus Flaminius may be a third, as there is no evidence that any building in it, except the Amphitheatre of Taurus, was burned. The fourth region uninjured is possibly Piscina Publica. The discussion of this point is difficult and inconclusive by reason of the uncertainty with respect to the boundaries of the regions.

11. Did Verse-Ictus destroy Word-Accent in Latin Poetry? by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

Bentley, in his edition of Terence (Cambridge, 1726), ridiculed the reading of dactylic verse without reference to grammatical accent, or, as I shall call it in this paper, word-accent. He gives no argument on this point, but proceeds, here and in his Schediasma de Metris Terentianis, to exhibit evidence for his belief that, in a certain fairly definite measure, the early Roman dramatists were governed by word-accent in their composition, putting into the arsis (stressed syllable of the verse) the syllable that had the stress in daily speech. Gottfried Hermann (Elem. Doctrin. Metric.) followed Bentley, and so in substance did Ritschl (Proleg. Trin. and Opusc. II., Einleitung), so far as Early Latin was concerned. Since Ritschl's day the battle has continued to rage about the question of the influence of word-accent in Early Roman poetry. The discussions with regard to the Saturnian Metre and the Metres of Early Comedy are familiar.[1] Ritter, Corssen, Boeck, Weil, and Benloew, and Lucian Müller reject the theory of word-accent *in*

[1] The name of an American scholar, Professor M. W. Humphreys, of the University of Virginia, appears in the earlier years of the later phase of the controversy in important articles on "Certain Influences of Accent in Latin Iambic Trimeters," Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1876, and "Influence of Accent in Latin Dactylic Hexameters," *ibid.* 1878, the latter containing the substance of a Latin dissertation published in Leipzig in 1874. In these papers, while no attempt at an exhaustive argument is made for the tenet to be proved in the present paper, namely, that, when in conflict, both word-accent and verse-ictus were heard in Latin verse, the tenet seems, nevertheless, to underlie the whole discussion. The conception of Latin accentuation is, however, that of the time, now generally given up, namely, that it was a matter of pitch.

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toto. So, more recently, do Havet and W. Meyer. The drift of modern opinion, however, seems to be represented by such men as Langen, Thurneysen, Klotz, and Skutsch in Germany, and Lindsay in England, who, though all difficulty has by no means disappeared, proceed in their investigations of the law of Early Roman metre upon the theory that it was largely controlled by word-accent.

As for Classical Latin, the question, since Bentley's brief suggestion of his opinion and Ritschl's rejection of the theory for Classical Latin, seems to have practically passed out of sight. It seems to be almost universally assumed that, wherever there is a conflict between word-accent and verse-accent, the former wholly disappeared, or, to put it more briefly, that there was no accent except verse-accent. This is pithily stated (for the whole of Latin verse) by Lucian Müller in his "Friedrich Ritschl: Eine Wissenschaftliche Biographie," second edition, p. 33: "Für die Scansion Griechischer und Römischer Verse kommt einzig die Quantität der Silben, also Länge und Kürze in Betracht, und die Lehrer thun ganz recht, die, was Bentley verspottete, in den Gymnasien ihre Schüler lesen lassen: árma virúmque canó, Troiaé qui prímus ab óris; Will man neben dem poetischen Rhythmus noch den grammatischen Accent hören lassen oder gar diesen ohne jeden so verliert man einfach das Metrum."

My own view, from my student-days, — a time much antedating my knowledge of Bentley's unsuccessful opinion about the Latin hexameter, — has been that a system of verse-construction in which an important characteristic of daily speech was destroyed, was impossible to accept, in default of actual evidence for the language in question, and in default of any example in languages spoken to-day. It has for a great many years been my practice to attempt to give both word-accent and verse-ictus in all Latin verse.[1] To my mind, the presumption being what it is, even partial success in the actual doing of the thing is affirmative evidence; but other evidence, of a kind that appears to me irrefragable, has accumulated in my study of the question, and been given to my students. This evidence, the testing of the fate of which has been too long delayed, I now wish to put forth.

The question, in the precise form in which it is here to be discussed, is this: In the reading of Roman verse was word-accent lost wherever it came into conflict with verse-ictus?[2]

The almost universal doctrine that it did must rest upon a conviction that stress cannot fall upon two successive syllables, as in *si vdcat dc plácidi*; for, if it could, then, in the absence of evidence, we should have no reason to suppose that so essential a characteristic of a word as its accent was wholly lost.

(1) My first and most important argument will be based upon certain established facts of modern speech and modern verse, the great importance of which in the study of ancient verse-systems has not been pointed out.

In modern daily speech compound words are frequent in which the word-accent falls on two successive syllables, one of which has less stress than the

[1] Not a few modern teachers of Greek are in the habit of trying to give both pitch-accent and verse-ictus in reading Greek poetry. Higher pitch and stronger stress, however, have naturally not been held to be impossible to give side by side.

[2] The question, if put into the form in which it is discussed for Early Latin, namely, "did word-accent determine, in whole or in part, the structure of the verse?" would be a very different thing.

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other, but nevertheless has more than the remaining syllables of the word. Examples are Hinzúfûgung, Aúsgábe, pénwíper, aŕchángel, Lóngféllow. To these might be added a long list of compounds made by grammarians, as, for example, word-accent, verse-ictus, or, for a passing purpose, by poets, *e.g.* birth-goddess (Matthew Arnold), tough-belted (Keats). Further, the sense-stress is often made in modern verse to fall upon a syllable that has no ictus, and frequently is stronger than any ictus in the verse; while, on the other hand, the ictus is regularly made very light and unimportant if it falls on unimportant words, like auxiliaries, relative pronouns, prepositions, etc.

The following, from Matthew Arnold's "Fragment of an Antigone," illustrates all these phenomena:

Well hath he done who hath seized happiness.

* * * * * *

He does well too who keeps that clue the mild
Birth-goddess and the austere Fates first gave.

What we have in these verses is a succession of stresses such as, when one is dealing with Latin poetry, is assumed to be impossible. In the first verse there is a group of four at the beginning and of three toward the end; in the second, the same; and in the third, three at the beginning and four at the end, one of the latter (in *austere*) being the result of an intentional separation of word-accent and verse-pulse. But, if this can be, how can we seriously hold that, when we come to Horace, S. 2, 2, 12, we must read:

mólliter aústerúm studió fallénte labórem

with only the stresses marked by circles, instead of reading it as

mólliter aústérúm stúdió fallénte labórem?

If Matthew Arnold could say aústére, why in the name of all that is reasonable and intellectually endurable must we suppose that Horace was incapable of doing the corresponding thing, — especially when we note, as we must do with a moment's thought, that the steady observance of longs and shorts makes the shifting of the accent easier in Latin than in English?

It would, then, seem entirely possible that the Romans may have put stress on successive syllables in verse.

(2) But the matter is not merely one of possibility. There is evidence that the Romans actually did put stress upon successive syllables. This is found in the fact that the sense-stress, which can have been given only by stronger utterance, often falls upon syllables that do not carry the verse-pulse. Examples are (for long syllables) *nón* (Iuv. 1, 30), *té* (Iuv. 10, 124); (for short syllables) *cíbus* (Iuv. 5, 15), *Ióve* and *Ióvis* (Verg. Ecl. 3, 23). These could be multiplied to an indefinite extent.

(3) An examination of the unintentional occurrences of verse-rhythms in prose, pointed out by Roman critics, shows that in many cases the actual pronunciation of the words in an oration or a reading could not have suggested verse to

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the ear, if in poetry word-accent was lost wherever it did not coincide with verse-pulse. So, *e.g.*, Cicero in the Or. 66, 222, quoting Crassus's *missos faciant patronos: ipsi prodeant*, says "if he had not spoken the words *ipsi prodeant* with a pause before them, he would certainly have recognized that he had uttered a senarius; and, in any case, *prodeant ipsi* would make a better close." If, as verse, this would have the artificial rendering *missós faciánt, patronos: ipsi prodeant*, then, even if Crassus had not paused, *missos fáciant patronos: ipsi prodeant* could not have suggested to any one a complete senarius. Compare also what Quintilian (9, 4, 74, and 76) says of Livy's *facturusne operae pretium sim* and of Cicero's *pro di immortales, qui hic inluxit dies.*

(4) The Roman grammarians furnish us with evidence, both direct and indirect, that words *retained* their ordinary accents in verse. In writing upon word-accent, they take their illustrations less frequently from prose than from verse. In many cases of the latter kind, (1) the syllable selected to illustrate the acute or the circumflex accent is one upon which the ictus does not fall; and in a number of others (2) the syllable selected to illustrate the grave accent is one upon which the ictus does fall. An example of the first is found in Priscian, Keil. 493, 7, where, quoting Virgil's *multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem*, Priscian explicitly asks "what accent has *quoque?*" and answers, "acute on the penult." Compare also Priscian, K. II. 302, 7 and 12; III. 33, 4; III. 33, 13; Servius, K. IV. 426, 35; Probus, K. IV. 145, 21; Sergius, K. IV. 484, 9.

On the other hand, Priscian, K. III. 51, 11, says that *clam*, when used as a preposition and put before the word it governs, is pronounced with the grave accent, as in the Andria of Terence (287) *nec clam te est, quam illi utraeque nunc inutiles.* Yet the ictus falls upon this very word. Compare also Priscian K. III. 83, 17; III. 478, 22; III. 479, 25; Probus, K. IV. 149.

These considerations would seem to establish a strong case in favor of the theory that word-accent was not lost in verse. A single negative argument might, I can imagine, be brought, viz.:

In certain cases in early Latin poetry, a long syllable was shortened ("brevis brevians"). The shortened syllable is sometimes the one which in speech would have had the accent, as, *e.g.*, the second syllable in *voluptas mea* ($\cup\ \cup\ \angle\ \cup\ \cup$). This proves that ictus was stronger than word-accent, and implies that the latter was probably lost in poetry.

To this I should answer as follows: It looks as if the discussion now going on with regard to the metres of early Latin poetry would result in a general conviction that all the phenomena of this kind were reproduced from daily speech (*voluptas mea, e.g.*, being in this speech a word-group with the accent of one word); in which case such phenomena do not indicate any superiority of ictus over word-accent. Even if, however, the result should be the opposite and the conclusion should be granted, this conclusion would, by a similar argument, be disproved for classical poetry, at any rate. For, if the phenomenon mentioned is evidence that verse-ictus was stronger than word-ictus in early Latin poetry, then the fact that in classical poetry the phenomenon ceases to be found is evidence that the cause ceased to exist.

So much for theory. On the practical side, I have been in the habit of saying to my pupils at Cornell and at Chicago that the easiest way to succeed is to endeavor to drop verse-ictus entirely, by fixing the attention upon quantity, word-

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accent, and sense-stress,[1] the reason for the advice being that the ictus-habit is commonly so deeply planted that a quite sufficient residuum is sure to be left.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor Milton W. Humphreys, of the University of Virginia.

Professor Humphreys said that he accepted the views set forth, except that, old-fashioned as he might seem, he was not inclined to abandon the theory of at least *some* conscious musical pitch in Latin accent. That there was more stress in it than in Greek accent he was ready to admit, and if the Latin accent was exactly like the present Italian accent (which to his ear has a much more decided musical pitch than the English accent), it would sustain his views on the influence of accent in Latin poetry, as expressed in papers formerly read before the Association. It would not be reasonable to suppose that while in Greece the accent was losing its musical character, it was acquiring that same character in Italy. To his ear the modern Greek accent has not more elevation than the Italian, if as much.

His papers, read in previous years, were intended to demonstrate that in certain situations conflict between ictus and accent were avoided as being disagreeable. If the demonstration was valid, it follows that the accent must have been made with the voice in reading, for otherwise there could be no reason why the ictus might not fall in any relation to the tone-syllable. Many of the phenomena discussed in those papers point to the use of the accent in reading. When it is stated, in the paper on the hexameter, that Ennius totally neglected the accent, it is not meant that he suppressed it in reciting, but that he paid no attention to it in constructing his verses. In those papers it was not thought worth while to

[1] It is through a misunderstanding of these directions that I have been quoted, as many letters of inquiry have shown that I have been, as holding that there was no ictus in Roman poetry.

Professor Bennett's view seems to be essentially the same with this view which I have wrongly been supposed to teach. He says (Latin Grammar, 366, 5), "in every foot the long syllable naturally receives the greater prominence. This prominence is called ictus." And in a foot-note upon this passage he adds "ictus was not accent, — neither stress accent nor musical accent, — but was simply the quantitative prominence inherent in a long syllable." I can hardly believe that he has reached in this a final opinion. Several serious objections are to be brought against it. First, ictus did not fall, for instance, upon the second syllable of the spondee in dactylic verse, although that syllable was long. Second, ictus did fall upon a short syllable in the tribrach and proceleusmatic, and, in certain metres, upon a short syllable in the dactyl and the spondee, etc., etc. Third, verse-pulse is characteristic of all verse-systems of which we have any actual knowledge, and can hardly have been absent from the system of men who by implication speak of verse as lending itself to taps of the fingers and beats of the foot (*oratio non descendet ad crepitum digitorum et pedum;* Quintil. 9, 4, 55, said in opposition to what has just been said of rhythm, which is defined as the same thing as numbers in verse); and who use the same phraseology for the beating of time to music and the beating of time to poetry. And, finally, not only does the word "ictus," like our word "beat," naturally imply stress, but it is used as synonymous with *percussio* in 9, 4, 51; while *percussio* is used instead of *ictus* in 9, 4, 75, where Quintilian says of the senarius, "one may call it senarius or trimeter indifferently, for it has six feet and three *percussiones*." It amounts to the same thing when, in 136 of the same chapter, he says, in speaking of oratory, "rougher passages, on the contrary, are given most energy through the use of iambs; not only because iambs consist of two syllables, and accordingly allow a more frequent *beat*, as it were, but also," etc., etc., using the word *pulsum* in place of *ictus*. Similar evidence is given by Charisius's definition of *ictus* as πληγή in the excerpts from the Ars Grammatica, K. I. 552, 9.

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enter into an elaborate demonstration, but the view was made quite explicit. In the paper on trimeters, for instance, in reference to Quintilian's remark on *pecudés pictaéque volŭcres*, it is expressly stated that this remark "teaches two important facts: first, that accent and ictus were different things; and, secondly, that *accent*, as well as ictus, *was observed in reading poetry*."

He regarded the difficulty of observing both ictus and accent as being due, in great measure, to the habit of giving the ictus too much stress, a habit resulting from the too common neglect of quantity, except that of the penult, in reading Latin prose. If the quantity is accurately observed, very little stress is needed. To say *āmăbā́tis* is as faulty as to say *ā́măbās*. The error in the latter is not one of accentuation, but of quantity. The rhythm in most verses will be felt without any artificial ictus at all, if the quantity is observed. The natural loudness of long syllables (which allow the voice to reach a fuller compass) as contrasted with short ones sufficiently marks the rhythmical units when both long and short syllables occur in the same foot, which is the case in all fundamental feet. Some ancient writers justly exclude the spondee as well as the pyrrhic from the list of feet suited for continuous recurrence. Some of the substitutions, however, for fundamental feet render an artificial ictus necessary. But by 'ictus' the Romans usually meant 'beat,' as of the hand, thumb, foot, etc., and in the earlier Greek writers it is difficult to prove that there is any recognition of artificial stress, though it is expressly attested by Roman writers. If, then, people would strictly observe quantity at all times, and say *ămābā́mus* as they say *ămā́bam*, *ămāc̆tia* as they say *amī́cus* (being careful to give *-mi-* the time of *-citi-*), they would find the rhythm taking care of itself without the necessity of making Latin poetry sound like a different language from Latin prose. The rhythmical sense once aroused will impart to the voice the slight stress occasionally required.

In regard to such words as *vóluptas*, treated as if the penults were short, he approved the view that they simply *were* short. The rigid observance of quantity by position was probably due in large measure to the cultivation of the ear by listening to poetry composed under modified Greek laws of quantity. If this is true, *voluptas* not only had originally a short penult, but was accented on the first syllable. The *u* was probably, in this particular word, a mere accidental *sheva*, so to speak (comp. ϝελπ-), like *u* in *sumus*, *i* in *mina*, etc., and the obscure vowel that many people insert in the English *elm*, making *elum* of it. In such words as *vétustas*, *scélustus*, the recognition of quantity by position removes the accent from the root-syllable. So in *tdlentum*, *Philippus*, the attempt to reproduce the Greek accent probably led to the shortening of the penult, just as we now too often hear penults rendered obscure, as when λύσασθαι and λύσεσθαι are pronounced alike, and τάλαντον itself is pronounced *tdl'nton*. As the habit of observing quantity by position began to establish itself among the Romans, there was no doubt a long period of transition, and there is no good ground for denying that it extended down to Terence.

The paper was also discussed by Professors Wright, Ashmore, Ball, Magoun, Karsten, March, and by its author.

The following report of the Committee of Twelve[1] was then read

[1] See the PROCEEDINGS (p. xxviii.) of the Special Session held at Philadelphia in December, 1894.

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by Professor Charles Forster Smith, in the absence of the Chairman, Professor W. W. Goodwin.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION:

The undersigned has the honor to submit the following report of the action of the Committee of Twelve, appointed by the Association in December, 1894, to carry into effect the following resolution: —

"*Resolved*, That, in the unanimous opinion of the American Philological Association, in any programme designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of instruction in Greek should be required."

The Committee consists of the following members of the Association: —

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, *Professor of Greek, Harvard University*, Chairman.
CECIL F. P. BANCROFT, *Principal of Phillips Andover Academy.*
FRANKLIN CARTER, *President of Williams College.*
WILLIAM G. HALE, *Professor of Latin, University of Chicago.*
WILLIAM R. HARPER, *President of the University of Chicago.*
FRANCIS W. KELSEY, *Professor of Latin, University of Michigan.*
GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, *Professor of English, Harvard University.*
ABBY LEACH, *Professor of Greek, Vassar College.*
THOMAS D. SEYMOUR, *Professor of Greek, Yale University.*
CHARLES F. SMITH, *Professor of Greek, University of Wisconsin.*
MINTON WARREN, *Professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University.*
ANDREW F. WEST, *Professor of Latin, Princeton University.*

As the members of the Committee were widely separated, it was impossible for them to hold even a single meeting, and their only means of communication was by correspondence. This was naturally a slow and often unsatisfactory process. The first draft of an Address was prepared by the Chairman, Mr. Kittredge, and Mr. Seymour, with the advice of Miss Leach, and this was submitted to every member of the Committee in proof. Valuable suggestions were made by all the members, and the Address now represents the views of the whole Committee so far as these were known to the Chairman. The Committee were also much aided by suggestions made by the President of the Association, whose coöperation in all their work has been invaluable.

Each of the Committee was requested to nominate several persons, not members of the Association, from whom a large General Committee could be appointed by the President, to coöperate with the Committee of Twelve, and to use their influence in giving effect to the resolution of the Association. A copy of the Address and a letter from the President were sent to those who were invited to join this General Committee, and a favorable answer was received from nearly all who were thus addressed. The result is seen in the fifty-one names of persons distinguished for their services in education, though not professional teachers of Greek, which are attached to the Address. These names, which could easily have been indefinitely increased, show the interest that is felt in the important question under discussion by scholars of all departments in different parts of the country. A long delay in completing this list was caused by an accident in the mails, by which a large number of the earliest invitations, sent out on May 13,

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were never received or were delayed several weeks. Though this loss has been repaired in most cases, it is yet to be feared that some important names have thereby been omitted from our list. Five members of the Committee of Ten, whose interest in Greek studies was well known, were included in the invitation. The name of one of these is a most welcome addition to our printed list: only one of the five returned a decided negative, the others expressing decided approval of our movement and interest in its success.

Two thousand copies of the Address with its signatures have been printed, and more than two-thirds of these have already been distributed. An early copy (with an incomplete list of the General Committee) was sent to each of the members of the Association, enclosing a post-card, to be returned to the Chairman of the Committee of Twelve, expressing either approval or disapproval of the resolution of the Association. At the date of this report, 240 replies have been received: 231 of these express approval, most of them emphatic and hearty approval; 9 express dissent, in most cases qualified or hesitating dissent, which amounts to partial approval. It is much to be regretted that the delay in completing the circular has not given time to secure a full vote of the Association. Fresh replies come in by every mail.

It is to be hoped that the Association, at its meeting at Cleveland, will suggest to the Committee some further means of carrying its resolution into effect; or that some steps may be taken to secure this end independently of the Committee. Any action of the Association looking to this end will be most welcome to the Committee.

The interesting correspondence which the Chairman has carried on during the last six months with friends of education in all parts of the country has convinced him that there is a unanimity among the friends of sound learning which makes the reduction of Greek in the schools of the United States a thing no longer to be seriously feared. This is especially true of the West, where a sense of greater danger has increased the enthusiasm and the vigilance of scholars in far greater proportion.

The Association referred to this Committee "the question of the amount of Latin needed for the various courses in the secondary schools." By consent of the Committee, the consideration of this question was delegated to Professors Hale, Kelsey, Warren, and West, as a Sub-Committee, who are empowered to make a special report directly to the Association.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN,
Chairman of the Committee of Twelve.

PLYMOUTH, MASS., July 5, 1895.

The report was adopted after discussion, and the Committee continued. Adjourned at 1 P.M.

The Address of the Committee of Twelve is appended.

NOTE. — A copy of the Resolution, with the Address, was sent to each member of the Association, and each was asked to give his opinion of the Resolution by post-card. About 250 have expressed their approval, — generally hearty approval; nine have expressed dissent, — generally hesitating or qualified dissent.

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ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE.

To Teachers of the Classics and to all Friends of Sound Learning in the United States.

THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, at a large meeting held in Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1894, unanimously adopted the following resolution, proposed by Professor Hale of Chicago: —

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the American Philological Association, in any programme designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of instruction in Greek should be required.

The undersigned members of the Association were appointed a committee to give effect to this resolution.

The resolution expresses the opinion of the Association, that every school which prepares pupils for what is known as "the classical course" in many colleges, or pupils who intend to study the classics in any college, should provide a course of at least three years' instruction in Greek, which all such pupils are expected to follow. In the judgment of the most experienced teachers, three years is the shortest time in which the preparatory course now offered by our best schools in the reading of simple Attic prose and of Homer or Herodotus (or both), in the essentials of Greek Grammar, and in the elements of Greek Composition, can be properly accomplished. This resolution, it will be seen, concerns itself only with courses of study which profess to be "classical." It does not imply that any school may not prepare pupils for courses not so described, in the case of colleges which admit such students, with a shorter term and a smaller amount of study in Greek.

The immediate occasion of this resolution was the proposal made to various associations of teachers to recommend to the schools and colleges which they represent the adoption of the four programmes recently submitted by the "Committee of Ten" as providing adequate preparation in all lines of study for the colleges and scientific schools of the United States. Only one of these four programmes includes Greek at all, and this is styled the "Classical Programme"; its general adoption would therefore do much to fix the standard of preparation in classics for all our colleges. This so-called "Classical Programme" provides that Greek shall normally begin in the *third year* of the four years' preparatory course, and that only two years shall be given to it. It is true that in certain exceptional cases (mentioned in a foot-note) schools may "substitute" Greek for German or French in the second year; but this substitution is evidently not what the authors of the programme desire or expect, or they would have made this the regular, and not the exceptional, arrangement. Nothing can be more obvious than the deliberate intention of the "Committee of Ten" (at least of those members who accept the report in full) to confine Greek to the last two years of preparation for college, and gradually to establish two years as the maximum of time which even the best schools will regularly give to that language.

It is of the highest importance that all classical teachers in both schools and colleges, and all who have the direction of schools in which classical students are prepared for college, should understand what this "Classical Programme" means. It means that the standard of preparation in Greek for our colleges is to be

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lowered to what has been known as the "elementary Greek" or the "minimum Greek" in elective schemes of admission; in other words, that there is to be no systematic study of Homer or Herodotus or of Greek Composition in even our best schools; and that no provision is to be regularly made, even for pupils who show special aptitude for classical study, to advance beyond the merest elements in Greek. It means that our schools are seriously advised to adopt a course of study which now would not admit their pupils at all to any first-class college having fixed requisites for admission, and would not admit them to any of the Freshman Greek courses which are regularly taken by classical students and are necessary to prepare them for the higher courses in any college having elective requisites for admission. The scheme is therefore unintelligible unless it anticipates a reduction of the grade of all the regular Greek courses in the colleges, so that the work now done in the last year of school shall become the ordinary work of the first year in college, with a corresponding reduction of all the higher work. There is no escape from this alternative: either the schools which adopt this "Classical Programme" must cease to prepare pupils for the ordinary classical courses in our colleges, or the colleges must lower their standard in Greek by a whole year to suit such schools. Either of these results would be disastrous; and we can hardly believe that either of them, with all its consequences, was seriously contemplated by the framers of the proposed programme.

The bad effects just indicated would not be confined to the classical courses in college. The importance of Greek to students who intend to devote themselves to the study of English or any other modern language, whether from the literary or the philological point of view, has never been denied in Europe, and is not denied by any competent American scholar in these departments of learning. For students specially interested in English literature, for example, to enter college with no knowledge of Homer, under the impression that their time has been spent to the best advantage in the preparatory school, would be a grave error. For such students to be forced to begin their acquaintance with Greek literature in the Freshman year would seriously cripple their work in their chosen department. And this would be the result if the programme in question were adopted; for it is not till he reaches Homer or Herodotus that a boy begins to understand that in studying Greek he is dealing with a great literature. The elementary or minimum Greek generally does not acquaint him with literary material that appeals to him. These objections apply with equal force to students who intend to make a special study of the literary history of any modern tongue.

The department of Theology would feel the proposed reduction of Greek as a severe blow. It is difficult now for Theological Schools to require of their students such a knowledge of Greek as is necessary for the study of the New Testament; the discouragement which would result from this plan would aggravate this evil immensely, and would be felt in every School of Theology in the country.

This "Classical Programme" is exceedingly liberal to all departments except the classics. It requires four years' study of English, and provides for three of History, three of German or French, and four of Mathematics (including Trigonometry and Higher Algebra). In these studies, therefore, pupils might be carried a year beyond the ordinary requisites for admission to most colleges, while in Greek they would fall short of these requisites by just a year, so that Greek would be degraded relatively by two years. It is well known that there is a

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vigorous and increasing demand for putting back either Geometry or Algebra and a modern language into the Grammar Schools; and this has actually been done in some important schools. The pressure of other studies in the High Schools — the only excuse which is made for depriving Greek of a year — is, therefore, likely to be temporary, while the reduction of Greek to two years, if once accepted, will be permanent.

The "Committee of Ten" asked and received the advice of nine Conferences, composed of experts in nine departments of study, and they justly attribute great weight to the careful judgments of these Conferences, which give the proposals of the Committee their chief authority in matters of detail. It may surprise many to learn that the Greek Conference introduced its recommendations with the following general statement: —

"The Conference recommends that the study of Greek be begun *at least three years* before the close of the course preparatory to college."

This primary recommendation, which is the basis of the whole report of the Greek Conference, is set aside by the "Committee of Ten" almost without consideration. This is, we believe, the only case in which the decided opinion of one of the Conferences, on such a fundamental matter, has been so summarily rejected. It is true that other studies are not allowed by the Committee all the increase which they desire; but Greek alone is to be reduced and crippled. The resolution of the Philological Association is simply an appeal from the decision of the Committee to the judgment of the experts who advised the Committee. The unanimous and enthusiastic approval of the action of the Philological Association expressed by the large Classical Conference recently held at Ann Arbor shows that scholars in the West are in perfect harmony with their colleagues in the East on this important subject.

The plan of the Committee, if adopted, would aggravate most unnecessarily one of the greatest evils in our system of education, — that the colleges are compelled to do work which belongs to the schools, and which in most other countries is done by the schools with much greater efficiency and at much less cost. This evil is acknowledged and deplored by all; and yet the colleges are to be asked to lower their standard of classical scholarship that they may assume a new burden of elementary work, which the schools are now doing with ever increasing efficiency. On the other hand, the loss of this work would be seriously felt in the schools. Every step which limits the range and quality of study in school increases the difficulty of obtaining and keeping able and enthusiastic teachers, and nothing attracts men of taste and cultivation to teach in a classical school more than the literary work of the higher classes in Greek.

The undersigned believe that both colleges and schools have a common interest in opposing a scheme which threatens to degrade them both at the expense of good scholarship. They therefore appeal earnestly to all who have the interests of sound learning at heart to unite with them in opposing the introduction of the so-called "Classical Programme" of the "Committee of Ten" into the schools of the United States.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, *Professor of Greek, Harvard University*, Chairman.
CECIL F. P. BANCROFT, *Principal of Phillips Andover Academy.*

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FRANKLIN CARTER, *President of Williams College.*
WILLIAM G. HALE, *Professor of Latin, University of Chicago.*
WILLIAM R. HARPER, *President of the University of Chicago.*
FRANCIS W. KELSEY, *Professor of Latin, University of Michigan.*
GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, *Professor of English, Harvard University.*
ABBY LEACH, *Professor of Greek, Vassar College.*
THOMAS D. SEYMOUR, *Professor of Greek, Yale University.*
CHARLES F. SMITH, *Professor of Greek, University of Wisconsin.*
MINTON WARREN, *Professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University.*
ANDREW F. WEST, *Professor of Latin, Princeton University.*

The undersigned, not members of the American Philological Association, approve the position taken by the Association in the resolution of Dec. 28, 1894, and unite with the Committee in their appeal, as expressed in the final paragraph of the accompanying Address.

HARLAN P. AMEN, *Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.*
J. W. BASHFORD, *President of Ohio Wesleyan University.*
JOHN BINNEY, *Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.*
J. J. BLAISDELL, *Professor of Philosophy, Beloit College.*
RICHARD G. BOONE, *Principal of Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti.*
C. F. BRACKETT, *Professor of Physics, Princeton University.*
JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, *LL.D., Madison, Wisconsin.*
FRANCIS J. CHILD, *Professor of English, Harvard University.*
JOSEPH H. COIT, *Rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, N.H.*
WILLIAM C. COLLAR, *Head Master of Roxbury Latin School.*
E. C. COULTER, *Head Master of the University School, Chicago.*
T. F. CRANE, *Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University.*
N. C. DOUGHERTY, *Superintendent of Schools, Peoria, Ill.; President of the National Education Association.*
TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *President of Yale University.*
EDWARD D. EATON, *President of Beloit College.*
WILSON FARRAND, *Master in Newark Academy.*
J. W. FAIRBANKS, *Principal of Smith Academy, Washington University, St. Louis.*
J. H. FREEMAN, *Superintendent of East-side Schools, Aurora, Ill.*
GEORGE S. FULLERTON, *Vice-Provost of University of Pennsylvania.*
MERRILL EDWARDS GATES, *President of Amherst College.*
JOHN C. GRANT, *Principal of the Harvard School, Chicago.*
FRANCIS B. GUMMERE, *Professor of English, Haverford College.*
THOMAS S. HASTINGS, *President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.*
JAMES T. HATFIELD, *Professor of German, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.*
B. A. HINSDALE, *Professor of Teaching, University of Michigan.*
ASHLEY D. HURT, *Tulane University of Louisiana.*
WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE, *President of Bowdoin College.*

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JULIA J. IRVINE, *President of Wellesley College.*
JOHN J. KEANE, *Rector of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.*
GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD, *Professor of Philosophy, Yale University.*
MOSES MERRILL, *Head Master of Public Latin School, Boston.*
RICHARD A. MINCKWITZ, *Instructor in High School, Kansas City.*
HUBERT A. NEWTON, *Professor of Mathematics, Yale University.*
A. F. NIGHTINGALE, *Superintendent of High Schools, Chicago.*
GEORGE W. C. NOBLE, *Head Master of Private School, Boston.*
FRANCIS L. PATTON, *President of Princeton University.*
HENRY R. PATTENGILL, *Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan.*
ENDICOTT PEABODY, *Head Master of Groton School.*
OSCAR D. ROBINSON, *Principal of High School, Albany; a member of the "Committee of Ten."*
AUSTIN SCOTT, *President of Rutgers College.*
WILLIAM H. SMILEY, *Principal of High School, Denver.*
EGBERT C. SMYTH, *Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Andover.*
WILLIAM GREENOUGH THAYER, *Head Master St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass.*
CHARLES S. THORNTON, *Member of the Illinois State Board of Education and of the Chicago Board of Education.*
C. H. THURBER, *Principal of Colgate Academy, Hamilton, N. Y.*
CHARLES F. THWING, *President of Western Reserve University.*
C. O. WHITMAN, *Head Professor of Zoölogy, University of Chicago.*
JOSIAH D. WHITNEY, *Professor of Geology, Harvard University.*
TALCOTT WILLIAMS, *Editor of "The Press," Philadelphia.*
GEORGE E. WOODBERRY, *Professor of Literature, Columbia College.*
C. A. YOUNG, *Professor of Astronomy, Princeton University.*

JUNE, 1895.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The reading of papers was begun at 2.15.

12. Ancient Superstition, by Dr. Ernst Riess, of Baltimore.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Dr. Scott, President Super, Professor Wright, and by the author.

Professor Hale then reported as Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Four,[1] which had been formed to carry into effect the resolution passed at the Special Session of December, 1894 (see the PROCEEDINGS of that session, p. xxviii.), *viz.:*

Resolved, That the question of the amount of Latin needed for the various courses in the secondary schools be referred to the Committee of Twelve.

[1] This Sub-Committee consists of Professor Hale, of the University of Chicago, Professor Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, Professor Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor West, of Princeton University. See above, p. xxxiii.

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Owing to a combination of circumstances, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Four is the only member that could be present to-day. But a general unanimity has been reached by correspondence, and I have been empowered to prepare a report embodying the propositions which I shall presently offer. As to the particular tone with which these propositions are stated, I unfortunately cannot know whether it would or would not be satisfactory to all the absent members of the Sub-Committee. It is, however, known to be satisfactory to one of them, with whom I had an interview yesterday upon the train.

The four members of the Sub-Committee were all of the opinion that the Association should oppose the reduction in Latin made by the programmes of the Committee of Ten. In order, however, to test its judgment, its Chairman was authorized to send out an inquiry to a number of persons. A letter was prepared, which, after giving briefly the history of the appointment of the Committee, proceeded as follows: —

. . . Before making its report, this Sub-Committee would be grateful to you for an expression of opinion on the question practically put before it, namely this: Is it best that the number of weekly periods given to Latin in the high-schools and private schools having a four-year course be five, — as it is to-day in many of our strongest schools, and as the Latin Conference appointed by the Committee of Ten recommended to that body that it should be, — or is it on the whole best that it be five in each of the two first years, and four in the third and fourth years, as arranged by the Committee of Ten in the programmes mentioned?

The two (opposite) views which will at once suggest themselves as possible to be held by men who are of one mind with regard to the value of classical studies are these: —

(1) The reduction which the Committee of Ten proposes involves an appreciable loss to the effectiveness of the teaching of Latin in our schools. Nevertheless, in the great pressure which the coming-in of so-called modern subjects has caused, — not yet relieved by improvements in the grammar-school, — it is wise to make this amount of concession to the situation.

(2) Latin is a difficult language, and requires more time than is now given to it in any but a very few of our four-year courses. The remedy for the crowding of the high-school work is not to be found in reducing the number of hours devoted to one of the fundamental subjects, but rather in the improving of the grammar-school course along the lines so strongly advocated by the Chairman of the Committee of Ten, and by others, so that some of the work which is now crowded into the high-school course shall have been already done before that course begins. Especially does it seem inexpedient to reduce the present four-year course at a time when there is a growing feeling in favor of a six-year Latin course, as shown by the recent institution of such a course in a number of schools in different parts of the country, and by the resolution passed at Ann Arbor, without a dissenting vote, by a large and widely representative Classical Conference, which met there in March last.

Will you kindly (immediately, if possible, for the Committee is to report to the Philological Association on the 9th of July) express your view, with the reason for it, writing to Professor W. G. Hale, at the University of Chicago? The Committee would also be very much obliged if you would present a detailed

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programme, showing how, in your opinion, the various parts of the work in preparatory Latin should be divided by years or fractions of years. If you believe a six-year course desirable, wherever it can be established, a programme made upon that basis would be welcomed.

Very truly yours,

W. G. HALE,
For the Sub-Committee.

This letter was sent to sixty-seven members of the Philological Association, to the members of the Latin Conference appointed by the Committee of Ten, and to about sixty other persons, mostly principals of schools, in all parts of the country. The general character of the answers was such as to confirm the Committee's judgment. Out of twenty-nine answers from college men, one was in favor of accepting the proposed reduction, and twenty-eight were against it. Out of twenty-six answers from the schools, four were in favor of accepting the reduction, and twenty-two against it.

The tone of the propositions which the Sub-Committee recommend that the Association pass differs from that of the motion with regard to the Greek issue offered in December last. In the case of Greek, the thought of the harm which would have been worked by the acceptance of the programme of the Committee of Ten very properly outweighed all other considerations, and left no room for them. In the present case the harm which would be worked by the acceptance of the programmes involving Latin is considerable, and the point of view from which the reduction in that subject was made is a dangerous one; but room is still left for the recognition of the value of one of the aims of the Committee of Ten, and of the services of the Chairman of that Committee in the cause of the betterment of the grammar-school curriculum.

The Sub-Committee recommend the putting out of a pronunciamento constructed upon the general lines of the following rough draft: —

If the present crowding of the high-school course were necessarily final, then the Association might feel that the concession in question, though involving a measurable loss, could properly be made. Moreover, the Association heartily welcomes the attempt to introduce uniformity into the high-school courses of the country, and would much rather find itself in a position to second the labors of the Committee of Ten in this regard than be obliged to put an obstacle in its way. But the Association does not hold that, for the sake of helping to bring about this desirable uniformity, it is necessarily wise to adopt, without further consideration, the first general scheme offered. Nor is it wise, in its opinion, to apply a remedy of excision to a congestion which — thanks in good part to the labors and outspoken utterances of the Chairman of the Committee of Ten — is likely soon to be relieved by the carrying-down of a number of high-school subjects into the grammar-school. Especially does it seem inexpedient to reduce the present four-year course at a time when there is a growing feeling in favor of a six-year course, as shown by the recent institution of such a course in a number of schools in different parts of the country, and by the resolution passed at Ann Arbor, without a dissenting vote, by a large and widely representative Classical Conference which met there in March last.

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The American Philological Association is therefore[1] of the opinion (1) that the best interests of education demand the retention of the full amount of five weekly periods for four years, now generally given to Latin, throughout the country, by schools that have a four-year course. (2) It would be glad to see an increase of the number of years devoted to the subject (perhaps with a reduction of the number of weekly periods during the later years), either through an extension of the high-school course to five or six years, or through the carrying of some of the high-school subjects into the grammar-school curriculum.

(3) The Sub-Committee further recommend that the Committee of Twelve be empowered to arrange, in any way that seems to it best, to have this document prepared and to give it publicity.

(4) As for the question whether an itemized programme of Latin study for four, five, or six years shall be put out by the Association, it seems best that the Association should give directions. The view of the two members of the Sub-Committee who have been able to discuss the question orally is that it is not advisable to complicate our main tenet by adding details at the present time. It may well, however, be a very desirable thing to have a programme prepared a year or two later, not only on account of the conceivable value of the programme itself, but in order to keep the general position of the Philological Association before the country.

Respectfully submitted,

W. G. HALE,

For the Sub-Committee.

After discussion, the first two recommendations of the Sub-Committee were adopted, and the vote of the first in favor having been unanimous, the word "unanimously" was added by general consent. The Sub-Committee was then empowered to arrange and make public its report in the form and manner that might seem best adapted to meet the needs of the situation. Finally the Association resolved that it would be unwise, at the present time, to issue an itemized programme of Latin study for four, five, or six years; but the Sub-Committee was instructed to prepare such a programme to be presented at the next annual meeting (at Providence in 1896), and was empowered to add to its numbers as it may desire.

13. Genesis and Growth of an Alexander-Myth, by Professor B. Perrin, of Yale University.

This article is printed in the TRANSACTIONS.

14. Some American Speech-Maps, by Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

The speaker gave a preliminary report on his investigation into the boundaries of American dialects and presented a tentative map. The substance of the report has been published in the *Chautauquan* for January, 1895.

[1] The vote being unanimous, the word "unanimously" was added by general consent.

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The investigation is progressing well, but it is absolutely necessary that fully a thousand more reports be sent in. There is greatest need for more information from the South, from Canada, and from the mother countries: England, Scotland, and Ireland. The members of the Philological Association could do much to aid the speedy accumulation of material by distributing copies of the list of text-questions. After Jan. 1, 1896, copies of the revised list may be had by addressing George Hempl, 95 E. University Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore and J. R. Smith.

By previous arrangement the Association then adjourned in order to accept the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Mather of Cleveland, who had courteously extended an invitation to the members to attend a reception at their residence.

Evening Session.

The Association reassembled at 9.40 P.M., and the reading of papers was resumed.

15. The Apollo of the Belvedere, by Professor Harold N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University.

F. Winter (*Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst.*, 1892, pp. 164 seqq.), followed by A. Furtwängler (*Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*), has maintained that the original bronze of which the Apollo of the Belvedere is a copy was a work of Leochares, thus making the Apollo go back to a time not much after the middle of the fourth century B.C. Arguments for this are: first, certain coins of the time of Philip; second, the fact that some figures of the fourth century have hair dressed in the same manner as is that of the Apollo; third, the likeness of the Apollo to the (copy of the) Ganymede of Leochares. But the coins in question, though showing a type from which the Belvedere type was probably developed, have not the same arrangement of hair, and belong to a time more than one generation before the Belvedere type; none of the fourth century figures referred to has the knot of hair raised so high and formed so artificially as that of the Belvedere statue, and the similarity of the Apollo and the Ganymede is much overrated. So far as the proportions of the two figures are alike they constitute an argument against a common authorship rather than for it, for certainly the proportions of the effeminate Phrygian youth would not have been made by such an artist as Leochares like those of the powerful and brilliant Apollo. Nor is there any greater similarity in the fall of the drapery of these two figures than may be found in that of many others. Such similarity of workmanship as exists is probably due to the fact that the extant copies of the two statues were made at about the same time.

Although the Apollo of the great frieze of Pergamon shows very different workmanship from that of the Apollo of the Belvedere, the *motif* is still nearly the same; as nearly as the composition of the frieze permits. The Pergamene

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Apollo is inspired by the original of the Belvedere figure, and it is therefore not improbable that Gercke (*Jahrbuch*, 1887, pp. 260 seqq.) is right in believing that the original of the Apollo of the Belvedere was created to commemorate a victory over the Gauls. The Apollo belongs to a time much before the frieze of Pergamon and after Praxiteles and his contemporaries, i.e. the early part of the third century. The Gauls were driven back from Delphi by Apollo in 279 B.C., and it is not improbable that the original of the Apollo of the Belvedere was created with reference to that event. There is no reason, however, for restoring the figure with an aegis in the left hand. The bow is the only proper attribute.

Remarks were made by Professor Wright, and by the author in reply.

16. Assumed Singulars, by Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, of Radnor, Pa.

By "Singular Plurals," as they ar cald in the title of the paper as first announced, or "Plural Singulars" as they may be cald, looking from the other end, ar ment, in English, nouns which end in an *-s* or *-z* sound (*-s*, *-se*, *-ce*, *-ze*) in the singular, and are mistakenly regarded as nouns in the plural with the regular plural suffix *-s* or *-es*, and ar used accordingly. Many of these words remain in the assumed plural status, and do not develop further; or they develop further in directions which ar not considerd in the paper. Many of them, on the other hand, proceed from the assumed plural form, to develop, by the detachment of the assumed plural suffix, a new singular without the *-s* or *-z* ending. It is of these "Assumed Singulars" only that the paper treats; namely, of English nouns derived from preceding singulars ending in an *-s* or *-z* sound, by the detachment and omission of that sound. The most familiar examples ar *Chinee* from *Chinese*, and *pea* from *pease*. These ar simple; some ar very complex, involving Attraction, Assimilation, and other kinds of Interference. Some words not nouns ar drawn in.

The original paper presents in alphabetic order all the English nouns which can be proved, upon an independent etymological examination of each case, to be Assumed Singulars of the kind above described; states the etymology, so far as the forms require it; arranges the original singulars, the actual and the assumed plurals, and then the assumed singulars, with their new plurals, in the historical order of development; and supports each form cited by a sufficient number of proof quotations, verified and dated.

The cases cited ar gatherd from many sources. Some ar wel known. A list of many of them is included, confusedly, in a larger list of "Words corrupted through mistake about number" in the Rev. A. S. Palmer's *Folk-etymology*, a compilation of verbal corruptions, useful for its quotations, but otherwise untrustworthy (1881, pp. 592–607). This list is partly drawn from Skeat's *Etym. Dictionary* (1879–81). Mr. Palmer's list of words which would come under the hed of Assumed Singulars numbers about 46, rejecting some that he erroneously includes.

The total number of Assumed Singulars which, to my knowledge, hav been heretofore explaind as such, in print, by other writers, is 62, beside a few that ar doutful, or hav been included without warrant. To these 62 Assumed Singulars from all sources, I now add 60 more. They ar markt in the list with a

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star before the number. They include a few casual cases first explaind by me in the *Century Dictionary*. Many ar dialectal.

There ar no dout some more instances of Assumed Singulars of this class yet to be discoverd.

It wil be observd that the list contains many wel known words, *cherry*, *currant*, *minnow*, *pea*, *potato*, *sherry*, etc. But tho these are wel known words, their history is not wel known. The paper presents for the first time a fairly complete etymological and historical account of the following, to mention only the most important words: *Anana*, *batata*, *cherry*, *currant*, *lea*, *minnow*, *nunchion*, *pea*, *poldavis*, *potato*, *princock*, *rampion*, *skate*, *Yankee*, *Yengee*.

The list of words treated is as follows. In special cases, where a special history, given in the original paper, is involvd, that fact is indicated.

1. **Aborigine**, pronounced in five syllables *a*-bo-ri'ji-nĭ, from *aborigines*, pronounced *a*-bo-ri'ji-nĭz. A special history.

2. **Absey**, also in shorter form *abs*, *habs*, *haps*, for *abscess*.

*3. **Anana** for *ananas* (plural *ananasses*), the pineapple.

4. **Anchovy**, a new singular from *anchovies*, *anchoveyes*, properly *anchoves*, of which the singular was *anchove*, in two syllables. *Anchova* was a third form. A special history.

*5. **Anny-seed**, *aniseed* for *anise-seed*. Special cause (*-s* > *-s*). Compare *pummy-stone* for *pumice-stone*, No. 95.

6. **Asset** for *assets*.

7. **Auroch** for *aurochs*.

*8. **Aven** for *avens;* reported from New Jersey.

9. **Axey**, dialectal for *access*, a fever.

*10. **Balan**, *ballan*, for *balance*, *ballance*. The singular *balan*, speld also *ballan*, is in the *Catholicon Anglicum*, 1483 (E.E.T.S. 1881, pp. 18 and 396). The plural of this singular, *balans*, *ballans*, usually speld *balance*, *ballance*, was common in the sixteenth century. 'A pair of *balance*' contains the plural of *balan*, not the original singular *balance*.

*11. **Batata**, assumed singular of *batatas*, the original name of the sweet potato. Compare *potato* (No. 89) from *patatas*, variant of *batatas*. The paper givs a long history of the numerous forms in various languages.

*12. **Bermuda** for *Bermudas*, which seems a plural, but stands for **Bermudes*, *Bermudez*, *Bermoothes*, named after Juan *Bermudez*. The ilands ar now cald officially *Bermuda*, by the United States Board on Geographic Names.

13. **Blay**, dialectal for *blaze*.

14. **Bree**, dialectal for *breeze*, *breese*, a gadfly.

*15. **Brimp**, dialectal for *brims*, *brimse* (**brimps*), same as *breese*, *breeze*, a gadfly. See BRIMSEY and BREE.

*16. **Brimsey**, assumed singular of *brimses* (plural of *brims*, *brimse*), taken as **brimsies*, **brimseys*.

*17. **Bulloe**, from *bullose*, for *bullace*, a plum. See next.

*18. **Bully**, from *bullace*, also *bullies*, M.E. *bolis*, etc., a plum. Special history.

19. **Burial** for M.E. *buriels*, A.S. *byrgels*, a tomb. Like *hidel*, *riddle*, *shuttle*.

*20. **Caba** for *cabas*, a lady's reticule, or handbag. Used in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

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*21. **Certy**, *certie*, dialectal for *certes*, sometimes written *certies*, *sarties*, as if a plural.

*21 a. **Chamoy**: see SHAMMY, No. 105.

*21 b. **Chay**: see SHAY, No. 106.

*22. **Chee** for *cheese*. Professor Wright attests this: and it appears in *Dialect Notes*, part 8 (Nov. 1895).

22 a. **Chee**[2]: see GEE, No. 50.

23. **Cherry**, *cherrie*, *cherie*, from M.E. *cheris*. A special history, involving A.S. *cyris*, *cyrs*, as well as O.F. *cerise*.

23 a. **Chimmy**: see SHIMMY, No. 108.

24. **Chinee** for *Chinese*. Compare *Japanee*, *Maltee*, *Portugee*; also *Januay*. The number of patrials in *-ese*, in common use, is small; and only those in common use ar subject to the change in question. Such uncommon terms as *Berlinese*, *Bernese*, *Ceylonese*, *Faroese*, *Sienese*, *Singhalese*, *Tyrolese*, *Veronese*, *Viennese*, remain undisturbd.

*25. **Clevy**, *clevvy*, for *clevis*, earlier *clivies*, *clives*, a bent iron used as an attachment or joint.

26. **Clow**, for *clouse*, *clowse*, a sluice.

*27. **Coke**, *coak*, charred coal, a new singular, with a special sense, from the dialectal *cokes*, *coaks*, *corks*, cinders. A special case.

*28. **Cop**[1], a fastening of various kinds, a dialectal word, also *cosp* and *cot*, from *cops*, M.E. and A.S. *cops*. See also HANDCUFF, No. 54.

*29. **Cop**[2], a hedge, dialectal for *copse*, earlier *coppes*, *coppice*.

30. **Coppy**, formerly *copie*, dialectal for *coppice*.

31. **Corp** for *corpse*, which was formerly often spelt *corps*, sometimes *corpes*, M.E. *corps*, sometimes used as a plural.

*32. **Crip**, *crup*, dialectal for *crips*, variant of *crisp*.

*33. **Crissy**, dialectal for *crisis* (pronounced then crī'sis or cri'sis, not crai'sis).

*34. **Cullison**, *cullisen*, *cullizan*, assumed singular of *cullisance* for *cognisance*. Special case. See Nares.

*35. **Currant**, *curran*, from *currans*, *corans*, originally in *raisins of Corans*, 'raisins of Corinth.' A remarkable case, and a long story.

36. **Cyclop**, assumed singular of *Cyclops*. Special considerations ar involvd.

*37. **Diosie** for *diocese*. The plural *diosies*, *dyosies* occurs in Lyndesay, 16th century.

*38. **Dragon**, a name of the arum and similar plants, from *dragons*, a seeming plural, M.E. *dragans*, *dragaunce*, M.L. *drangancia*. A special case.

*39. **Duck**, from *ducks*, *duckish*, a dialectal transpose of *dusk*, twilight.

40. **Eave**, from *eaves*.

41. **Effigy**, dialectal *effij*, from *effigies*. Special considerations enter.

42. **Equinock**, speld *hekinok*, dialectal for *equinox*.

43. **Flick**, *fleck*, dialectal for *flix*, downy fur.

44. **Flock**, dialectal for *phlox*, mentally spelt *flocks*.

45. **Flue**, *flew*, down, flock, feathery dust, from *flooze*, *floose*, also **fleeze* (in derivativ *fleazy*), fibers of thread.

46. **Fluke**, *flook*, *fleuk*, a Scottish form of *flux* (flûks). I find *flucks* (1740).

*47. **Frock**, a dialectal form for **frocks*, a transpose of *frosk*, a frog. Special.

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48. **Fur**, formerly *furr*, *furre*, for *furze*, formerly sometimes *furres*.

49. **Furney**, an obsolete form of *furnace*.

*50. **Gee**, also *chee*, a lodging, a roost; a Kentish word, an assumed singular of *gise* (jīz, jīs), known in an other application as *jice* (jais), a joist, the word being earlier *gist*, M.E. *giste*, O.F. *giste*, a lodging, a joist, whence E. *jist*, *joist*.

*51. **Glimp** for *glimpse*.

*52. **Hall**[1], a trammel (Halliwell) for *halse*, *halsh*, a rope, a slip-knot.

*53. **Hall**[2], *haul*, the hazel (Cornwall, Somerset) for *halse* (Somerset), a transpose of *hasel*, *hazel*.

*54. **Handcuff**, from *handcuffs*, originally *handcops*. A special case. See Cop[1], No. 28.

*55. **Heydeguy**, *haydegy*, *haydigee*, for *heydayguise*, *heydeguyes*, etc., a kind of dance.

56. **Hidel**, a M.E. form of *hidels*, A.S. *hȳdels*, a hiding-place.

57. **Ho**, a stocking, from *hose*.

*58. **Huck**, dialectal for **hucks*, for *husk*. Compare Duck and Tuck.

*59. **Jackanape** for *Jackanapes*, originally, as I hav explaind, *Jack a Napes*, 'Jack of Naples,' that is 'Italian Jack,' applied to a performing ape or monkey. See Transactions for 1892, vol. 23, pp. 189–194, and for 1894, vol. 25, pp. 112–115.

*60. **Jake** (1570 Levins) for *jakes*.

61. **Januay**, *Janoway*, 16th century forms for *Januays*, *Januayes*, *Janowayes*, *Jenoweyes*, early forms of *Genoese*. Hence the surnames *Janeway*, *Janney*, *Janny*, *Jenney*, *Jenny*.

*62. **Japanee** from *Japanese*, like *Chinee* from *Chinese*. See No. 24.

*63. **Keck**, from *kecks*, *kex*, *kix*, a dry hollow stalk.

*64. **Kecksy**, *kexy*, assumed singular of *keckses*, *kexes*, taken as *kecksies*. Compare Brimsey.

*65. **Kesk**, *kisk*, from *kesks*, a dialectal transpose of *kecks*, *kex*, *kix*, just mentiond.

66. **Kickshaw**, formerly also *kickshoe*, *kecshoe*, from *kickshaws*, *kick-showes*; taken as plural, but properly singular, *a keckshose*, *kekshose*, etc., earlier *quelkchose*, *quelquechose*, from F. *quelque-chose*, 'something.' A special history.

67. **Lea**, a meadow, from *lease*, A.S. *lēs*. A special history, involving an other *lea*, A.S. *ledh*, untild ground.

68. **Lee**, a M.E. form for *lees*, mod. E. *lease*, a cord, variant of *leash*.

*69. **Lin-** in *linpin*, M.E. *lynpynne*, for **linse-pin*, mod. *linchpin*, where the first element is M.E. *linse*, A.S. *lynis*, axle. A special case.

*70. **Lori** for *loris*, a lemur, *Loris gracilis*.

*71. **Mace**, a spice, M.E. *mace*, assumed singular of *maces*, *macis*, *macys*, O.F. *macis*, M.L. *macis* (also *macia*, *masia*). A special case.

72. **Maltee** from *Maltese*.

73. **Marquee**, *markee*, for **marquise*, from French *marquise*, a tent.

*74. **Mavy**, *mevy*, pl. *mavies*, from *mavis*, a thrush.

75. **May**, dialectal form of *maize*.

76. **Merry**, a wild cherry, from **merries*, **merise*, from F. *merise*. Compare *cherry*, F. *cerise*.

*77. **Methody**, a common dialectal form of *Methodist*, taken as *Methodis'*, *Methodies*.

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78. **Minnow**, *mennow*, *menow*, for M.E. *mennous*, *menows*, *menuse*, *menuce*. A special history, involving many forms, *mennow*, *mennom*, *minim*, *mennon*, *mennard*, *mengy*, A.S. *myne*, etc.

79. **Moke** or *moak*, dialectal form of *mox*, a variant of *max*, A.S. *max*, a net, whence also E. *mash* and *mesh*.

*80. ***Nuisan** or **newsen*, from *nuisance*, inferd from dialectal *newsner* for **nuisaner*, equivalent to *nuisancer*, an inspector of nuisances.

*81. **Nuncheon**, *nunchion*, *nuncion*, *noontion*, for *nunchions*, *nuncions*, *nuntions*, etc., M.E. *noonskyns*, *noonchyns*, *noneskens*, *nonesince*, *nonesinck*, *nonechencke*, originally **noneschencke*, 'noon drink.' The history of this word is remarkable. Its original formation was forgotten, and it ran riot through innumerable forms, arising from phonetic zeal or etymological fancy. The original form and true meaning wer first discoverd by Professor Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*, 1882, p. 397): but even he has faild to giv the history of the word in detail. He givs but one M.E. example, does not explain the process by which the second element was corrupted, and does not point out that the word in its present form, *nuncheon*, belongs to the class of Assumed Singulars. *Nuncheon* or *nunchion* comes directly from *nunchions*, and the rest of the history belongs to *nunchions* and its numerous variants, all having a final sibilant. In the paper the word, in all its forms, is traced downward from its first appearance in the records.

82. **Orchey**, dialectal for *orchis*.

83. **Orfray**, *orfrey*, *orphrey*, for *orfrays*, *orfrais*, *orfraies*. Special considerations enter.

84. **Pea**[1], dial. *pay*, for *pease*[1], the well-known legume. A special history.

*85. **Pea**[2] for *pease*[2], *peise*, *peize*, a weight. Provincial English; I have heard it also from a North Carolina man.

*86. **Pill-** in *pill-corn*, assumed from Cornish dial. *pillas*, *pillis*, *pellas*, oats without husks.

*87. **Poledavie**, *polldavie*, etc., for *poldavis*, *poledavies*, etc., a kind of canvas. A special history, stated for the first time in the paper. The word came from Russia.

88. **Portugee** for *Portuguese*. See CHINEE, No. 24.

89. **Potato**, an assumed singular of *potatoes*. *Potatoes*, formerly spelt also *potato's*, *potatos*, *potatus*, *potatas*, was formerly a singular, *patatas*, a variant of *batatas*, whence the assumed singular *batata*, No. 11. The history of the word in its numerous forms is set forth in the paper in detail.

90. **Potent**, dialectal *potten*, a crutch, a stilt, assumed singular of *potence*, dial. *pottens*, crutches, also stilts.

91. **Poy** for *poise*, a weight. Special case. Compare PEA, No. 85.

92. **Pray**, dialectal form of *prease*, now *press*, a crowd.

*93. **Princock**, *primcock*, for *princocks*, *princox*. Special considerations enter.

94. **Pry** for *prise*, a lever.

*95. **Pummy**, *pumy*, *pumie*; first for *pumice* in *pummy-stone* for *pumice-stone*. Special reasons. Professor Lanman informs me that he has heard *pummy* in New England.

96. **Puny**, *punie*, for *punice*, *punese*, a bedbug.

*97. **Ramp**, assumed singular of *ramps*, earlier *rampes*, the plant *Campanula Rapunculus*, a reduced form of *rampions*.

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98. **Rampion,** an assumed singular from *rampions.* A peculiar history.

*99. **Ramsy,** *ramsey,* from *ramsies,* for *ramses* (also *ramsen, ramsons*), plural of *rams, ramps,* wild garlic.

*100. **Ree,** *rhee, rhe,* in the phrase *on a ree,* said of a river in time of flood. It means 'in a violent course,' *ree* for *reese,* M.E. *rese, res,* A.S. *rēs,* course, impetus. This explains a puzzling word. See TRANSACTIONS, vol. 24, p. 122.

101. **Rescue,** assumed singular of *rescuse, rescous.* Involvd with the verb *rescue,* where the final *-se* is not concernd.

102. **Riddle,** M.E. *ridel, rydel, redel,* assumed singular of M.E. *ridels,* an enigma.

103. **Row,** a disturbance, from *rouse, rowze,* noise, intemperate mirth, originally a drinking-bout.

104. **Sect,** as used provincially for *sex,* may be an assumed singular of that word, as confused with *'sects.* Confusion with *sects* or *sect* alone would explain the change.

*105. **Shammy,** *shamoy, chamoy,* for *shamoise, chamoise, chamois.* Special considerations enter.

106. **Shay** for *chaise.* "The One-hoss *Shay*" is famous.

107. **Sherry** for *sherris,* originally *Sherris sack* or *Sherris wine,* 'wine of *Sherris,*' now *Xeres,* in Spain. A special history.

108. **Shimmy,** *chimmy, chimy,* dialectal (Eng. and U.S.) for *chemise.*

109. **Shuttle,** M.E. *schytel,* etc., assumed singular of **schyttels,* A.S. *scyttels.*

110. **Skates** for *skates,* the original singular. The plural was **skateses, skatses,* or, in an other sense, *scatches.*

111. **Specie,** a kind, for *species. Specie,* coin, comes in an other way.

112. **Stave,** assumed singular of *staves,* of which the original plural is *staff.*

*113. **Summon,** a call, from *summons;* influenced by the verb *summon.*

*114. **Tuck,** a tusk, from *tucks,* a dialectal form of *tusks.*

115. **Wap,** *wop,* for *waps, wops,* the more original form, now dialectal, of *wasp.* A special history.

*116. **Way-goose,** a form of *waze-goose* by assuming *way* as the singular of *waze.* A peculiar story.

*117. **Way-grass,** knot-grass, probably for **waze-grass,* like *way-goose* for *waze-goose* (see before).

118. **Wheat-ear,** for *wheatears,* earlier *whit-ers,* a bird.

119. **Whim,** for *whims,* a dialectal variant of *winch,* a windlass.

*120. **Whimsey,** from **whimses,* plural of **whimse* (cf. Swedish dial *hvimsa,* to be unsteady), taken as *whimsies.* Compare BRIMSEY, a similar case.

121. **Yankee,** *Yankie, Yankey,* assumed singular of *Yankees, Yankies,* a variant, due to several cross-associations, of *Yengees, Yengeese.* A special history is involvd. See the next.

*122. **Yengee,** assumed singular of *Yengees, Yengeese,* which represents an Indian form of the word *English,* applied to the English colonists in New England and New York. To this word and to *Yankee* a peculiar history is attacht.

The same change, the omission of a radical or essential final *-s* because it is assumed to be the plural suffix, appears in some surnames, *Champney, Denny, Janeway, Janney, Janny, Jenney, Jenny, Luckey,* and others.

It was my first thought to prepare a systematic list of Assumed Singulars with

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the historical proofs, in order to derive therefrom the laws that hav produced the forms in question, to ascertain the classes of words in which these laws hav workt, and the causes which hav limited their operation, and to draw the general conclusions to which the examination would lead. And this with the added intent to apply the principles so derived to certain cases of doutful etymology, in order to confirm or disprove the theory of Assumed Singulars suggested to explain them.

The results can not be stated without giving at the same time the evidence on which they rest. But it may be said here that Assumed Singulars arise chiefly among words which, having a seemingly plural termination, denote things that ar always or often seen in numbers or that consist of distinct parts, as *aborigines*, *assets*, *balance*, *Chinese*, *eaves*, *mennous* (*minnows*), *Methodists*. So especially with names of fruits and plants, as *ananas*, *batatas*, *cherries*, *currants*, *pease*, *potatoes*, *ramps*, *rampions*, *ramsies*, all originally singulars. In this class, the largest of all, we must acknowledge the assistance of the great army of gardeners and farmers, who ar close to the soil, and who, by etymological forcing, hav done much to promote the abnormal growth of these "singular" vegetables.

The history of the origin of Assumed Singulars from supposed plurals in *-s* or *-is* is not complete without a consideration of other classes of words in which the real or assumed plural in *-s* or *-es* has undergon similar or different alteration, by abstraction or addition, such as cumulativ plurals (*bodices*, dialectal *ghostises*, *postises*, etc.), Latin singulars (as *achates*, whence *achate*, agate; *jaspis*, whence *jaspe*, jasper), and many other classes of words with a sibilant desinence. One must consider also a number of assumed singulars from supposed plurals in *-n* or *-en*, such as *roe* from *rone*, *mistletoe* from *mistletone*, etc., a change involvd in cross-associations with the inflexiv *-n*. And finally, the change in question, while largely confined to English, has some parallels in other languages, which call for comparison.

Remarks were made by Professors Hart, Ashmore, Humphreys, Fowler, Wright, and by the author.

CLEVELAND, July 11, 1895.

The Association was called to order at 9.40 A.M.

17. On the Syntax of the Subjunctive and Optative in the Elean Dialect, by Herbert F. De Cou, of the University of Michigan.

The object of this paper is to classify the constructions of the subjunctive and optative in the Elean inscriptions with reference to the more important varieties of the so-called Elean dialect, and to note how far these sub-dialects, if they may thus be designated, agree with one another in their use of these modes, and, incidentally, with other dialects.

The sub-dialects which we assume are Elean, in the narrow sense, as spoken by the inhabitants of κοίλη Ἦλις, Triphylian, and Pisatan, the last named being included for convenience of classification, as the dialectical relations of the inscriptions in question (Collitz, G. D. I. 1150, 1153, 1167) are a matter of dispute.[1]

[1] Cf. Blass in G. D. I. p. 313; Meister, *Griech. Dialekte*, II. p. 15; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dialekte*, I. pp. 5 f.

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Within these sub-dialects the inscriptions are arranged according to their epigraphical character and the use of ζ for δ.

Subjunctive. — In the inscriptions written in the epichoric alphabet there are no certain cases.[1] In those in which the Ionic alphabet is employed, subjunctives are found only in the decree for Damokrates, G. D. I. 1172 (Elean), viz.:

1. Independent subjunctive with imperative force, ἀνατεθᾶι (l. 32), ποιήαται (l. 36).

Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, I. p. 20 (cf. IV. p. 117) quotes one example of this construction from literature, Sophokles, *Phil.* l. 300, which is not exactly parallel — even if the text be correct — owing to the relation elsewhere subsisting between φέρε and the first person of the subjunctive.[2] Other cases of the imperative subjunctive in affirmative sentences have been thought to occur in the inscriptions on certain Attic vases cited by Kretschmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXIX. pp. 481 ff. (cf., however, the same author's *Griech. Vaseninschriften*, pp. 195 f.), and also in the *devotiones* from Knidos, *e.g.* ἦ (G. D. I. 3538, l. 7), and probably εἶ (G. D. I. 3543, l. 4), ἀναβᾶι (G. D. I. 3536, l. 19), in spite of Bechtel, *ad loc.* p. 234.[3] We thus seem to have in the common speech of a Dorian community of the second or first century B.C. a number of subjunctives parallel to the examples from Elis.[4]

2. Subjunctive in final clauses. (1) Pure purpose, φαίναται (G. D. I. 1172, l. 16). (2) Mixed purpose or appositional object clause, δοθᾶι (G. D. I. 1172, l. 37).

The same lack of distinction between complete and incomplete finality characterizes the Attic inscriptions, which throughout the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C. employ almost exclusively ὅπως ἄν with the subjunctive in both kinds of sentence.[5] Similarly the Doric dialects regularly construe ὅπως and ὡς with the subjunctive without κά or ἄν. The dialect of Aeolis employs, (1) in clauses of pure purpose ἵνα and ὅπως with the subjunctive after both primary and secondary tenses, (2) in clauses of mixed purpose ὅπως with the subjunctive after primary and secondary tenses, ὅπως κε with the optative after secondary tenses, ὡς with the future indicative, and ἵνα with the subjunctive (after ἐφρόντισαν, G. D. I. 215, ll. 24 f.). The material from the other "Aeolic" dialects is of less significance.

Optative. — Examples occur only in the inscriptions which are written in the epichoric alphabet.

1. Potential optative with κά, with prescriptive or imperative force. This usage is found in independent sentences as follows: (1) Elean (proper), G. D. I. 1157, ll. 5, 6, 7; 1154, ll. 4, 6, 7, 8; 1156, l. 1; 1149, ll. 1, 2. (2) In Pisatan this construction occurs only in the antecedent clause of a conditional relative

[1] In G. D. I. 1158 (Elean) Meister's κύαι (l. c. p. 63) should be accented κυᾶι, like δοθᾶι (or κυαῖ : δοθαῖ); if we write the optative, κυ[ο]ῖ (Meister, p. 26), like ἐνποιοῖ, G. D. I. 1156.

[2] So Brugmann, *Griech. Gram.*, p. 190. His application of this explanation to the cases adduced by Kretschmer is less happy.

[3] On the other hand, ηη (G. D. I. 3540, l. 6), which Bechtel regards as subjunctive (*i.e.* ἦ [η]) is more likely an optative.

[4] εἰς μῖσος ἐλθῃ from C. I. G. 5858 b, l. 32 (cf. Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.* XVIII. p. 562) is erroneously given by Reinach, *Traité*, p. 433, n. 2, for εἰς μεῖσος ἐλθεῖν.

[5] Cf. Meisterhans, *Grammatik d. attischen Inschriften*, p. 212; Weber, *Absichtsätze*, II. pp. 3 ff.

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sentence, G. D. I. 1150, l. 4. (3) Triphylian, G. D. I. 1151, ll. 16 (twice[1]), 18 (partially restored), 20 (doubtful). In Elean and Triphylian the optatives which stand in the antecedent clauses of conditional relative sentences are all of this character.

This use of the optative with κά as a prescriptive form in laws and decrees is peculiar to the inscriptions from Elis. The Cypriote forms γένοιτυ (G. D. I. 60, l. 29), δυϝάνοι νυ (ibid. l. 6), δώκοι νυ (l. 16) appear to represent an analogous usage.[2]

We have called this optative 'potential.' That it is such is shown, apart from the use of κά, by its combination with οὐξέ in G. D. I. 1157, l. 7.[3]

The imperative, also, is found in Elean and Triphylian, and the infinitive in mandatory sense in Elean and Pisatan, but the material is insufficient to enable us to confirm by statistics the natural supposition that the optative with κά, in this use, belongs in the first place to the Elean (proper), and that its occurrence in Pisatan and Triphylian is a mark of the influence of the dominant tribe.[4]

2. Optative in hypothetical clauses introduced by the conditional particle, or by relative pronouns or adverbs. The verb of the apodosis is always an optative with κά, an imperative, or an infinitive with imperative force.

A. Hypothetical clauses introduced by αἰ, negatively αἰ μά and αἰ μή.

1. Elean. The verb of the apodosis is (1) an optative with κά, G. D. I. 1152, ll. 2, 7, 8; 1154, l. 2; 1156, ll. 1, 2, 5; 1149, ll. 2, 5, 8;—(2) an imperative, G. D. I. 1152, l. 6; 1168, l. 7;—(3) a mandatory infinitive, G. D. I. 1152, l. 2 (αἰ κατιαραύσειε, ϝάρρην);—(4) lost, G. D. I. 1147, ll. 2, 3, 5; 1158, l. 4; 1160, l. 3. The protasis is lost or mutilated in G. D. I. 1147, ll. 2, 5; 1157, ll. 1 (?), 4 (?).

2. Pisatan. The verb of the apodosis is an infinitive. G. D. I. 1150, l. 6; 1153, ll. 6, 7 (apodosis common).

3. Triphylian. The cases, all of which are more or less mutilated, are from G. D. I. 1151. The verb of the apodosis is (1) an optative with κά, ll. 2, 6, 7, 9, 18 (in ll. 2, 8, 10, 18, κά has been restored); (2) an imperative, l. 5. In l. 3 the apodosis is implied in the preceding imperative; (3) lost, l. 4. The protasis is nearly or quite lost in ll. 13, 22.

It will be apparent from an inspection of these examples that the treatment of conditional clauses with the optative is the same in Elean, Pisatan, and Triphylian.

In thus preferring the less vivid or ideal conditional for the expression of contingencies arising in connection with decrees and compacts, the legal phraseology of the Elean idioms is at variance with the prevailing usage of the other dialects, and especially of the Attic (cf. Meisterhans, l. c. p. 206). Indeed, the common use of the more vivid or anticipatory condition to express such contingencies has led to the suggestion of the term "legal condition" as an equivalent.[5] However, the less vivid conditional is found occasionally in the legal language of Arcadia,

[1] κά is not repeated with the second optative, *i.e.* κατιστ]αιάταν δέ κα καὶ δαμιωργεοίταν κ.τ.λ.

[2] Brugmann, *Griech. Grammatik*, p. 192. For the potential optative without κέ in Homer see Delbrück, l. c. I. pp. 215 ff.

[3] Consequently Roehl's conjecture μηδέτερος (I. G. A. 119 Add.) as subject to κα ϝο]ιϝέοι, G. D. I. 1151, l. 18 (Triphylian), a reading also retained by Blass, must be incorrect.

[4] The occurrences are respectively: prescriptive potential optative. Elean 27, Pisatan 1, Triphylian 12 (of which 8 are partially restored). Imperative. Elean 6, Triphylian 2. Mandatory infinitive. Elean 10, Pisatan 4.

[5] Gildersleeve, *Transactions Am. Philol. Assoc.*, 1876, p. 7.

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Corcyra, Locris, frequently in Crete, and in the Delphian decrees of manumission. The term "legal condition," therefore, should not be confined to the anticipatory conditions.

The sentences which have the less vivid conditional in the protasis and the optative with κά in the apodosis are probably not to be explained on the principle of assimilation, because of the use of the same form of protasis in connection with an imperative or infinitive in apodosis. For other examples of this latter construction in inscriptions see G. D. I. 1479 (Locris), 3206 (Corcyra), and the Delphian decrees before cited.[1]

B. Hypothetical clauses introduced by a relative pronoun or adverb. These show the same forms as the simple conditional sentences.

1. Elean. The verb of the apodosis is (1) an optative with κά. G. D. I. 1152, ll. 3, 9 (mutilated)—in ll. 2, 3, the relative clause is in explanatory apposition with the verb of the protasis; 1154, l. 4; 1156, l. 3;—(2) an infinitive, G. D. I. 1152, l. 2;—(3) lost, G. D. I. 1147, l. 6 (partially restored), 1158, l. 1.

2. Pisatan. The verb of the apodosis is an optative with κά. G. D. I. 1150, l. 3.

3. Triphylian. The verb of the apodosis is an optative with κά. G. D. I. 1151, ll. 13, 15, 16 (partially restored).

From the foregoing it appears that, so far as the optative is concerned, the forms of expression and the constructions are the same in Elean (proper), Triphylian, and so-called Pisatan.

Remarks were made by Professor Smyth.

18. Quantity-marks in Old English MSS., by Dr. W. H. Hulme, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

There were two methods of indicating vowel-length in general use in Old English MS. writing, 1) by doubling the vowel, 2) by placing a mark over the long vowel. Quantity-marks were not used till early in the eighth century. The MS. of the Corpus gloss has probably the earliest instances of these marks. From the beginning of the eighth till the end of the tenth century accents are used with increasing frequency in both prose and poetry. During this period there seems to have been an effort on the part of all the scribes to place the accents only over etymologically long vowels, short accented vowels being comparatively infrequent in OE. MSS. till about the beginning of the eleventh century. From this time forth scribes become more and more careless in using them. In MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries short vowels and vowels of unstressed syllables with accent marks are found in abundance. Cf. the "Blooms" MS. (*Vitell. A.* 15. fol. 1–56), and the second part of the Cædmon poems (MS. *Junius XI*). But even in the most carelessly written MSS. long vowels with accents are more numerous than short vowels with accents. And there seems to have been a conscious feeling on the part of the scribes that long marks were to be placed over long vowels, even though there is no single MS. where long vowels are con-

[1] For examples from the literature see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 499. His remark that such constructions are not infrequent in the earlier language implies a slight understatement, if the inscriptions be taken into account.

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sistently marked throughout. However, these marks were not always intended to show vowel length, as when they occur, for example, on the consonantal *u* in *Neopoûard* (Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 35) and *ûuilton* (*Oldest English Texts*, 435, 7). The accent seems to have been used in such cases to indicate that the *u* has a consonantal value. Then the meaning of the accent is not at all clear where it appears on two successive vowels of a word, as, for example, *âá* (*Blick. Hom.*, p. 9, l. 18; p. 29, l. 32, etc.); *êê* (*AS. Chron.*, p. 91, l. 8, 11, etc.); *Isâác* (*AS. Vers. of Gosp.*, p. 1, l. 3); *Bethlêêm* (*AS. Vers.*, p. 2, l. 23, etc.); *nêâr* (*Blooms*, 349, 13); *tôôpea* (*Blooms*, 334, 29; 335, 45); *wilnîê* (*Blooms*, 335, 48, etc.). In some of these instances, as *Bethlêêm*, *tôôpea*, *wilnîê*, one of the accents was probably intended to show the omission of a consonant: *Bethlehem*, *tohopea*, *wilnige*. In other cases the double accent seems to indicate that the double vowel was pronounced as a dissyllable. This is clearly the case where the *ii* of the gen. sing. of the Latin names of months is accented, as it frequently is in *Byrhtferd's Handboc*, where we find frequent instances of *januarii*, *junii*, *martii*, etc. (Cf. *Anglia*, VIII., p. 298 ff.)

Another peculiarity of certain MSS. is that accents are used mostly at or near the beginning and end of the lines, and near breaks in the lines.[1] This is especially noticeable in *Beowulf*, and *Byrhtferth's Handboc*.

The sources for the material of this paper were: *The Epinal Glossary*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1883; *The Oldest English Texts*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1888; *King Alfred's Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1871; *King Alfred's Orosius*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1883; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. by Benj. Thorpe, London, 1861; *Libri Psalmorum*, ed. by Benj. Thorpe, Oxford, 1835; *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Holy Gospels*, ed. by Benj. Thorpe, London, 1842; *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, ed. by Richard Morris, London, 1880; *Beowulf: Autotypes of the Unique Cotton MS.*, ed. by Julius Zupitza, London, 1882; *Ælfric's Homilies and Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, London, 1881; *Byrhtferth's Handboc*, ed. by F. Kluge, *Anglia*, VIII.; *Das Leben des Chad*, hrsg. von A. Napier, *Anglia*, X. 141 f.; *Evangelium Nicodemi* (my own transcription of Brit. Mus. MS.); second part of MS. *Junius XI.* (my own transcription); *Life of Malchus* (my own transcription; *Blooms by King Alfred*, ed. by W. Hulme; *Englische Studien*, Bd. XVIII. 331 f.; *Andreas*, *Elene*, *Fata Apostolorum*, etc., hrsg. von Richard Wülker; Grein's *Bibliothek der AS. Poesie*, Bd. II.

Remarks were made by Professors Potwin, Hempl, Dr. Scott, and in reply by the author.

The Committee on Place of Meeting in 1896 reported through its Chairman, Professor Hart, that the Committee recommended that the next annual session be held at Providence, R. I., beginning July 7, 1896.

Professor Humphreys reported that the Auditing Committee had examined the account of the Treasurer, compared it with the vouchers, and found it to be correct.

[1] My attention was called to this peculiarity by Prof. Hempl of the University of Michigan.

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The Committee on Officers for 1895–96 proposed the following list of nominations: —

President, Francis A. March, Lafayette College.
Vice-Presidents, Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.
Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University.
Secretary and Treasurer, Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College.
Executive Committee, The above officers, and
Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University.
William W. Goodwin, Harvard University.
Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia.
Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin.
John H. Wright, Harvard University.

The Committee's recommendations were adopted and the above officers elected. The election of Professor March to the Presidency of the Association was confirmed by a rising vote.

The Secretary thereupon read the following letter: —

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, EASTON, PA., June 25, 1895.

To the Secretary of The American Philological Association.

MY DEAR SIR:

Will you be so kind as to invite your Society to be present at a celebration of the coincident anniversaries of Professor Francis A. March's seventieth year, the fiftieth since his graduation, and the fortieth of his coming to Lafayette, to be held at Lafayette College, Thursday, October 24, 1895. There will be several addresses by well-known scholars, and a public dinner followed by brief speeches. Personal invitations will be sent out at a later date so far as possible to all the members of your Association, but it is hoped by this general invitation at this early date to reach some who might otherwise be prevented coming.

Very truly,

E. D. WARFIELD.

The Association voted to accept the invitation, and the President was authorized to appoint a committee of three or five to act as representatives of the Association on the occasion referred to. At a later date Professors Smyth, Kittredge, and West were appointed.

The President then submitted a resolution that had been offered by Professor Gudeman of the University of Pennsylvania, with regard to the orthography of school-texts of Latin authors. After considerable discussion, an amendment proposed by Professor Hendrickson, of the University of Wisconsin, was carried. As amended and passed the resolution is as follows: —

Whereas, American school editions of Latin authors exhibit a remarkable inconsistency in Latin orthography, chiefly due to negligence, often, also, to ignorance of the proper spelling in vogue in the time of the respective authors,

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Whereas, the orthography of Latin, barring, possibly, that of the archaic period, has now been scientifically determined;

Therefore, be it resolved, that a committee of three members of the American Philological Association be appointed by the chair to report at its next annual meeting a recommendation concerning a uniform standard of Latin orthography for the use of school text-books.

Professors Allen, Gudeman, and Platner were appointed on the Committee.

Professor Hart offered the following vote of thanks, which was adopted: —

Resolved, That the thanks of this Association are due, and are hereby tendered, to the authorities of the Western Reserve University for their courtesy in providing accommodations for this session; to Professor Platner and his colleagues of the Local Committee for the careful provision which they have made for the comfort and convenience of those in attendance; and to Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Mather for their generous and graceful hospitality in entertaining the members last evening at Shoreby.

19. Rousselot's Phonetical Apparatus, by Assistant Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, of the University of Chicago.

There are three instruments which at present command the attention of phoneticians: 1) Hensen's phonautograph, based on the instrument of Scott (1859), improved by König; 2) the apparatus devised by Professor Hermann, and used by him in his laboratory at the University of Königsberg; 3) the apparatus used by Rousselot. Unfortunately the results of the investigations with Hensen's and Hermann's instruments are published in journals less familiar to phoneticians, — the *Zeitschrift für Biologie*, and the *Archiv für die gesammte Physiologie*, — and therefore comparatively unknown. Both instruments are designed to investigate the nature of vowel sounds, an exceedingly difficult problem in spite of the foundation laid by Helmholtz.

In the year 1891 L'Abbé Rousselot published a study on "Les Modifications phonétiques du langage étudiées dans le patois d'une famille de Cellefrouin, Charente" (*Revue des Patois Gallo-Romans*, IV., and also published separately in a revised edition), a work which was awarded the Volney medal. Rousselot used a number of instruments constructed partly by Marcy and others, and partly by himself. Unlike the instruments mentioned before, this apparatus serves to solve the more practical questions of phonetics, and the many difficulties that present themselves in the explanation of sound changes; they appeal to the philologist mainly. The apparatus exhibited before the Philological Association was made by Charles Verdin, Paris, who furnishes a complete set for 1700 francs.

The registering apparatus consists of a cylinder revolving horizontally, and put in motion by a clock-work with the Foucault regulator. By means of attaching the cylinder to any of the three revolving wheels the velocity can be changed according to the experiment. The cylinder is covered with a sheet of glazed paper, which is then blackened by means of a candle, oil lamp, or a broad gas jet. The slide, which carries a stand to which the inscribing apparatus is secured,

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is moved by a spiral bar connected by an endless chain with the clock-work. Screws, wheels, etc., are provided for wherever the apparatus needs an adjustment.

The drum used by Rousselot is the same with which physiologists are familiar. It consists of a brass capsule covered with a rubber membrane, to which the inscribing lever is attached; a rubber tube connects it with the acting apparatus, or directly with the organs of speech. Any movement, the slightest air wave, produces a condensation or rarefaction of the air in the drum which turns the inscribing style. This drum is fastened to the horizontal bar of the movable stand, and the style so adjusted by means of a series of screws that it comes in light contact with the sooty paper upon which, when revolving, a white trace is left. Any motion of the style is plainly marked by a deviation from the straight line. Some of these motions are so slight that they have to be read under the magnifying glass; e.g., as a rule, the marks produced by the vibration of the vocal cords. The traces are then fixed in the usual way by means of a hardening solution.

The most frequently used instrument is a rubber funnel which closes firmly round the mouth. It is connected by means of a tube with the drum, and is used for investigations into the intensity of sound: emphasis of utterance, position and quality of accent, height of vowel pitch, lenis and fortis, voiced and unvoiced sounds, vowel quantity.

To observe, in a like manner, the amount of breath escaping through the nose, the tube has to be applied directly to the nose. The motion of the lip is recorded by a special lip-observer, consisting of two combined drums, each provided with a lever that is applied to the upper or lower lip. It is then connected with the inscribing drum. To show the degree of lateral lip contraction the author had an instrument prepared on the same principle. The same device can also be used for indicating the angle of the jaws during the pronunciation of certain sounds.

For investigations of sonority Rousselot uses a small metal cup which is placed on the laryngeal cartilage, the stretched skin serving as a membrane that conveys the vibrations to the air-drum. Neither this nor the more complicate electrical apparatus work very satisfactorily; the former can be used, however, to observe the movements of the tongue, in a similar manner as Rousselot's external tongue observer, a drum attached to the chin, the lever following the motions of the root of the tongue.

These instruments, together with the artificial palate and the stethoscope, suffice to analyze and determine almost every sound, quantitatively and qualitatively. The use of the apparatus requires a careful study, and the reading of the traces offers many difficulties to be overcome only by repeated and graded exercises. Many experiments require the aid of an assistant. Changes in temperature and atmosphere influence the experiments to some extent.

Remarks were made by Professors Hempl, Karsten, and Smyth, and by the author.

20. The Fluency of Shakespeare, by Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

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21. The ἀπὸ κοινοῦ arrangement, by Professor M. L. D'Ooge, of the University of Michigan.

A brief paper on this subject was presented, more for the purpose of raising inquiry than of presenting definite results. The subject has been treated for Latin by F. Koldewey, "Die Figura ἀπὸ κοινοῦ bei Catull, Tibull, Properz und Horaz," in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, XXXI. (1877), pp. 337–358. A treatise by O. Aken on the same question, published in 1884, has been mentioned to me by Professor Harrington of the University of North Carolina. This figure of syntax in Greek has not received from scholars the attention it deserves. A discussion of its use in Greek by Melhorn is referred to by Koldewey, but is not known to the present writer.

The origin of this arrangement is explained by Nitzsch, *Anmerkungen zu Homer's Odyssee*, XII., 27, in a note on the only instance in Homer of this use of the preposition, which occurs in the phrase ἢ ἀλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς. Krüger, however, Sprachl. § 58. 2. 3 and § 68. 9 A., denies that this is an instance.

That there is not perfect agreement among scholars as to just what the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ figure includes is evident from Koldewey's discussion, who limits it to instances in which the common element occupies the first or most important position in the second or third member of the sentence. Hirschfelder, *Zeitschrift f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, 1869, p. 353, applies the name to all those instances in which the word common to the several members is used in the *second* member of the sentence, without regard to its position in the clause.

Instances of what is understood to be the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ figure were given in the case of prepositions, with which this arrangement seems to be most common in Greek, of verbs, of limiting genitives, of possessive pronouns, of adjectives, and of adverbs.

It was shown how disregard of this figure sometimes leads editors astray in their interpretations. The entire subject needs a careful and systematic treatment, based on wide induction.

One or two instances in which the interpretation hinges on the supposed presence or absence of this figure may suffice in this connection:

On Plato's Phaedo, 69 E, τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς καὶ πονηροὺς σφόδρα ὀλίγους εἶναι ἑκατέρους, Archer-Hind has the following note: "Although the order of the words inclines us to take σφόδρα with ὀλίγους, I think the sense requires that it should be joined with χρηστοὺς καὶ πονηρούς. Heindorf would double σφόδρα, but it is not really wanted with ὀλίγους." But ὀλίγους seems clearly to require σφόδρα to make an exact antithesis to πλείστους in the next sentence.

On Eur. Med. 241, 242 editors are divided whether to take εὖ with the preceding participle or with the following sentence. Verrall's note is instructive in its uncertainty. He says that the rhythm is in favor of connecting εὖ with the participle, but the sense is better if we take it with what follows. Why not take it with both?

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore, Wright, Smyth, C. F. Smith, Harrington, and by the author.

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22. Notes on the Metre of Persius, by Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University (read by title).

This paper contained a detailed analysis of the various ways in which the fifth and sixth feet are made up with reference to the rhythm, number, and compass of words, and relation of verse to word accent.

Of the 650 hexameter lines in the six satires, only one (I. 95, *sic costam longo subduximus appennino*) is spondaic, and in this Persius is evidently ridiculing the attempts of some contemporary. There are then 649 dactylic lines, and the following table presents the analysis of the last two feet.

Horizontal lines mark the divisions of words, the stroke ∠ the verse ictus, and dot (·) the word accent. Where both coincide, only the stroke is written.

First, cases into which elision does not enter: —

Scheme.	Example.	Times Found.
1) | ∠ ⏑ ⏑ | ∠ ⏓	turbida Roma	197
2) ⏑ ⏑ ∠ ⏑ ⏑ | ∠ ⏓ / – ∠ ⏑ ⏑ / ⏑ ∠ ⏑ ⏑	miserabile: Quar	106
3) | ∠ ⏑ | ⏑ ∠ ⏓	rebus inane	88
4) – ∠ ⏑ | ⏑ ∠ ⏓ / ⏑ ⏑ ∠ ⏑ / ∠ – ∠ ⏑ / ⏑ ∠ ⏑ / ∠ ⏑ ⏑ ∠ ⏑	quaecumque relictis	124
5) | ∠ | ⏒ ⏑ | ∠ ⏓	hic pede liber	40
6) ∠ ⏑ ∠ | ⏒ ⏑ | ∠ ⏓ / ⏑ ∠	venosus liber Atti	6
7) | ∠ ⏑ ⏑ | ∠ | ⏔	ducere sed fas	14
8) | – ∠ ⏑ ⏑ | ∠ | ⏔	plorabili si quid	3
9) | ∠ ⏑ | ⏒ | ∠ ⏓	mittit in aedis	15
10) – ∠ ⏑ | ⏒ | ∠ ⏓ / ⏑ ⏑ ∠ ⏑	scabiosus et ipse	8
11) | ∠ ⏒ ⏑ ∠ | ⏑ ⏑ ∠ ⏓	exierit caprificus	2
12) | ∠ ⏒ ⏑ ∠ | ⏔	praetrepidum cor	3
13) | ∠ ⏑ ⏑ ∠ ⏓	centurionum	5
14) | ⏑ ∠ | ⏒ | ⏑ ∠ –	sacras quod ovato	1
15) | ⏑ ∠ ⏑ | ⏒ | ∠ | ⏑	locatus es in re	1
16) | ∠ ⏑ | ⏒ | ∠ | ⏑	funus et o si	1
17) | ∠ | ⏒ ⏑ | ∠ | ⏑	haec anus i nunc	1
18) | – ∠ ⏑ | ⏒ ∠ | ⏑	insane ruis? quo?	1

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(1) is very frequently repeated, as it occurs seventeen times in two successive lines, twelve times in three, four times in four, and once in six. This is true of no other form to any such extent. Persius is fond of alternating this with (2), (3), and (4).

(2) occurs in two or more successive lines twelve times, (3) fifteen times, and (4) twenty-one times.

The next table represents the cases of elision.

Scheme.	Example.	Occurs.
1) | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑̆ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏓	usque adeone	I. 26
2) | — ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑̆ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏓	depunge urbi sistam	VI. 79
3) | ⏑́ — | ⏑̆ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑̇ |	mirae eritis res	I. 111
4) | ⏑́ ⏓ | ⏑̆ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ —	etsi adeo omnes	VI. 14, 58
5) | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑̆ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑̇ |	ecce aliud cras	V. 68
6) | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑̆ ⏑ | ⏑́ —	paulum erit ultra	V. 69
7) | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑̆ | ⏑́ —	improbum in illa	I. 6; VI. 29
8) | ⏑́ | ⏑̆ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏓	hoc ego opertum	I. 121
9) | — ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏓	caelestium inanis	II. 61
10) | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑́ —	forcipe adunca	IV. 40; VI. 5
11) | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑̆ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑̇	altera in herba est	VI. 26
12) | ⏑́ | ⏑̆ ⏑ | ⏑̆ | ⏑́ ⏓	huc ego ut ille	VI. 62
13) | ⏑́ ⏑̆ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏓	sesquipede extat	I. 57; V. 127, 140, 142
14) | — ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑̆ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏓	discernis ubi inter	IV. 11; VI. 16
15) | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑̆ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏓	utar ego utar	VI. 22
16) | ⏑̇ ⏑́ | ⏑̆ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ —	postquam sapere urbi	VI. 38
17) | ⏑̇ ⏑́ | ⏑̆ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ | ⏑̇	centum paria ob res	VI. 48

In the sixth foot there are six cases of elision, but the final is always *est*, and we have aphæresis rather than elision proper.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

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AFTERNOON SESSION.

The reading of papers was resumed at 2.15 P.M.

23. The Incorporation of several Dialogues in Plato's *Republic*, by Dr. G. B. Hussey, of the University of Chicago.

Plato's promise in the introduction to the *Timaeus*, that he will write a dialogue *Critias* and another called *Hermocrates*, was, as Plutarch explains (Solon, 32), prevented from fulfilment by his death. Yet, as he lived to the age of eighty, it seems as though there must have been time during those years for writing out all his valuable thoughts. This will appear especially true when we consider that he has repeated some of them many times.

A preface, although placed first, is usually written last. Consequently it would seem probable that, when Plato promises these two dialogues in the preface to the *Timaeus*, they have been already completely thought out, if not completely written. Since, therefore, none of Plato's works have been lost while in manuscript, it is probable that these two dialogues are preserved, but under some other form than we are aware of.

In the introduction to the *Timaeus* there is a very brief analysis of the *Republic*. This is, however, carried only as far as the first five books of that dialogue, and there stops short. Moreover, those critics who hold that the *Republic* was written in separate parts recognize in the last five books two chief portions, VIII.–IX. and VI.–VII., with book X. standing separately by itself. A reasonable conjecture can therefore be ventured that VIII.–IX. represent the *Critias*, and VI.–VII. the *Hermocrates*. The *Republic* was the most famous of Plato's works, and so any dialogues that could increase its interest or strengthen its logic were added to it. On account of these additions it comes to be three times the size of the ordinary Platonic dialogues. While they would each take from two to four hours for oral delivery, it would require twelve. Thus, like the *Laws*, the *Republic* has become enlarged by accretions, until it is far beyond the ordinary length of a conversation. The harmonizing and adjusting of these various parts of his *Republic* occupied Plato till his last moments, and thus the introductions to the *Timaeus* and the *Critias* were left uncorrected. Thus they stand to-day, in appearance, broken promises.

In books VIII.–XI. Plato describes the fall of the perfect state until it reaches its lowest debasement by passing through democracy. Critias was a fit person to lead in such a dialogue, for he had written more than one work on constitutions, and was even more than Plato a foe of the popular government. The fragment of the dialogue *Critias* that remains shows an attempt to bring some historical facts to the support of the theories of *Republic* VIII.–IX.

Plato wrote the first draft of his works probably in the direct form of dialogue. As this was not well suited to being read aloud, he later changed some of the more popular dialogues into the indirect form. This was the case with the *Phaedo*, *Charmides*, *Symposium*, *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras*, and *Republic*. A third form, that of continuous discourse, is represented by the *Timaeus* and parts of the *Laws*.

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At the same time that these took place, this recasting of some of the dialogues so as to bring them into the indirect form, came a desire to unite some of them into trilogies or tetralogies. This was probably to show in what order they were to be read or to form them into more imposing masses. In furtherance of this purpose Plato projected a tetralogy (*a*), outlined at *Soph.* 217 *a*, and consisting of *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Philosopher*, — all in the direct form. Later he took away the *Philosopher*, recast it, and, with the intention of calling it *Hermocrates*, he projected a tetralogy (*b*) *Republic* I.–V., *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Hermocrates*, — all in the indirect or treatise form. After changing the names of the last two dialogues and fusing them with the first the result was (*c*) *Republic* I.–X. and the *Timaeus* as we have them at the present day.

Remarks were made by Professors Wright and D'Ooge, and by the author in reply.

24. A neglected Use of the Latin Imperative, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

The only endeavor of this brief paper is, as its title suggests, to call attention to the fact that the so-called "Future Imperative," or "Second Imperative," as it is variously denominated, has a very common colloquial use, which is quite unsatisfactorily treated in most Latin grammars, and almost entirely ignored in those usually in the hands of our American students. The case may be stated something like this: The Future (or Second) Imperative is often used in colloquial language where neither the *future*, nor the *imperative* idea clearly appears; but the signification of the form seems to vary from that which *must*, or *ought to be*, to that which *would be advisable*, and in general it holds a relation to the Present (or First) Imperative corresponding to that in which the Subjunctive of Modesty stands to the Indicative of Absolute Statement.

A good example of the use of the two tenses side by side with no discoverable difference in meaning is found in Plaut. Men. 1076: *Tu erus es: tu servom quaere. Tu salveto: tu vale.* Also in v. 866: *agite, equi, facitote sonitus ungularum adpareat.* Again, in Terence, Adel. 505 (*Redito: fient quae fieri aequomst omnia*), the word *redito* means no more nor less than *redi* would mean in the same place; but the tense form is perhaps influenced by the verb of the apodosis, *fient*, to which *redito* is the protasis.

A similar case of the usage occurring in a practical protasis is seen in Lucr. II. 114–117: —

> *contemplator enim, cum solis lumina cumque*
> *inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum:*
> *multa minuta modis multis per inane videbis*
> *corpora misceri radiorum lumine in ipso.*

The softening down of the imperative nature of the form appears in such a case as Plaut. Men. 350: *adservatote haec sultis, navales pedes* ('please look out for the luggage').

Some of the other various shades of milder meaning are illustrated in the following examples: —

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Cic. ad Att. V. 20, 1: *Hoc iam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu nec hic tanta negotia geri potuisse* ('You must bear this in mind,' etc.).

Plaut. Men. 436 and 437: *Abduc istos in tabernam actutum deversoriam. Tu facito ante solem occasum ut venias advorsum mihi* ('You must be sure to meet me before sundown').

Plaut. Trin. 570: *Quod tibi lubet, tute agito cum gnato meo* ('You'll have to make whatever arrangements you please with my son').

Plaut. Men. 548: *Haec me curaturum dicito* ('You may say that I will attend to it').

Cic. ad Att. I. 6, 1: *Tu modo videto in tanto otio ut par mihi sis* ('You on your part should see to it that you keep up with me').

Plaut. Trin. 427: *Immo 'quas despondi' inquito* (No, no! You'd *better* say, 'quas despondi'!).

Cic. ad Quint. frat. I. 3, 8: *Illud caveto . . . ne ille versus . . . confirmetur* ('You'd better be on your guard,' etc.).

Plaut. Trin. 295: *Meo modo moribus vivito antiquis: quae ego tibi praecipio, ea facito* ('You'll do well to be old-fashioned like me, and follow my advice').

A still more modest tone is found in Cic. ad Att. I. 2, 1: *filiolo me auctum scito* ('Allow me to inform you,' etc.). This use of *scito* is very common.

The form is used to give a bit of ironical advice in Plaut. Men. 627 and 628: *properato absente me comesse prandium: post ante aedis cum corona me derideto ebrius* ('I'll teach you to run off and gobble up the luncheon without me, and then come and make fun of me!' etc.).

The next step is reached when the advice amounts to no more than a permission, as in Plaut. Men. 727 and 728: *Mea quidem hercle causa vidua vivito vel usque dum regnum obtinebit Iuppiter* ('For all I care you can live a widow as long as Jove reigns'). And again, v. 1031: *mea quidem hercle causa liber esto atque ito quo voles* ('Verily, for all I care, you may have your freedom and go where you like').

In Men. 1093 it is a promise: *Perge operam dare, opsecro hercle, liber esto, si invenis hunc meum fratrem esse* ('You shall be free, if you discover that he is my brother'). Also in Capt. 948: *gratiis a me, ut sit liber, ducito* ('His freedom shall be a free gift').

From these particular usages is finally developed the use of the form to express a general advice, a maxim, or a precept, as in Horace, Epist. I. 18, 68 and 69:

Quid, de quoque viro, et cui dicas saepe videto.
Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est.

('One must be on his guard as to what he says,' etc., and 'should avoid an inquisitive person,' etc.) And in Terence, Adel. 417 and 418 ('*Hoc facito.*' S. *Recte sane.* D. '*Hoc fugito.*' S. *Callide.* D. '*Hoc laudist.*' S. *Istaec res est.* D. '*Hoc vitio datur.*') *facito* and *fugito* are quite on a par with *laudist* and *hoc vitio datur*, expressing a general truth.

Now that we have reached this point, we are on more familiar ground. I submit, however, that the usage should have more careful attention in our American grammars, in which the treatment of this matter is universally either inadequate or erroneous.

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25. The Devil and his Imps, an Etymological Inquisition, by Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, of Radnor, Pa.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Professor Wright.

26. The Invariability of Phonetic Law, by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University.

It is not difficult to acquire the reputation of being a rigorous observer of the phonetic laws, but it is quite as important not to check the progress of science. Bréal in the TRANSACTIONS Am. Phil. Assoc., Vol. XXIV, p. 21.

The tenet of phonetic inviolability has been of late years the test of orthodoxy in linguistics, but after all there is a good deal of heresy in America. Mr. Whitney did not accept the principle in its entirety; Tarbell has raised objections (TRANSAC. XVII, 1 sq.); Collitz, to whom America may now lay claim, and who is one of the foremost living linguisticians, is not a rigid believer in the tenet (cf. his Aryan Word for Tongue, 16); and the great French *savant*, M. Bréal, has published in the TRANSACTIONS of this Association (XXIV, 21 sq.) some very acute observations on this point. I have already (Am. Jr. Phil., XV, 409) expressed myself as a follower in his path.

In so far, however, as one points out classes of exceptions to Phonetic Law, one makes no issue against the principle. The issue is practically this: with one class of linguisticians phonetic normality is of absolutely final value as evidence, while with another class phonetic abnormality does not put out of court what rises on other linguistic grounds into the domain of probability; with the first class a specific reason must be given for every abnormality; this the second class recognizes as expedient but not always possible and not absolutely necessary.

Now a phonetic law is practically an inference from one highly probable etymology. Sometimes, however, the results of two equally probable etymologies conflict. Thus Lat. *vomer* ‖ *vomis* beside Grk. *ὀφρύς*, O. Pruss. *vagnis* leads us to infer a stem **vogh* with *r/n* inflection, whence a primitive Latin **vognis* (gen.). If *gn* gave *mn* as in Greek the resulting form was **vomnis*, and a secondary nominative *vomer* arose beside **vover*. The etymology is certain, and the method of explanation falls in with much besides in Latin (the author, PROC. Dec. 1894, lii). Counter to it, however, runs Lat. *ignis* alongside of Lith. *ugnis* 'fire.' Now as regards *ignis* and *vomer*, which shows normal and which abnormal phonetics? For the abnormality of *ignis* I have offered a reason (l.c.) and have others in reserve to offer.

But let us suppose that *ignis* is abnormal, and no ground for its abnormality is discoverable; then, so long as the undemonstrably abnormal is taken for normal, the rigid phoneticians estop the progress of science. I emphasize this point: the etymologically certain word may be the abnormal word.

Before we can accept as phonetic law the testimony of any word, we must assure ourselves of its isolation, and even then if we cannot control the period of its isolation, our inferences are not cogent; for, putting it generally, the words that can show in any language perfectly free phonetics (i.e. 'can follow the phonetic laws blindly') are isolated words, cut adrift from their moorings, while

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far the greater number of words are interknit in groups about a common root, or semasically interknit by popular etymology of one sort or another to roots of alien origin.

Now let us compare *āgmen* 'troop' (: *agere* 'drive') and *exāmen* 'swarm of bees'; Brugmann (Gr. I, § 506) calls in 'apt Ablaut's artful aid' and assumes bases **ăgmen* and **exāgmen*, but it seems to me far more probable that the phonetic variation arises from the completer isolation of *exāmen* from the *ago-* family. Thus the comparison of *lāmentum* 'howl' (<**lag-m-*<**lac-m-*) with Grk. λακερός 'howling' need not be thrown out because of *sēgmentum* : *sĕc-are* 'cut.' There are also masses of examples of *cn*, *gn* > *gn* in Latin in *grouped* words, e.g. *signum* 'mark' : *secare* 'cut,' *lignum* 'faggot': *ligare* 'bind' (Proc. l.c. liii); but such grouped words can not exclude the testimony of *Mānes* <**magni-* which is isolated from *māgnus*, but not from *māiores* (Proc. 1894, x). Returning to *ignis*, we can not say at what time its isolation[1] set in, and who shall say that the testimony of *ignis* shall exclude all conflicting testimony as to the treatment of *gn*?

If now we recognize the importance of isolation as a factor in phonetic change, and realize the difficulty of fixing its precise period, then we must see how great a risk it is to apply the phonetic laws too strictly in a language of meagre compass like Old Persian or Umbrian. It might often happen that only the constrained phonetics of the *āgmen* type would be shown by the words of safest explanation, and the free phonetics of *exāmen* be represented only in some less certain word. If this word had a large bearing on primitive religion, like Manes, say, its testimony would be all the more liable to impeachment. It is obvious that, especially in a sparse language where we can not control the etymological, semasic, and syntactical *grouping* of words, the most certain etymology may give us but a partial insight into the phonetic laws. The imperfect representation of the phonetic laws in sparse dialects is, however, not taken into account by those to whom these inferences bear a sacrosanct character. Thus Buck (Chicago Stud. in Cl. Phil. I, 184) rejects my explanation of the Latin Gerundive in *-en-dae* as equal to the Sanskrit Infinitive in *-a-dhyāi* (Am. Jr. Phil. XV, 217 sq.) on the ground of Oscan-Umbrian forms in *-n-no-*. In behalf of my explanation speaks the agreement of the two languages in respect of the shift from active to passive, and of the attraction of the object into the case of the infinitive. On the phonetic side I should be the last to deny that the Hindus regarded the *a* of *a-dhyāi* as the thematic vowel, though I have brought some (not absolutely cogent) proof from Greek[2] and Avestan that the Aryan form had an *-n*. There is no trace of the Skt. *y* in the Lat. form, but I may waive this difficulty, as Brugmann, following Bartholomae, has done for the Greek form (Gr. II, § 1089). There remains the difficulty of Osc.-Umbr. *nn* = Lat. *nd*<*ndh*. In these dialects we have the chain *dh* > *b* > *f*. But what is to prove that *ndh* became *nf*? Nothing. All that can be offered in proof is *Anafriss* (dat. plur. 3d decl.); this, Henzen has compared with *inferis*, but Bugge (KZ. II, 386) just as plausibly compared *imbribus*, and

[1] I would connect *ignis* with *agere*; the Hindu fire-god Agni was the leader of the gods (*purŏhitah*); but, as I have suggested in Proc. Dec. 1894, liii, *ignis* has been brought into semasic relation with *lignum* 'fire-wood.'

[2] In Greek *ε-σθαι* where *σθ* is the middle sign (cf. Am. Jr. Phil. XVI, 3), we also have the thematic vowel; this was analogical; λύσα(σ)θε (2d plur. aor. mid.): λύσα(ν)σθαι (aor. infin. mid.) = λύσεσθε (fut.): λύσεσθαι = λύεσθε (pres.): λύεσθαι.

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v. Planta (Gram. d. Osk.-Umbr. Spr. I, 457) interprets as 'wind gods,' from a stem *an-s-r-*, that is to say √*an* 'breathe' extended to √*an-s* with an *-r* suffix — all of which is highly problematical; I regard Bücheler's remark (Rh. M. XXXVII, 644) "*Anafriss* ist noch nicht sicher gedeutet" as still valid. Against Henzen's equation with *inferis*, the vocalization and the declension of *Anafriss* both speak. Who then can plead this equation in proof of *ndh* > Osc.-Umbr. *nf* against my claim that *ndh* > Osc.-Umbr. *nn* (Am. Jr. Phil. XVI, 1)? If, however, it should be granted that *ndh* > Osc.-Umbr. *nn* is a correct law, the answer will come: "The laws are inviolable as ever, but there was a mistake in regard to this particular law." To this I rejoin that while the sacrosanct conception of Phonetic Law is in force, science receives a check whenever a mistake is made in the derivation of any law.

The converse of this proposition is also true: when the abnormal is taken for the normal an advance along mistaken lines occurs. I take for illustration Brugmann's explanation of the Latin infin. pass. in *-ier*. In Latin *arbiter* (possibly) and in *arvorsus* (probably) we have *ad-* represented by *ar-*, whence he assumes an Italic dialect where every *d* became *r*, and so proposes (Gr. II, § 162, Anm. 2) to divide *ag-ier* into *agi ad;* but, in spite of the influence of a great name, I believe that no one will see any probability of a postposition *ad* with a dative case being utterly lost to sight in an ending. Thurneysen has pointed out that this *d/r* variation occurs only before labials,[1] and seeks to explain it as solely a Latin phenomenon.

Conway (I. F. II, 157 sq.) also assumes a dialect for the *d/l* variation, and even seeks to give his dialect a 'local habitation and a name.' The best of his argument is from geographical names: the Sabine stream *Licens* is the *Digentia* of classical Latin. From Varro he cites *Novensides fedus* (= haedus) changing *d* to *l* by textual emendation; *idus* he explains as a loan-word from Latin to Sabine; and *lepestae* he connects, after Varro, with Grk. *δέπας* 'cup,' thus unduly slighting the claims of *λεπαστή* 'cup'[2] (: *λεπάς* 'limpet,' cf. Germ. *schale*). His only other example comes from the solitary Sabine inscription, one of whose five words is AUNOM, corrected by Bréal, on epigraphic and semasic grounds to DUNOM, and 're-dialected' by Conway to *lunom*. A large number of the Latin words with *l* for *d* were, however, very adroitly explained by Conway as due to popular etymology (alas! coöperating with Sabine influence), and a large number more might have been explained so; e.g. *laurus* 'laurel' is symbolic of *laus* 'glory'; *prōles* 'off-spring' reminds of *ad-ol-escens* 'young-man'; *impel(d)imentum* 'pack-mule' keeps pace with *impellere* 'drive'; *solium* 'throne' and *sella* (<**sed-la*) 'chair' sit side by side. Our etymologies of *consul* and *consilium* need revising. The consul was priest and soothsayer, and gave official counsel, and these words belong with *censeo* 'advise.' *Consul* is like *famul* in its suffix; its vocalization would put *censeo* in the *e/o* series, against which only *Casmena* ‖ *Cămena* (*ă*!) can be urged, for *car-men* goes with *κάρυξ*, and has possibly influenced the orthography of *Camena*.

Of course it is simpler and less subjective to apply a phonetic tape line to

[1] Stolz (Lat. Gr.[2] 383) pleads *arcesso*, but the by-form *accerso* makes it far from certain that this is from *ad* + √*ced-*.

[2] Note *creterras* and *lepistas* in a single line of Naevius, both being Greek loan-words; v. Merry, Selected Fragments, p. 26.

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linguistic material than to seek for variations due to popular etymology or other cross-influence, but is there less danger of going astray in explaining abnormality as dialectic normality than in recognizing the abnormality directly?

The sacrosanct conception of Phonetic Law has blinded the eyes of scholars to the fact that writing an Aryan base for a word is not *ipso facto* a sufficient explanation. Thus Bechtel writes for the doublet στάδιον ‖ σπάδιον a base **sqad-* (Hauptprob. p. 454), and seeks to prove, largely by this example, labialization of velars before *a* in Greek. Now, aside from Greek, there is no warrant for **sqad-* whatever. Taking στάδιον 'measure-of-distance,' 'race-track' alone, it derives very simply from √*sta* 'stand' (cf. στα-θμή 'tape-line'), with a semasic parallel in English *chain*, 'measure-of-distance,' 'a distance measured.' In seeking now to explain σπάδιον it is to be noted that Homer uses neither form. His most definite word for 'race-course' is perhaps δρόμος, which occurs eight times in Ψ, once each in δ (605), θ (121), and Σ (281); synonymous with δρόμος, and much commoner, is πεδίον 'road,'[1] 'plain.'

For δρόμος in the sense of 'plain' I note δ 605: ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ' ἂρ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών "there are no broad plains (Mr. Gladstone translates 'cattle-runs') nor any meadow in Ithaca." Similarly πεδίον was used almost specifically of race-course in X 22–23:

σευάμενος ὥς θ' ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος σὺν ὀχεσφιν | ὅς ῥά τε ῥεῖα θέῃσι τιταινόμενος πεδίοιο, "rushing like a prize-winning horse with his chariot, that rushes swiftly, bounding over the race-course." I note in general that πεδίοιο (gen.) is used with verbs of motion (generally rapid motion) thirty-one times against seven other occurrences; at Λ (754) it has the epithet σπιδέος (gen.) 'broad'; we may further suppose the locution σπεύδειν πεδίοιο (not directly in Homer, but cf. P 745–50). It does not seem to me improbable then that σπάδιον is a contamination of πεδίον and στάδιον, with a trace of influence, perhaps, from σπεύδω and σπιδέος.

From the point of view of methodology it seems to me that the forms of a single language ought, when indubitable congeners are lacking in other languages, to be explained out of preference from within the individual language by the methods of the literary-historical philologian.

I would fain know, in conclusion, whether errors like those I have sought to point out on the part of Brugmann, Bechtel, and Conway, with their sacrosanct conception of Phonetic Law, are any more venial than those of an investigator like Bréal, who is a less rigid believer in the regularity of the phonetic laws? or whether a discovery is less valuable from the heterodox side than from the orthodox?

In the absence of its author, this paper was read by Dr. H. W. Magoun.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, reported as Chairman of the Committee on Spelling Reform.

The Committee has taken no official action during the last year. It reports progress.

[1] πεδίον belongs to √*ped* 'go' as ὀδός to √*sed* 'go.'

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The final volume of "A Standard Dictionary" was publisht in New York, which contains in their regular places all the amended words in the List of Amended Spellings publisht by this Association in 1886, and givs the pronunciation of all words in the scientific alfabet reported by this Committee in 1877.

The publishers of this dictionary hav givn a prominent place to Spelling Reform in their advertizements and circulars, and hav attempted the formation of a leag of authors, editors, and publishers, pledgd to the use of lists or classes of amended words. This has givn rise to extended discussion of the reform in the newspapers and periodicals.

An "Orthographic Union" for practical action among publishers and others has been formd with Benjamin E. Smith, Managing Editor of the Century Dictionary, as President, and William Dean Howells, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Brander Matthews, Edward Eggleston, among the Vice-Presidents, with Hon. W. T. Harris, President White of Cornell, President Harper of Chicago, Professor Child, Professor Lounsbury, and the like.

Robert M. Pierce, 4108 Spruce St., Philadelphia, is the Secretary. Every one who favors any simplification of English spelling is invited to join.

The Spelling Reform Association held a memorial meeting at Philadelphia in honor of Professor W. D. Whitney, Dec. 28, 1894, and it receivs encouraging reports of the reform, especially from the colleges and universities and the educational periodicals of the West. Professor George E. MacLean,[1] of the University of Minnesota, reports that the students of his department (Eng. Lang. and Lit.) resolvd unanimously, of their own motion, to uze in the work of the department the amended spellings jointly recommended by the Philological Societies.

There is activity also among the reformers of France and Germany.

27. The Arval Song once more, by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University (read by title).

By way of postscript to the interpretation presented in the PROCEEDINGS for 1894 (pp. v sq.), I offer now some suggestions of a more conservative nature, while still holding by the conception of the hymn as a totemic charm against fever. I recall the proposed variations from Merry's text, exhibiting now only one change, viz.: to read *alterneip* as authorized by the inscription which has *alternei* twice, *alternip* once. I further assume *lue*^{s} and *rue*^{s} inasmuch as final *-s* is frequently wanting in inscriptions of this period, and we know further that it could scarcely have been pronounced in the early period. *Ma(r)mor* of the fifth verse is based on the inscription. Thus the text becomes:—

Enos Lases iuvate,
Neve lue^{s} rue^{s}, Marmar, sins incurrere in pleores;
Satur fu fere Mars; limen sali; sta, berber:
Semuneis alterneip(?) advocapit conctos;
Enos Ma(r)mor iuvato, etc.

[1] Now Chancellor of the University of Nebraska.

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This I translate as follows: —

"Help us, Lares,
And let there be no wasting, <no> destruction(?), O Marmar, to rush upon more of us,
Have thy fill, wild Mars; skip <our> threshold; halt, Fever:
He shall (will?) summon <our> enemies otherwhere, all of them;
Ma(r)mor shall aid us.

NOTES: For the connection of a positive impv. with an impv. subj. by *neve* see Verg. Georg. ii. 36–7. For *Marmar sins* the text may have had originally *Marmars sins*, cf. Oscan *Mamers*. In *sins* I see a 3d plural subj., i.e. Umbrian *sins* for *sint*, and recall the large number of religious formulae in the Umbrian monuments. For the construction of *sins incurrere* I refer to the former paper. *Sali* I have translated by 'skip' in the sense of 'omit,' though I can give no precise Latin parallel for this meaning. 'Halt' does not seem to me far-fetched for *sta*. As to *berber's* phonetic relation to *fe(r)bris* I cite *barba* 'beard' (<*farfa*<*farba*), though the abnormality of *berber* is the more easily accounted for of the two, on the ground of a consciousness of reduplication. A similar consciousness is shown by *Farfarus* and *Fabaris*, variant names of a stream in Ovid and Vergil, but here the initial *f* prevailed over internal *b* (<*f*). This pair also shows the same treatment of the *r's*.

The form *alterneip* may be for **alternībi*, cf. Oscan *ip* = Latin *ibi*. We can interpret the difficult form *advocapit* by assuming that the original verse had **alterneifi* **advocafit*, and both took the same phonetic path to *alterneip(i)* *advocapit*. Substantially the same result may be reached by taking *alternei — pit* as tmesis, for *-pit* corresponds with the indefinite suffix *que*, and the indefinite suffix *-cunque* is liable to such tmesis in Latin. Thus *advoca* would be a direct impv., and the orthography *alternei-p* would be due to anticipation on the part of the stone-cutter.

In my first explanation of *semunis* as 'hostile' I am confirmed by the following consideration. The Paeligni classed their gods as *Cerfu* and *Semunu* (Büch. Umbr. 99), and if the latter means 'hostile' the former should mean 'helpful.' We should infer that it does so from the Umbrian divinity *Praestota Çerfia*, for *Praestota* means 'standing before, protecting.' The stem *Cerfe-* is sound for sound identical with Sk. *çdrdha-* defined by Grassmann as 'stark,' while he defines *çdrdhas-* by 'Macht, helfende Macht.' For the identity of *Cerfe-* and *çdrdha-* the following considerations speak: *çdrdha* is used of Indra, and of the Maruts, who were the constant companions of Indra, κατ' ἐξοχήν, while in Umbrian *Çerfe* is frequently combined with *Martie*. Now I have already suggested (PROC. l.c. vii) that Mars, Indra, and Ἄρης are etymologically the same, all the names deriving from √ *nṛ* ‖ *nṛt* 'leap,' and having a specific sense I would now interpret as 'lightning.' In place of the suggestion first offered for the alteration of normal **Nars* I would now attribute *Mars* directly to Sk. *Marút-* for its origin, though, taking a suggestion from *Nerio* 'wife of Mars,' I believe that '*Mars*' crowded out a primitive **Ner-*.

From the stem *Marut-* a hint of the difficult 'Mavors' may be got by assuming that it is the result of contamination of the various nominatives *Mam-or(-s)*, *Mars*, and *Maru(t)s*, whence **Mar-u-ors*, *Mauors*.

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28. Some Specimens of Modern English, by Professor W. A. Merrill, of the University of California (read by title).

For a few years past, in a desultory manner, I have noted some strange and wonderful English words which have met my gaze in drug shops, newspapers, and places where professors of English have no official chairs. It is said that all living languages are in process of growth, and this growth is, no doubt, visible in the literature; yet, perhaps, it is more apparent in the region outside of literature than in the books of this century which may prove classical in the next.

The terms which I have collected in this paper are mainly due to the commercial spirit of the age. Some man desires to get rich from the sale of a proprietary compound, and as the nostrum must have a name, he invents some striking designation which will easily cling to the memory of the ordinary citizen. He most commonly works by analogy and selects some termination in actual use. For instance, the termination *-ene* or *-ine* is common in certain chemical compounds, and is euphonious, he thinks. Any rule forbidding the addition of a termination derived from one language to a stem derived from another, is unknown to him; a 'taking' name is his only end in view. Who has not heard of the virtues of 'Pearline' and 'Soapine'? And if 'pearline,' why not 'stovene'? And if 'stovene,' why not 'harline,' as there is money to be made from hair-oil. 'Kefaline,' the famous headache cure, shows that the *Graeculus esuriens* is in our midst. 'Enameline' is not in Webster's unabridged, if it be a good looking word; the Romans called it '*cerussa*'; I would suggest 'cerussine' for the next compounder of words and beautifiers. 'Pasteurine' kills bacilli, of course; 'silkaline' was probably suggested by 'velveteen'; 'nudavene' makes something bare; it strips hair from the face of lovely woman, thus helping along the great work of female emancipation. In 'kremlin,' which is good for the teeth, the *e* is dropped, for there is nothing like variety, 'Megrimine' is a rival to 'kefaline,' and is, perhaps, a more aesthetic word. 'Maltine' is strong, and reminds one of double X; but 'spotine' sounds weak. 'Spotine,' of course, removes spots. 'Quickine' is a lightning regulator; if 'twere done, it were well done it were done quickly. 'Pulmonine' is good for consumption. I have always wondered, by the way, whether Piso went into a decline after Cicero's attack on him, and if his 'cure for consumption' was preserved by Hardouin's monks who speciously saved so much from the wreck of antiquity. 'Cerebrine' helps cephalalgy, which latter word I need not explain, for it is in the dictionary. 'Suetene' is a kind of cottolene, both now found in every American kitchen, we are told.

Another series of words belongs to the agglutination stage; arbitrary combinations are made. 'Anti-mus-keto' betrays a poverty of invention: yet, if it is efficacious, all will doubtless be forgiven; one must not be too fastidious in the hour of need. 'Marvelo-cleansing,' we may hope, is as wonderful in its work as in its composition; 'anti-stiff' is good for rheumatism; 'Root-tea-na' shows the return to nature's simple remedies; 'Tak-a-chu' and 'Kashu' cure colds; 'antilig' has lost its interpretation for me, but 'Lung Kuro' and 'Thinacura' are plain as a pikestaff. 'La Freckla' betrays the 'article de Paris': 'salva-cea,' I imagine, was suggested by the Greek.

There are other words which are drawn (with more or less difficulty) from

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Liddell & Scott. 'Geometrigraph' is a machine for drawing pictures. 'Hydrox' is pure water, 'bovox' is beef tea, and 'bovril' is the strength of it. I have found few words which are unmistakably Latin. 'Aermotor' is a Chicago term for windmill; 'lassola' looks like Latin, but is derived from lassoo; 'denarco' is a strange word whose meaning I have forgotten. 'Salubria' is supposed to bring health.

'Savogran' is a kind of soap; 'no-to-bac' is for those who, like little Robert Reed, have said in all sincerity "I'll never use tobacco, no, it is a filthy weed"; 'smokette' is an imitation cigarette. 'Baco-Curo' may succeed if 'no-to-bac' fails. 'Beandom' perpetuates the libel on our modern Athens, but I am surprised to find 'beanfeast' in the English 'Church Times.' It appears that beanfeasts are common in England, and that the bane of Pythagoras there takes the place of the oyster in ecclesiastical economy. In the same paper I noticed 'typed' as an abbreviation for 'type-written.' 'Brainery' is naturally suggested by 'beandom'; it is a Chicago term for a university. 'Pyromaniac' is a newspaper word for 'incendiary.' 'Sooner' is interesting, for it is not artificial; the term describes one who prematurely enters a reservation of land before it is opened for settlement. 'Indianopathy' is a species in medicine like homeopathy; I remember also in childhood to have heard of 'Thomsonianism' as a medical doctrine. 'Silverolatry' must be good English, for it occurs in the 'Nation,' which is always right, of course. Howells has printed 'contemporanics,' and Lew Wallace 'courtierly.'

The *sermo familiaris* has never received so much attention from scholars as it is receiving to-day. Perhaps no field in Latinity is receiving greater attention; dialect societies are numerous in all civilized countries, and folklore societies are gathering in the legends current among people who do not write books. Is not this facility in the invention of new words in English, although they may not be elegant, and are doomed to speedy oblivion, really worthy of note? Are they not a manifestation of one phase of our civilization, and herein worthy of notice? And do they not illustrate the working of certain laws of philology? It is not for a Latinist to do any more than to call attention to this field, and yet it is very possible that our English colleagues have already given it attention.

29. The Greeting in Cicero's Correspondence, by Professor E. M. Pease, of Leland Stanford Jr. University (read by title).

This paper, which will be printed in full elsewhere, attempted to show that the greeting at the beginning of the Roman letter, like the address and subscription of the modern letter, offers a reliable means for determining the degree of intimacy existing between the correspondents. The many different forms in the correspondence of Cicero were reduced to certain distinct types, and the meaning of each ascertained. The principles established in the paper were used in interpreting the meaning of obscure passages in the literature, and in confirming or amending the text.

Adjourned at 3.50 P.M.

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[1] This list has been corrected up to February 1, 1896; permanent addresses are given, as far as may be. Where the residence is left blank, the members in question are in Europe. The Secretary and the Publishers beg to be kept informed of all changes of address.

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Academy, London.
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Revue des Revues (Prof. J. Keelhoff, Tongres, Belgium).
Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.
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[Total (427 + 65 + 39 + 1 + 11)= 543].

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Article I. — Name and Object.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."

2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

Article II. — Officers.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.

3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

Article III. — Meetings.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

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ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the volumes of Transactions thus far published: —

1869–1870. — Volume I.

Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.

Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with ὅταν and οὐ μή.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.

Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.

Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.

Van Name, A.: Contributions to Creole Grammar.

Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869), and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

1871. — Volume II.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

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HERBERT WEIR SMYTH,
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